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Incorporating Haydn's Minuets: Towards a Somatic Theory of Music

A dissertation presented

by

Joseph Giovanni Fort

to

The Department of Music

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Music

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Incorporating Haydn's Minuets: Towards a Somatic Theory of Music

ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses a repertoire and an issue that have both been somewhat neglected in musicological studies—the minuets of Joseph Haydn, and the somatic experience of dance. Of all Haydn's compositions, his minuets have received less attention than perhaps any other movement or genre—despite the fact that his output includes more than four hundred of them. My basic hope is that equipping ourselves as musicologists to deal with somatics and dance will allow us to find something to say about this particular repertoire, to engage with it more thoroughly than we do at present.

In this dissertation I argue that a man or woman in the upper levels of society in Vienna towards the end of the eighteenth century would know the dance steps for the minuet. They would be in possession of this somatic knowledge; *these eighteenth-century bodies would contain the minuet*. And when sitting down to listen to a concert performance of a quartet or symphonic minuet by Haydn, they would still do so in a body that knows how to move to the sounds of the minuet, and perhaps has moved to some by the very same composer. This, I would argue, is perhaps *the* main difference between an audience member in Haydn's day and one of our own time, whose (typical) lack of any knowledge of the minuet as a dance posits a gulf between him/her and the audience member of two hundred years ago. The question I ask, then, is this: what does it mean to experience Haydn's minuets, whether those written specifically to be danced to or those written to be listened to, in a body that contains the movements for this dance?

Chapter 1 lays out the historical context for the dissertation. It examines the social events at which the minuet was danced in Vienna in the 1790s, focusing in particular on the annual charity balls held at the Hofburg Redoutensäle by the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler. Drawing on contemporaneous descriptions and ticket lists preserved in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, I show that members of the nobility, the bourgeoisie, and the artistic community were all present at these balls, and argue that the dance hall constituted a vital mixing ground for eighteenth-century Viennese society. I claim that Jürgen Habermas's three criteria for the emergence of a public sphere (1962)—disregard of status, accessibility of culture products, and inclusivity of the space—are met in this setting.

Chapters 2 and 3 ask: what was the minuet in late-eighteenth-century Vienna? Chapter 2 examines choreographies, outlining the steps and figures that dancing masters detailed in German-language treatises around the end of the eighteenth century. Chapter 3 outlines the patterns and norms that theorists identified and prescribed in minuet music. Examining hundreds of (mostly unpublished) minuets written for dancing, I assess how well the rules proclaimed by the music theorists are actually borne out across the repertoire, and build a composite picture of the minuet's choreography and music.

Chapter 4 grapples with the 'tenacious *doxa* that physical sensations must irrevocably elude language', as Isabelle Ginot described it in 2010. Drawing on the burgeoning field of 'somatic studies', and in particular Suzanne Ravn's (2010) theorisation of sensing weight, I attempt a somatic enquiry into Haydn's minuets composed for a ball held by the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler in 1792. The analysis

theorises ways in which musical features would have been *felt* by dancers enacting the steps of the minuet to them.

Chapter 5 constitutes an attempt to extend the somatic approach to the minuet movements of Haydn's 'London' Symphonies. I ask how investing the body into the experience of listening to this music changes one's engagement with it. I argue that learning to invest the body into the listening experience, actively and deliberately, will not only reveal facets of the music to which we have hitherto been desensitised: it will vitalise our engagement with the music.

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INTRODUCTION

> One climbs an iron staircase, passes a row of fifty bearded grenadiers, who, with their crude bearskin caps and bayonets at the ready, make the shy maiden tremble when, with beating heart, she visits the famous Redoute on the arm of her beloved for the first time. Having passed through the hall of Mavors and climbed a few more steps, there suddenly opens up the great magic hall. Several thousand wax candles on great reflecting crystal lusters and pyramid-formed chandeliers in symmetric rows dazzle the eye, and the sound of trumpets and timpani, mixed with the softer tones of a hundred musical instruments, move the enchanted ear and bestir the youthful foot spontaneously to the joyful dance. . . . . (Pezzl 1787, 514-515)[1]

> Both ballrooms are illuminated round about by an innumerable quantity of wax candles, and in the middle of the first you have seven large chandeliers, and five in the second. (Freddy, Fondo et al. 1800; quoted in Landon 1976, 208-9; my translation)[2]

Candles. Today, when one goes dancing at night, it tends to be in the dark. Lights in the clubs are dimmed, sight provided only in brief snatches when the coloured bulbs swing round in the right direction. Things were different in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century. If you went to the premier dancing venue during Carnival—the Hofburg Redoutensäle—the first thing to strike you upon entrance into the dance halls would be the sheer brilliance of the light. Before electricity, when night was dark and day was bright, one would come in from the shadowy Josephsplatz, and thrust oneself into the glow of the Redoutensäle's chandeliers.

The dancing lights have dimmed in more ways than one, since then. Despite the fact that the Redoute formed an integral part of Viennese culture in the late eighteenth century, we know very little about its practices, and even less of its music. When we think of Joseph Haydn and minuets, movements from his quartets and symphonies are

[1] 'Man steige an einem eisernen Gatter ab, gehet durch eine Reihe von fünfzig schnurbärtigen Grenadiers, die mit ihren rauhen Bärnmüzen und Bajonettengeklirre das scheue Mädchen beben machen, welches zum erstenmal mit hochklopfenden Herzen am Arm ihres Geliebten die berühmte Redute besucht. Wenn man durch diese Halle des Mavors gedrungen, und einige Stufen hinangestiegen ist, öffnet sich plözlich der grosse Zaubersal. Viele tausend Wachskerzen auf grossen wiederscheinenden kristallnen Lustern und piramidenförmigen Leuchtgestellen symmetrisch gereihet, blenden das Aug, und Pauken- und Trompettenschall, mit den sanfteren Tönen von hundert musikalischen Werkzeugen vermengt, rühren das entzükte Ohr, und heben unwillkürlich den jugendlichen Fuß zum fröhlichen Tanz. . . . .' (Translation above from Heartz 1995, 67-68, with one adjustment.)

[2] 'Sono entrambe tutt'all'intorno illuminate da un'innumerevole quantità de candele di cera, e nel mezzo poi della prima vi hanno sette gran lampadarj, e cinque nella seconda'.

likely to be the first compositions that spring to mind. But this might not have been so for audiences during his lifetime. In addition to these minuets that were to be listened to in a 'concert' setting, Haydn's output includes a number of minuets composed specifically for the purpose of dancing—and these may in fact have reached a far wider audience than his 'concert' output. As court musician Kapellmeister to the Esterhazy court over 1765-90, his duties would often include supplying music for ceremonial occasions, including the court balls, which would unfailingly involve the minuet. Sometimes he would compose fresh music for these occasions. His compositions were also frequently performed at the Redoute, which was attended by a broad cross section of the Viennese population, by the end of the century.

Clearly, the minuet formed an integral part of social life in Vienna in the latter half of the eighteenth century. All the nobility, and a large portion of the middle class, knew the steps for this dance, and performed it with some frequency. In other words, *these eighteenth-century bodies contained the minuet*. 'Minuet', for them meant a set of fairly specific, defined bodily movements. This somatic knowledge would not disappear or be somehow switched off when listening to a minuet in a concert or in a chamber setting—whether dancing or sitting to listen to a minuet they would still so in the same body, the body that contains this somatic knowledge. Quite simply, it would not make sense to consider the music of the minuet apart from its associated dance, or the dance apart from its music. Yet this is precisely what we do: as a matter of course, we force a dissociation between the dance and the music. We, with two centuries of sedentary, stationary listening behind us, forget that for Haydn's audiences the minuet must have summoned not just an array of aural and social connotations, but intense somatic,

kinaesthetic feelings and associations. When Haydn was composing minuets, the minuet meant not just a particular array of sounds, but also a set of specific movements, cemented into the body. The aim of this dissertation, then, is to try and write a somatic understanding of the minuet into our engagement with this genre.

The danced minuet formed central part of Vienna's sonic landscape in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It was a repertoire that a significant portion of the population engaged with recurrently, *in the flesh*. Accepting the ubiquity of this musical genre brings with it a responsibility for us as cultural historians: if it did indeed form such a formidable presence in Viennese life at the time of the music that the academy has already embraced, then we must study this repertoire, too. Moreover, if the tools that music theory currently owns for studying this repertoire fail to equip us adequately to engage with it, then it is up to us to develop a new apparatus that will be more sympathetic to its object of study.

Yet this dissertation is not simply an excavation of past practices and repertoire—it is not an essay in the history of the minuet. Rather, it is an attempt at a *somatic enquiry* into music. It works from the premise that the vitality of musical experience comes from our bodily, kinaesthetic engagement with this art. Dance provides an ideal workshop in which to play with this notion, with the movements of choreographed dance so well defined and the fact that we engage with music through our bodies so readily accepted of dance. We know that to dance to music is to *invest our bodies* into the listening experience. The main contention of this dissertation, though, will be that the body plays the same role in more standard, seated listening to music. Learning to invest the body into the listening experience, actively and deliberately, will not only reveal facets of the music

to which we have hitherto been desensitised: it will vitalise our engagement with the music.

As an undergraduate and then graduate student in the Anglo-American academy over 2005-15, perhaps the two pieces of writing that most frequently came up in class and conversation were Carolyn Abbate's 2004 article 'Music—Drastic or Gnostic?' and Richard Taruskin's 2005 *Oxford History of Western Music*. The enormity of Taruskin's text is obvious in its sheer size and scope; Abbate's is also giant in its construction, with some thirty pages of unbroken prose. Almost every graduate seminar involved discussion of Abbate's article. It is unsurprising, then, that this dissertation bears their imprint.

Taruskin asserts that musicologists have systematically written out human agency from their accounts of history, by telling their histories in terms of events and entities, whereby inanimate objects assume the active verbs, relegating actual human acts to the passive. Taruskin gives an example by Mark Evan Bonds: 'During the 1520s, a new genre of song, now known as the Parisian chanson emerged in the French capital. Among its most notable composers were Claudin de Sermisy (ca. 1490–1562) and Clément Jannequin (ca. 1485–ca. 1560)' (quoted in Taruskin 2005, xxvi). In writing music history, Taruskin contends, we need to conceive of its products and events as mediated by *human* agents: 'No historical event or change can be meaningfully asserted unless its agents can be specified; and *agents can only be people*' (Taruskin 2005, xxvi; emphasis original). Rooted in the *person* by definition, somatic enquiry should avoid this pitfall. Indeed, the topic of dance cannot be considered in separation from the human agents that practise it.

The very endeavour of this somatic enquiry is to put ourselves in the shoes of eighteenth-century audiences.

The opportunities that a somatic perspective offers the discipline can also be framed in terms of drastic and gnostic—the celebrated categories posited by Vladimir Jankélévitch and christened for the musicological academy by Abbate. In a much-cited passage early in the article, Abbate illustrates the apparent incompatibility of gnostic and drastic attitudes, describing how she attempted to ponder Enlightenment subjectivity, absolute monarchy and sexual agitation in Mozart's 'Non temer, amato bene', while at the same time accompanying the aria as a singer performed it. These gnostic concerns, she explains, seemed utterly irrelevant to the actual experience of performing the aria, in the moment itself. Still playing, she asked herself what she was actually thinking about:

> Clearing my mind, I realized that words connected to what was going on did flow in, albeit rarely, but these words had nothing to do with signification, being instead *doing this really fast is fun* or *here comes a big jump*. A musicologist for decades, having made many, many statements about music's meaning over that time, I acknowledged that during the experience of real music—by this I mean both playing and listening—thoughts about what music signifies or about its formal features do not cross my mind. (Abbate 2004, 511)

For Abbate, this incident demonstrates that routine musicological activity in fact requires a *departure* from the realities and immediacy of musical performance: 'while musicology's business involves reflecting upon musical works, describing their configurations either in technical terms or as signs, this is, I decided, almost impossible and generally uninteresting as long as real music is present' (Abbate 2004, 511). According to this view, she describes the drastic as the 'antithesis' of the gnostic (Abbate 2004, 510), positing a 'schism' between the two analytical attitudes (Abbate 2004, 511).

Of course, the story does not end here. As the article progresses, the question in its title, 'Music—Drastic or Gnostic?', seems to shift in emphasis, away from whether

music is *drastic* or *gnostic* to whether music must necessarily be drastic *or* gnostic—that is, whether some sort of reconciliation of Jankélévitch's categories might be feasible. Abbate's short closing examples offer some possibilities as to how one might attend to performance carefully as a locus for (gnostic) interpretation. In fact, I believe her example offered much earlier, playing 'Non temer', already contained this possibility. The question is whether '*doing this really fast is fun*' or '*here comes a big jump*' must necessarily have 'nothing to do with signification' (Abbate 2004, 511), or whether we might elicit significance from them. Both of these sensations are fundamentally somatic (and might easily have been uttered by a dancer, in various contexts). Abbate writes, 'music in performance affects us physically, but, as Jankélévitch points out, its physical action can engender spiritual conditions, grace, humility, reticence' (Abbate 2004, 529). 'Spiritual' might be Jankélévitch's choice of word, but he is not the only (or first) person to point this out! Nor is this effect true only of music. For a century and a half, dancing masters sold the minuet precisely on the grounds that its physical motions would imbue grace in mind and body. We start Chapter 1 with one such dancing master.

CHAPTER 1: THE *REDOUTE* IN 1790S VIENNA

Introduction

Somewhere en route from Bonn to Vienna in late 1792, the young Ludwig van Beethoven took out a little memorandum book and wrote himself a shopping list: 'overcoat, wig-maker, boots, shoes, piano-desk, seal, wood, writing-desk, piano-desk (*sic*), dancing-master' (Busch-Weise 1962, 72).[1] Two pages later in the same memorandum book, and having just arrived at his destination, Beethoven copied out the details of an advertisement in the local newspaper: 'Andreas Lindner, dancing-master, lives at Stoß im Himmel, No. 415' (Busch-Weise 1962, 72).[2] Clearly, Beethoven counted finding a dancing-master among his priorities upon arriving in the city—one of the essential acquaintanceships he needed to make in order to live and work in Viennese society. In the original newspaper notice, dancing-master Lindner advertises instruction in a variety of dances—the 'Menuet, Englisch, Kontra, Kosackisch, St[r]aßburgerisch [and] Deutsch-tanzen'. With his steps, Lindner claims, '*everyone* can learn this art in a short time'.[3] Such were Beethoven's requirements: in order to be a functioning member of Viennese society (years before he would eventually renounce social gatherings), the ability to dance was a necessary skill.

The appearance of 'dancing-master' amid such material necessities amid such necessities as a coat and boots might nevertheless seem something of an incongruity. In the mid-nineteenth century, eminent Beethovenian Alexander Thayer turned to the same

[1] 'Überrock / Perücken Macher / Stiefel / Schuhe / Klawierpult / Petschaft / Holz / schreib Pult / Klawierpult / Tanzmeister'.

[2] 'Andreas Lindner / Tanzmeister / wohnt im Stoß / im Himmel / No 415' (3v). The book is now housed in the Zweig Collection of the British Library (Zweig MS 14). See Dagmar 1962 for a complete transcription.

[3] 'Jedermann diese Kunst in kurzer Zeit erlernen kann' (Advertisement, *Wiener Zeitung*, November 3, 1792, 2985).

pages in the memorandum book to calculate the date of Beethoven's arrival in Vienna; but he ignored the dancing-master advertisement, focusing instead on an annotation made immediately prior, which gives details of two fortepianos being offered for sale.[4] Thayer went to the trouble of locating the original source of this note: the pianos were twice advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung*, on 3rd November and 10th November. Since the final date on which these advertisements ran was 10th November, Thayer reasoned that Beethoven must have arrived in Vienna by this date (Thayer and Forbes 1866 [1991], 135).[5] Thayer's assertion has held strong: we read in the *New Grove* 'Beethoven' article, for instance, that 'Beethoven arrived in Vienna, the city that was to be his home for the rest of his life, in the second week of November 1792' (Kerman, Tyson et al. 2001). However, had Thayer not overlooked the dancing-master advertisement as well, he might have been able to backdate Beethoven's arrival by a few days, for Lindner's advertisement also appears in the *Wiener Zeitung*, and this advertisement ran for the last time on 3rd November. Beethoven copied this out in the memorandum book *after* the piano advertisement. And so, by the same logic, it seems that he must have arrived a week earlier than previously thought—or at least in time to pick up a copy of the 3rd-November issue of the newspaper.

This is not all that Lindner's presence in Beethoven's memorandum book might intimate to us now. Recent years have seen a concerted effort by scholars to acknowledge the central role that dance played in eighteenth-century Viennese society, and to consider the implications for musicology. The minuet offers a case in point: this dance remained a

[4] '2 grosse *forte piano* am Graben im schlosserGässel im Kramerischen Bierhauß' (Zweig MS 14, 3r).
[5] 'Es sind zwei grosse Forte piano im billigen Preis täglich zu verkaufen am Graben im Schlossergässel im Kranerischen Bierhaus Nr. 597 im zweiten Stock' (Advertisement, *Wiener Zeitung*, November 10, 1792, 3051). We should bear in mind that the *Wiener Zeitung* was issued twice a week, meaning that the issue of 10th November would presumably have circulated until the next issue, on 14th.

staple of the Viennese dance hall throughout and even beyond the eighteenth century. An audience listening to the minuet movement of a symphony or quartet did so with the danced minuet as a vital point of reference. Two recent, exemplary attempts to account for dance in the reception history of minuet movements come from Haydn scholars. In *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony*, Melanie Lowe gives an account of Haydn's Symphony No. 88 from the perspective of a fictitious wealthy count in 1788 Vienna, in which 'the symphony's expected third movement minuet transports our count to the Redoutensaal', where he demonstrates his 'graceful and flawless execution of the minuet's intricate steps, tracing effortlessly the dance's pattern on the ballroom's beautiful floor' (Lowe 2007, 87). Danuta Mirka, in *Metric Manipulations in Haydn and Mozart*, asserts that 'patterns of steps and gestures guided expectations of eighteenth-century listeners not only in danced but also in heard minuets', and explores rhythmic events including pauses and syncopations against such expectations (Mirka 2009, 297). Both writers recognise that the people experiencing the minuet—whether in the dance hall or the concert hall—did so with bodies that were inscribed with the steps of this dance.

Yet huge gaps persist in our understanding of the danced minuet in eighteenth-century Vienna. Confusion reigns even over the question of who danced it. David Wyn Jones, for instance, asserts that 'by the middle of the [eighteenth] century, it was the most common social dance in Austria, at all levels of society' (Wyn Jones and Otto 2002, 234). Lowe, on the other hand, considers the minuet to be still the property of the nobility in late-eighteenth-century Vienna—to the exclusion of everyone else. She claims that the minuet's 'courtly status and association with nobility was affirmed at every public ball by

the effective exclusion of all but those dancers. . . . Only after the minuets were danced would the ballroom become crowded with middle-class dancers' (Lowe 2007, 109). Essentially, despite musicologists' apparent readiness to acknowledge the dance culture in which the minuet held prime position, much remains to be learnt about the cultural practices that shaped it.

In this chapter, I explore the dance hall as an institution in late-eighteenth-century Viennese social life. I show how the changing legislation of public dance events in Vienna opened up the most prestigious venues to much of the city's population, who had previously been shut out, and I examine the role played by the dance hall in the Habsburg rulers' bold programme of reform, enacted over 1765-1790. Drawing on various descriptions and archival records, I try to establish precisely who did attend the Redoute, and measure the success of imperial legislative attempts towards social integration. Next, I examine the activities undertaken at the Redoute, with a particular focus on the minuet. Contrary to some recent scholarship, I demonstrate that contemporaneous accounts and dancing treatises clearly show that the bourgeoisie learnt and publicly performed the minuet at these events. I detail and analyse the significant changes made to the minuet to enable its performance at the Redoute, as its function shifted from courtly representation to public entertainment.

The fundamental assertion of this chapter is that the dance hall constituted a vital—and hitherto underestimated—part of Viennese social life. I bolster the historical observations by recourse to Jürgen Habermas's notion of the 'public sphere', first popularised in the Anglo-American academy during the late 1980s, and since developed by a slew of later scholars (see Blanning 1994, 163-166; Krueger 2009, 5-12). I argue

that the policies and activities typically enacted in these dance spaces played an integral role in the development of the late-eighteenth-century Viennese public sphere. My approach closely complements Habermas's theory: as I show, the very three criteria that define Habermas's discursive sites—disregard of status, domain of 'common concern' and principle of inclusivity—are readily manifested by the dance hall and by the minuet. In fact, perhaps Habermas's criteria are more strongly embodied by the dance hall and minuet than by the spaces and activities on which he himself focuses.

Finally, I attempt to reconstruct a Redoute that was held in the Hofburg Redoutensäle on 25th November 1792, for which Joseph Haydn wrote the music. This reconstruction is based heavily on materials preserved in Gesellschaft bildender Künstler's archive in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv. I reconstruct the Redoute from the perspective of a hypothetical attendee—to tell the story of that night as someone present there and then might have experienced it. This account constitutes an attempt to put myself *in the shoes* of an eighteenth-century dancer, in preparation for the chapters that follow.

Legislating the Redoute

For an eighteenth-century ruler seeking to create possibilities for cross-class social integration, the dance hall could present a rare chance to mix people from an array of backgrounds. As Carl Gottlob Küttner wrote in 1799, the popular Carnival masquerade balls in the Hofburg Redoutensäle afforded 'an opportunity, where the lord and the servant, the poor and the rich, the nobility and the bourgeoisie are in the same room,

[and] can partake in one and the same pleasure' (Küttner 1804, 258).[6] Indeed, in the very same paragraph Küttner recognises these prospects for social mixing that the Redoutensäle now afforded to be a direct product of the reforms of Joseph II, 'who was a great democrat, and who went to much trouble to bring the different levels of bourgeois society closer together' (Küttner 1804, 258-9).[7] As Monika Fink has much more recently put it, 'The *Tanzordnungen* of the *Redouten* were thus the mirror image of the permeability of social barriers as well as of the enlightened governing authorities, with their endeavours for the balancing of social differences' (Fink 1996, 140).[8] Imperial decrees pertaining to dance events issued towards the end of the eighteenth century seem specifically intended to dismantle the exclusivity of the dance hall.

From the mid-1760s on, true to the Enlightenment principle of social equality, the Habsburg rulers strove to enact measures that would create the mechanisms necessary for social mobility. From a pragmatic perspective, Joseph II could see the state—his primary concern—deriving little benefit from a system whereby a privileged few possessed such a sizeable proportion of the land's resources. As early as 1763, he stated his aim 'to humble and impoverish the grandees' (Blanning 1994, 101). Over the period 1765-90, Maria Theresa and then (more vigorously) Joseph II implemented reforms to educate the entire population, to limit the sway of the Church, to abolish serfdom, and to relax laws governing censorship and the press (Blanning 1994, 56-91; Ingrao 2000, 159-172, 178-192, 197-211; Okey 2001, 33-67). Now, with the means to obtain an adequate education

[6] '. . . eine Gelegenheit, wo der Herr und der Knecht, der Arme und der Reiche, der Adelige und der Bürgerliche im nähmlichen Zimmer sich befinden, an einer und derselben Freude Theil nehmen können.'
[7] 'der ein großer Demokrat war, und sich viele Mühe gab, die verschiedenen Stände der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft einander näher zu bringen'
[8] 'Die Tanzordnungen der Redouten wurden somit zum Spiegelbild der Durchlässigkeit sozialer Barrieren sowie der aufgeklärt regierenden Obrigkeit, mit ihrem Bestreben nach Ausgleich sozialer Unterschiede.'

and to earn a living for oneself made more attainable, social advancement was more of a possibility. Indeed, as Vienna asserted itself ever more as a European centre of trade, the bourgeois class burgeoned, exerting a new presence in the city.

Although the Redoutensäle had for a short time following their 1748 inauguration initially been open to a paying public during the Carnival season, complaints from the nobility soon led Maria Theresa to restrict access to nobility, councillors and the military in 1752—a policy that stayed in place for some twenty years (Heartz 1995, 66). 1772, however that radically changed the situation. The third clause of the *Ballordnung* states:

> [A]ny person, regardless of class, is to be admitted to these balls in the Redoutensaal, if they are masked, or perhaps in their own clothes but provided with a mask, except only for servants in livery and maidservants in caps, at a price of 2 *Gulden* for each ticket.[9] (1772)

Contemporaneous descriptions attest to the social parity maintained at such events, and the mixing of classes that this would sometimes afford. Christian Löper describes the scene at the Redoutensäle:

> During Carnival there is a Redoute in two adjoining large and magnificently illuminated rooms in the imperial palace. Usually it is only permitted to appear here with a mask. Here there is no distinction between people. Anyone from the first to the lowest class has the same right, and is seen to this equality by the overseeing authority.[10] (Löper 1780, 72-73)

The authorities made a sustained effort to enact their policies designed to erase social distinction in the dance hall. Such is the significance of this new state of affairs that Löper mentions this at the very beginning of his account of the Redoute.

Both sources mention the requirement that masks be worn. Indeed, the Hofburg Redoutensäle had previously been a noted venue for 'Bauernhochzeit' balls, which used

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[9] 'Drittens: werden zwar zu diesen Bällen in dem Redoutensaal: jede Person ohne Unterschied des Standes, wenn sie maskiret, oder auch in eigenen Kleidern, doch mit einer Larve versehen sind, die einzigen Bedienten in der Livree, und Dienstmägde in der Schlepphauben ausgenommen, gegen Erlag 2 Gulden für jedes Entrittbillet zugelassen.'

[10] 'Im Fasching ist auf zweien aneinanderstossenden grossen und herrlich erleuchteten Sälen in der k. k. Burg Redoute. Gewöhnlich ist es nur hier allein mit Maske zu erscheinen erlaubt. Die Musik ist vortreflich. Hier ist kein Unterschied der Personen. Jedermann von der ersten so wie von der geringsten Klasse hat gleiches Recht, und wird auf diese Gleichheit durch eigends dazu bestellte verkleidete Aufseher gesehen.'

costume specifically to invert social structure. At these popular ‘peasant weddings’, which featured frequently in courtly celebrations from the sixteenth century on, the nobility would dress as peasants, and perform rustic dances. As late as 1789, Andreas Dominik Zaupser described such a scene in Munich: ‘The Elector and his wife were dressed as a landlord and landlady, the cavaliers and ladies as peasants’ (Salmen 1988, 178).[11] As James Johnson has noted in his study of masks at the Venetian Ridotto (and in the city at large), with the practice of masking ‘all hope of distinguishing social position at a glance was gone’, even if other clues as to one’s status remained, such as the quality of one’s clothing, the sound of one’s voice, or the nature of one’s gait (Johnson 2011, 150). While there may be several reasons behind the Viennese stipulation that masks be worn, further dilution of social status seems an inevitable outcome. Indeed, Küttner sees the mask as something of an enabling agent: it allows ‘the lesser’ (der Geringere) to stand before a social superior, buoyed by the implication, ‘My Lord, I am not Master A or B, your shoemaker, or your cobbler; also not C or D your servant or your coachman; but I am a mask; otherwise I would by no means appear in your company’ (Küttner 1804, 259).[12] As Küttner sees it, the anonymity provided by the mask fully serves to dissolve class distinction.

[11] ‘Der Churfürst und seine Gamahlin waren als Wirth und Wirtinn, die Kavaliere und Damen als Bauern und Bäuerinnen gekleidet.’

[12] ‘„Herr, ich bin nicht Meister A. oder B. Ihr Schuhmacher, oder Ihr Schneider; auch nicht C. oder D. Ihr Bedienter oder Ihr Kutscher; sondern ich bin eine Maske; sonst dürfte ich ja nicht in Ihrer Gesellschaft erscheinen[“]’.

Social mixing at the Redoute—in practice

The changing legislation of the Hofburg Redoutensäle rendered the space far more open to the bourgeoisie than it had previously been. However, it remains open to question how much cross-class social mixing actually occurred in practice, even if in theory this was now far more feasible. Various recent writers, such as Gerhard Tanzer, Heikki Lempa and Joonas Korhonen, have argued that, while the imperial reforms should in theory have led towards greater social integration, in practice they simply drove the nobility on to pastures new (Tanzer 1992, 230-2; Lempa 2007, 137; Korhonen 2013). Korhonen paints a 'cat and mouse' picture, with the lower classes chasing their social superiors around the dance halls of Vienna:

> [W]hen the lower classes found their way to the ballrooms of the elite in the late eighteenth century, the latter no longer went dancing there, and correspondingly, when the bourgeois dance halls matched those of the nobility in the early nineteenth century, the nobility began to favour private dancing parties. (Korhonen 2013, 624)

Drawing extensively on contemporaneous eyewitness accounts, Korhonen asserts that the changing legislation meant that 'social distinctions, rather than disappearing, were reinforced' (Korhonen 2013, 606). His work reminds us that the imperial reforms should be read with caution: although they strove to level the social playing field, whether they actually proved effective in this respect remains open to question.

Korhonen cites various accounts from around the turn of the century that describe the nobility disengaging themselves from the dancing at the Redoute. Friedrich Schulz, for instance, tells of the upper classes at the Redoutensäle 'merely looking on' while the lower classes danced (Schulz 1795, 218; cited in Korhonen 2013, 615).[13] Korhonen also cites an anonymous traveller, who claimed that the nobility danced only rarely, and the

[13] 'bloß zusehen'.

court never (Kelchner 1804, 119; cited in Korhonen 2013, 615).[14] If the upper classes felt disinclined to participate in these events, it would not be long before they simply stopped attending altogether. This was not the case only at the Redoutensäle: a similar situation seems to have arisen at the Mehlgrube. For the first half of the eighteenth century, this institution was undoubtedly the city's most prestigious dance venue: one even had to provide proof of genealogy for admittance to some of its events. Gradually, though, the Mehlgrube had opened its doors to a wider public—first to the lower aristocracy in the 1750s, and then to the bourgeoisie in 1765 (Lempa 2007, 137). Korhonen claims that this widening of access at the Mehlgrube displaced the uppermost classes, who did not wish to associate with the lower classes (Korhonen 2013, 616). He quotes the 1775 complaint from Prince Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch that the presence of the 'letztere Classe' has made the Mehlgrube now 'too vile a place for the court', a locale so reduced that it can now 'only pass for a tavern' (Khevenhüller-Metsch 1775 [1907], 60).[15] He also mentions Joachim Perinet's lament that the 'Mehlgrube used to be one of the best halls in Vienna, but unfortunately it is no longer a pleasant place' (Perinet 1788, 37; quoted in Korhonen 2013, 616).[16] Far from embracing the greater potential for social mixing that the dance halls now afforded, the nobility reacted to the presence of the lower classes with abhorrence.

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[14] The traveller may have been Ernst Kelchner. Specifically, the writer states that the nobility danced only rarely, in the special case of the quadrille, and the court never 'Selten tanzt der Adel, es müsten denn verabredete Quadrillen seyn; der Hof nie'.

[15] '. . . die Meelgrueben, wo dermahlen nur die leztere Classe der Leuthen im Fasching zusammen zu kommen pfleget und die also immer nur für ein Wirtshauß passiren kann, ein zu niederträchtiger Aufenthalt für den Hof . . .'

[16] Although Perinet states 'Der Biersack zu Währing und die Mehlgrube auf dem neuen Markte waren zwei der angenehmsten Erlustigungsörter, nur Schade, daß der erste zum Kaufmannsdiener-Depositorium und Verlage einiger wahren Biersäke, und der lezte, ob der überhäuften Menge von Haarkrausern und Mehlwürmern zur wirklichen Mehlgrube geworden ist', I cannot find the text that Korhonen offers as a direct quotation.

Korhonen's picture is very clean: he portrays the bourgeoisie driving the nobility on through a succession of venues, as each opened its doors to the lower social classes. But perhaps the situation is not quite as clear-cut as his reading of the evidence suggests. After all, the very fact that members of the upper classes repeatedly describe scenes at these dance halls in detail implies that they themselves must have maintained something of a presence there. Kelchner's claim that the nobility stand on the sidelines and only actually dance infrequently at Redoutensäle events clearly speaks to their *attendance* at the Redoute at the start of the nineteenth century. Moreover Korhonen omits to mention that Khevenhüller-Metsch's complaint about the Mehlgrube is actually part of a description of a Carnival ball at which both Maria Theresa and Joseph II were present. The evidence on which Korhonen bases his argument, then, can be read in different ways. It surely expresses the mounting objections from the upper class to the growing presence of the bourgeoisie in institutions that had previously had a more exclusive remit, but whether it necessarily speaks to the exodus that Korhonen posits remains somewhat open to question.

Other evidence serves to complicate the picture even further. Records of the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler preserved in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv include ticket lists from the Gesellschaft's charity balls, held annually from 1792. These contain the names of many prominent members of the nobility. The ticket list from 1792, for example, includes Habsburg Archduchesses Marie Anna and Marie Clementina, as well as Princess Maria Anna Esterhazy. The Empress is listed as purchasing twelve tickets.[17] Of course, while the fact that an individual purchased tickets for an event does not

[17] Folder classification: A1/5 – Pensionsgesellschaft des Vereines bildender Künstler in Wien – Aufzeichnungen über die Ausgegebenen Redoute Billets 1792-1827.

necessarily mean that they actually attended, it seems likely that at least some of these people were present. Maria Anna Esterhazy, for instance, is listed twice, once at the top and again at the bottom of the list, suggesting that she may have purchased further tickets for an expanded party. Moreover, the account of the event given in the Gesellschaft's *Ereignisprotokoll* specifically notes that the Emperor was kept away by illness ('Seine Majestät waren unbässlich)—in other words, the expectation was that he would attend, which he did in future years.[18]

A venue's ticket prices would also constitute a significant factor in determining its inclusivity or exclusivity. Regardless of their legal eligibility, a soldier earning forty-two *Gulden* a year, or a tutor earning fifty, for instance, would presumably be unlikely to spend two *Gulden* on a single evening's entertainment at the Redoutensäle, a price that the venue maintained consistently. Rather, these ticket prices seem more conducive to attracting doctors or accountants, or other members of the upper-bourgeoisie: with annual salaries of several hundred *Gulden*, these members of society would have had a portion of expendable income for entertainment purposes.[19] By contrast, as the Mehlgrube found itself angling for a clientele with a smaller disposable income, its ticket prices were reduced correspondingly. An adult's ticket during Carnival cost one *Gulden*, forty *Kreuzer* in 1775; by 1792 tickets were being sold for a mere twenty *Kreuzer* (Tanzer 1992, 232). Again, though, this information must be treated with care. Although it is unlikely, it is not inconceivable that someone might spend a sizeable portion of one's annual income on a ticket for a single event. Moreover, there may have been other means to obtain admission. Küttner tells us of 'those counted off who have free tickets (and their

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[18] Classification: B2 – Pensionsgesellschaft des Vereines bildender Künstler in Wien – Protokolle.
[19] See Morrow 1989, 112 for details of annual professional salaries.

number is considerable) constitute the largest part of the remainder of people from the middle classes' (Küttner 1804, 260).[20]

Küttner presents us with his own measured assessment of the situation at the Redoutensäle in 1799:

> The outsider to Vienna is very much mistaken if one believes that the Redoute is an assembly of the high nobility, of the court, of the rich and the great. Of course, one finds people from all these classes; [but] alone they constitute the smallest number. Many of the great find the society too mixed for them to visit it [the Redoute] often. (Küttner 1804, 260-1)[21]

Taken all together, the various sources—imperial edicts, contemporaneous accounts and ticket records—seem to support Küttner's report, overall. All the commentators agree that by the final decades of the eighteenth century the bourgeoisie maintained an established presence in Vienna's main dance halls. The legislation enabling this had been in force for some time by this point, and earnings were such that professionals could now avail themselves of this pleasure. Just as they attended the public concerts, they attended the public balls. Although members of the upper classes clearly voiced their objection to the bourgeoisie's growing presence, this does not necessarily imply that they withdrew completely. Too many sources speak to the nobility's continuing attendance for us to accept that they simply left the very spaces and activities in which they had previously invested so much. Rather, it seems that the city's main dance halls—the Hofburg Redoutensäle and the Mehlgrube—were populated by a broader cross section of society than had ever been the case before.

[20] 'Diejenigen weggerechnet, die Freybillets haben, (und ihre Zahl ist beträchtlich) besteht der größte Theil der übrigen aus Menschen der mittlern Stände . . .'

[21] 'Man irret sich also, außerhalb Wien, gar sehr, wenn man glaubt, daß die Redoute eine Versammlung des hohen Adels, des Hofes, der Reichen und Großen sey. Freylich findet man Personen aus allen diesen Classen; allein sie machen bey weitem die geringste Zahl aus. Viele der Großen finden die Gesellschaft schon zu gemischt, als daß sie dieselbe oft besuchen sollten.'

Dance music at the Redoute

While the social makeup of the dance halls may have shifted significantly over the latter half of the eighteenth century, the activities undertaken in these spaces remained largely unchanged. Fink describes the practices of a Redoute in German-speaking lands as remaining 'ever constant', in her comprehensive investigation of eighteenth-century dance hall practices (Fink 1996, 137).[22] This situation is particularly true of the dances themselves: although slight variants may have crept into the steps, and although new music was certainly composed, the actual dance types performed remained fundamentally the same. Fink has shown that the pattern typically followed was for a complete set of minuets to be danced, followed by a complete set of other dances—most frequently *Deutsche Tänze*. (A set of dances usually consists of twelve individual pieces.) Fink bases her argument primarily on *Ballordnungen* containing precise stipulations as to what music is played and when. One from Linz in 1772, for instance, stipulates that the music-master must provide a half hour of minuets, then English dances for three-quarters of an hour, then a further three-quarters of an hour of *Deutsche Tänze*; then, after a half-hour break he is to begin the cycle again. A similar *Ordnung*, from Augsburg in 1804 explains that 'after the minuets the *Deutsche Tänze* follow', likewise suggesting, through its use of the plural form, that a full set of *Deutsche Tänze* would have been played after a set of minuets had finished (Fink 1996, 137-8).

Further evidence supports this broad picture. Many sets of instrumental parts used at these events still exist, for example (collected and maintained, most often, by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek). Typically, these constitute sets of twelve minuets and twelve *Deutsche Tänze*, with each set contained in a separate book. Again, this

[22] 'ein stets gleichbleibender Ablauf'.

means of division would have been most conducive to a performance of the twelve minuets followed by the twelve *Deutsche Tänze*, with this cycle repeated multiple times over the course of the evening. Contemporaneous descriptions of Redouten likewise suggest that a combination of minuets and *Deutsche Tänze* were played and danced. Of the Mehlgrube Franz Gräffer reminisced that there was 'music the whole night; minuet and *Langaus*' (Gräffer 1845, 40).[23]

The most enduring feature of the Redoute was the minuet, which retained its status as the preeminent social dance even into the nineteenth century, and which remained, consistently, the opening dance. As Gerhard Vieth explained in 1795, 'Because of its convenience and simplicity [the minuet] has become the general dance of the finer societies; balls are opened with it, and it has been held in such prestige now for a considerable period' (Vieth 1795, 427).[24] Where there was a Redoute, there was the minuet. In 1808, at the vaunted opening of the Apollosaal, the first dances to be performed were still minuets, especially composed for the occasion by Johann Nepomuk Hummel.

Dancing the minuet

As we saw earlier, recent scholarship betrays some confusion over just *who* danced the minuet at the Redoute, and how it was performed. Yet, while other writers have simply avoided the topic, Melanie Lowe has addressed it head-on. In *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony*, Lowe devises three 'listening subjects'—three fictional but

[23] 'Musik die ganze Nacht; Menuett und Langaus'.
[24] 'Ihrer Annehmlichkeit und Einfachheit wegen ist sie der allgemeine Tanz feiner Gesellschaften geworden; mit ihr pflegen gewöhnlich Bälle und Redouten eröffnet zu werden, und in diesem Ansehen hat sie sich nun einen grossen Zeitraum hindurch erhalten.'

historically-plausible characters—to listen to Haydn's *Symphony No. 88* (Lowe 2007, 80-97). She gives an account of the entire symphony as each character might have narrated it, drawing on significant past experiences to construct meaning out of the sounds they heard. Adopting the perspectives of a wealthy count in 1788 Vienna, of a *nouvelle riche* in 1794 Paris and of a merchant-banker in 1791 London, Lowe suggests how her listening subjects' past engagement with the minuet would inform their reactions to the third movement of Haydn's symphony. Later, she invokes her 'minuet filter', a notion that she advanced in an earlier article, according to which 'when 18th-century listeners expected or perceived a minuet, they heard that music, regardless of its actual expressive content, within the frame of reference of the dance' (Lowe 2002, 178). The characters each bring expectations to the third movement—expectations generated respectively by the Redoutensaal, the pre-Revolution French ballroom and London's public dance halls—and filters what they hear through these, such that the expectations form an integral part of the characters' reactions to the music.

Listening to the third movement, the Viennese count immediately finds himself back in the Redoutensaal, 'where he asserts his aristocratic rank by demonstrating to the mostly bourgeois dancers in attendance his graceful and flawless execution of the minuet's intricate steps' (Lowe 2007, 87).[25] Lowe considers the minuet still, in late-eighteenth-century Vienna, to be the property of the nobility, who continued to dance it at the public Redoute, to the exclusion of everyone else:

> [S]ince most bourgeois dancers would have lacked the training required to execute the minuet's intricate steps, the dance's courtly status and association with nobility was affirmed at every public ball by the effective exclusion of all but those dancers who had access to formal dance instruction—that is, the noble or wealthy. Moreover, as the minuet was a couple dance (danced

[25] The count's narrative of the minuet movement is somewhat shorter—less than half the length—than his accounts of the other movements. It is also worth noting that none of the listening subjects seems to draw any meaning from the return of the minuet, *da capo*, after the trio.

> "solo," so to speak, by only one couple at a time), many balls began with the middling orders watching the aristocratic dancers display their training—and therefore also their privileged position in the social order. Only after the minuets were danced would the ballroom floor become crowded with middle-class dancers enjoying the "middle-class" *Deutsche Tänze* and contredanses, dances with rustic and common associations that were danced by all couples at once or as a group, respectively. (Lowe 2007, 109)

While the paragraphs immediately preceding and following this one are noticeably rich with references to primary sources, this particular portion of text contains none.[26] More tellingly, perhaps, Lowe repeatedly drifts into the conditional perfect tense—'most bourgeois dancers would have lacked the training', and 'only after the minuets were danced would the ballroom floor have become crowded', for instance. This momentary blip in a text that is otherwise thoroughly researched is evidence of the paucity of material on this subject: Lowe is forced to conjecture how the minuet might have been enacted at the Redoute, in the absence of any definitive English-language study on this subject.

However, the picture Lowe paints does not square with contemporaneous accounts of the Redoute or with accounts of the minuet. As I shall argue, sources show that a considerable portion of the bourgeoisie embraced the minuet. The minuet still formed the staple dance in dance halls that were now primarily populated by this class, and instruction in the minuet was available from many dancing masters in the city at an affordable price. Contrary to Lowe's portrayal, in which the minuet as enacted in the court earlier in the century (and in the seventeenth century) is simply transplanted into the Viennese dance halls largely unaltered, its new venue in fact entailed significant modifications to the dance, such that it might now be danced by a large assembly. The 'received' view of the Viennese minuet at the end of the eighteenth century needs wholesale adjustment: a re-examination is necessary.

[26] As Lowe acknowledges, a number of her sources are accessed by way of Allanbrook 1983.

The changing social makeup of Vienna's preeminent dance venues did not necessitate any major changes in the practices to which they played host. Indeed, the invitation to enact such 'noble' activities in these halls was surely part of the allure they held for upwardly-aspiring members of the bourgeoisie. Dance treatises frequently reference multiple people dancing the minuet simultaneously at the Redoute—it was not the case that just one couple danced while the other attendees looked on. Several German-language treatises describe group dances for the minuet (Feldtenstein 1772; Link 1796; Mädel 1805). Yet whether the 'Menuet en six' or the 'Menuet en huit' would have been danced at the public Redoute remains open to question. These dances could be somewhat complex, and sometimes entailed collaboration between several people. What seems far more likely is that multiple couples danced the minuet simultaneously—but remaining within their couples. In fact, E. Chr. Mädel, in his treatise, *Die Tanzkunst für die elegante Welt*, strongly suggests this to have been the case (Mädel 1805). In his chapter on the minuet, he warns dancers to take particular care to cover only the requisite space when executing the minuet (with its characteristic 'Z' shape); otherwise the dancer 'runs the risk of pushing or being pushed by his neighbours . . . through which often one can incur the greatest annoyances' (Mädel 1805, 33-34). Likewise, Gerhard Vieth cautions in 1795, 'When many pairs are dancing simultaneously, each starting and stopping arbitrarily, then one must mostly keep to short distances' (Vieth 1795, 432).

The treatises simply do not support Lowe's speculation that the minuet was danced only by the nobility, while the assembled bourgeoisie (which probably vastly outnumbered the nobility) watched. In fact, what contemporaneous evidence there is seems to point to the opposite scenario, taken at face value. Friedrich Schulz, for

instance, tells of the precise opposite, with the upper classes at the Redoutensäle 'merely looking on' while the lower classes danced (Schulz 1795, 218).[27] Ernst Kelchner states that the nobility itself danced only rarely, in the special case of the quadrille, and the court never (Kelchner 1804, 119).[28] The minuet would surely not have enjoyed such frequency of performance and longevity, had there been no one to dance it. Nor would it have been merely a formality, given that so many were danced on a given evening—normally, half a ball's music would consist of minuets. It seems wholly reasonable to infer that members of the bourgeoisie would have danced the minuet.

The bourgeoisie had ready access to affordable instruction in the minuet. In the final decades of the century, Vienna saw an influx of dancing masters, coming to the city to satisfy a growing public demand for their services. A 1798 *Kommerzialschema* lists the addresses of eleven such professionals,[29] many of whom set up dance schools to cater for the bourgeoisie, and lower classes, prompting the satirist Joseph Richter's remark that dancing masters 'give instruction to the kitchen workers in the morning and to the noble ladies in the afternoon' (quoted in Tanzer 1992, 233).[30] Ignaz de Luca writes that 'the lowest people of both sexes take instruction in dance. One has separate schools, in which maidservants practice dance exquisitely' (Luca 1794, 383).[31] Clearly, the minuet was taught at these schools. Reingard Witzmann, in his study of the *Ländler*, recognises, 'even at the turn of the century the minuet was taught alongside the German dance in the

[27] 'bloß zusehen'.
[28] 'Selten tanzt der Adel, es müsten denn verabredete Quadrillen seyn; der Hof nie.'
[29] See http://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbrobv/content/pageview/415645 (accessed November 30, 2014).
[30] 'in der Früh den Kuchelmenschern und am Nachmittag der gnädigen Frau Unterricht'. Today, 'gnädigen' is generally used in Austria in a somewhat ironic sense. I thank Stephanie Probst for her help in translating this phrase.
[31] 'die gemeinsten Personen beyderley Geschlechts nehmen Unterricht im Tanzen. Man hat eigene Tanzschulen, in welchen vorzüglich die Dienstmädchen im Tanzen sich üben.'

dance schools, that were attended by all classes' (Witzmann 1976, 81).[32] He cites an anonymous writer from 1802, who mentioned maidservants running to the dancing master on Fridays and Sundays, and coming back with 'heartrending minuets and German dances in their ears' (Witzmann 1976, 81).[33] Music sellers advertise in the *Wiener Zeitung* arrangements of minuets for one violin, precisely for such use in the dance schools.[34] In short, the mechanisms were fully in place in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century for members of bourgeois society to acquire the newly commodified minuet.

The changing minuet

This particular facet of the minuet's history—that across such a vast swath of western Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century it formed the staple social dance of the Redoute—is noticeably absent from most accounts of the dance type's development. In *The International Encyclopedia of Dance*, for instance, the minuet's sole mention in the article on 'Social Dance' is made in reference to the eighteenth-century American practice of dancing a circular, 'democratic' minuet (Brainard, Schneider et al. 1998), and the 'Minuet' article itself makes no mention of the dance's role at the Redoute (Hilton 2005). It may be that this particular development is generally seen as a mere blip in the dance type's long, rich history; perhaps, even, there is a sense that the minuet itself is not quite at home in this setting—that turning it into a group dance stretched it beyond what it was really made for. Other Redoute dance types, such as the waltz, functioned as group

[32] 'Auch um die Jahrhundertwende wird das Menuett neben dem Deutschen in den Tanzschulen gelehrt, die von allen Ständen besucht werden.'
[33] 'herzzerbrechende Menuette und Deutsche in den Ohren'.
[34] '12 Menuetti und 12 Deutsche, Langaus, für 1 Violin, sehr brauchbar für Tanzmeister' (Advertisement, *Wiener Zeitung*, February 2, 1793, 303).

dances from the outset, while the minuet had to be adapted for this purpose. Yet it is for precisely these reasons that I want to focus on the minuet: the fact that it underwent such notable changes, while retaining enough of its original form to remain fully recognisable as a minuet, makes for some ideal points of comparison. Having explored the extent to which the dance hall played a significant role in Josephinist reforms, I now argue that the minuet as danced in these halls betrays considerable evidence of these social changes.

Pierre Rameau explains how the minuet had traditionally been performed, in the earliest extant description of a *bal réglé*: the first minuet would be danced by the highest ranking couple at the ball; following this, the 'king' would retire to his seat at the head of the hall as its *présence*, and the 'queen' would dance the next minuet with the gentleman of her choice; next, the 'queen' would retire, after designating the next lady to dance with the same gentleman who had just danced. This couple would then dance; the gentleman would then retire, and the process would continue, through a descending hierarchical chain, such that each dancer (except the 'king') performed two consecutive minuets, while the rest of the company looked on (Rameau 1725, 55-59; cited in Russell and Bourassa 2007, 2-3). In its earlier incarnation, then, the minuet was different in two vital ways: it was an enactment of social hierarchy, and visual display was at its heart—it was a dance to be *performed* to a *watching* company, and one wanted to be seen to perform it well.

The most fundamental change made to the minuet as it was danced at the Redoute was that it was now a whole assembly of people danced it, instead of just one couple at a time. C. J. von Feldenstein's 1772 *Erweiterung der Kunst* gives instructions on how to carry this out. Feldtenstein suggests that when many people dance the minuet this should

be done in rows or in circles, and warns that any attempts to outline the more complex shapes that a couple might perform are likely to result in cross-path collisions (Feldtenstein 1772, 80-81). In stark contrast with Rameau's detailed explanation, any mention of social hierarchy is absent from Feldtenstein's account. Moreover, the whole orientation of the dance has changed. In Rameau's treatise, an illustration of the *révérences* performed at the start and end of the minuet as danced in the court of Louis XIV clearly shows the directional orientation of the dance (see Fig. 1.1): while the assembled company watches attentively, seated in an oval formation around the hall, the dance itself is performed primarily to the *présence*—in this case, the king—seated at the head of the room. Indeed, in his 1724 treatise, *The Art of Dancing*, Kellom Tomlinson warns the gentleman dancing the minuet to keep sight of the head of the room, precisely to avoid bowing with his back to the *présence* (cited in Hilton 2005). Feldtenstein, on the other hand, rather than being concerned with the dancers' orientation towards a social superior, worries only about their orientation with regard to each other: for the group minuet he recommends sideways steps over forward steps because that way one avoids turning the back of one's head to someone's face. In 1795, Vieth instructs his dancers to perform the bows that still began and ended the minuet to the assembled 'society' (Gesellschaft) and to their partner; although the gesture of subservience remains, it no longer carries its previous significance (Vieth 1795, 431).

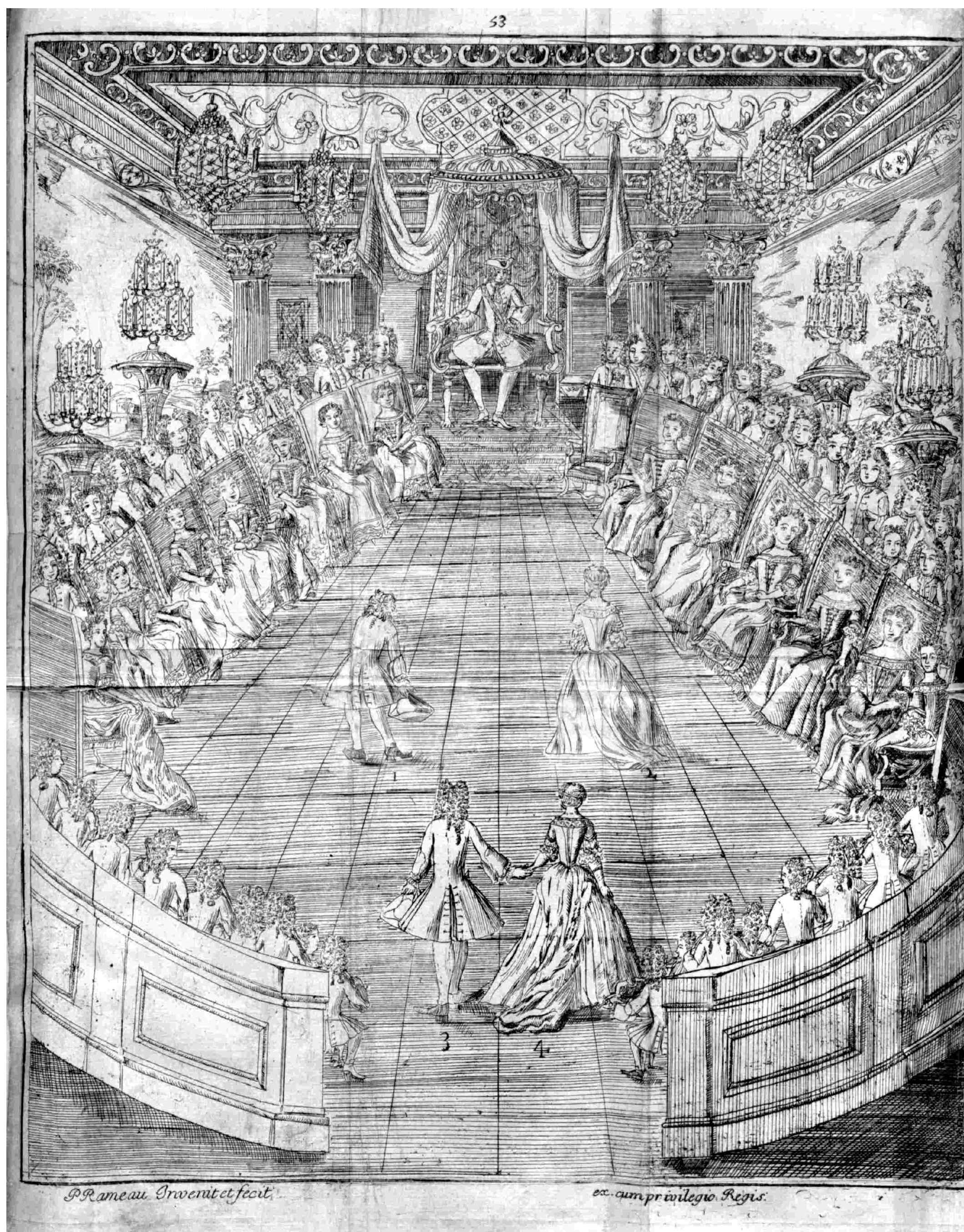

Figure 1.1: Pierre Rameau's illustration of the minuet *révérences*, in *Le maître à danser* (Paris, 1725).

As a court dance, the minuet already stood somewhat apart from the other dance types in that, whereas the other types typically consisted of a combination of several different steps, the minuet consisted primarily of one particular step, repeated over and over in different directions. Indeed, this feature surely aided the minuet's longevity and

enduring popularity: although the level of poise and grace needed for a polished execution of its step was notoriously difficult to accomplish, the fact that learning the minuet typically entailed learning just one step instead of several surely facilitated the process of dissemination. In the 1792 *Wiener Zeitung* advertisement that Beethoven read, Lindner boasts that for the *Deutsche Tanz* he has ‘invented such easy steps that everyone can learn this art in a short time’.[35] While inventing new steps would never be an option for the minuet, a large portion of whose allure lay precisely in its history, considerable importance was now attached to its accessibility. In the same advertisement, Lindner claims that he has ‘applied all diligence and effort to make the instruction in this art [of dancing] as graspable as possible’.[36] Corresponding to this constant striving for accessibility seems to come a certain loosening of rigour in the dance treatises, with regard to the deployment of the dance step: Vieth, for instance, explains that the dancer does have some flexibility in how he or she lines the step up with the pulse in the music (Vieth 1795, 429). A similar situation seems to have given rise to a situation in which, according to Ignaz de Luca, in Vienna in 1794 only ‘among people of distinction is the minuet very pure, danced with the most precise observation of the beat’ (Luca 1794, 384).[37] In short, as the bourgeoisie takes on the minuet, accessibility of its dance step becomes a priority. Dancing masters stress that mastery of the minuet is feasible, while treatises and accounts attest to a degree of increased flexibility. Indeed, we saw earlier in the advertisement that Beethoven copied out Lindner’s stressing that with his dance steps

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[35] ‘so leichte Schritte erfunden, daß jedermann diese Kunst in kurzer Zeit erlernen kann’ (Advertisement, *Wiener Zeitung*, November 3, 1792, 2985).
[36] ‘habe ich allen Fleiß, und Mühe angewendet, den Unterricht in dieser Kunst so faßlich als möglich zu machen’ (ibid.).
[37] ‘Unter den Personen von Unterscheidung wird Menuet sehr rein, mit genauester Beobachtung des Takts getanzt.’

‘*everyone* can learn this art in a short time’. He goes on to claim that he has ‘applied all diligence and effort to make the instruction in this art [of dancing] as graspable as possible’.[38]

These changes to the anatomy of the minuet—to the number of participants, their physical orientation and the accessibility of the steps—both contribute to and result from fundamental changes in the minuet’s nature and function. The minuet’s shift away from a dance performed by a couple in front of a watching audience removes something of its association with *spectacle*; instead, as group participation in the dance becomes the norm, the minuet as *felt experience* becomes the chief mode of engagement. As the minuet becomes less about spectacle, it becomes less a vehicle for representation; indeed, its migration from the ceremonial court ball to the public Redoute removes it from the setting where it originally performed this role. Although an importance purpose of the minuet had always been to entertain, its role as a means of entertainment becomes absolutely primary, as the dance assumes its position at the Redoute.

The dance hall and the Habermasian public sphere

In short, the dance hall and the activities it contained constituted a significant part of life for a sizeable portion of the population in eighteenth-century Vienna: it played a vital role in the emergence of the public sphere at this time. This latter point can be argued thoroughly: although the dance hall has hardly featured in discussions of the public sphere, it fits into Habermas’s theory with remarkable snugness. Habermas’s concept of the public sphere, as broadly adopted today, entails the collective body of private

[38] ‘habe ich allen Fleiß, und Mühe angewendet, den Unterricht in dieser Kunst so fasslich als möglich zu machen’ (ibid.).

individuals that together comprise a public, as well as the institutions and physical spaces that enable this collaboration (see Negt and Kluge 1993, 1-2). Central to the concept of the public sphere is that it constitutes a discursive space—in which equals debate matters of common concern, in pursuance of a common good (see Hauser 1998, 86). Conceiving of Western Europe broadly, and dealing primarily with an earlier period, Habermas identifies as the physical spaces where this discourse took place the German *Tischgesellschaften*, French *salons* and English coffee houses (Habermas 1991, 34). Across these institutions he observes three criteria that they hold in common. With only minimal adjustment, these criteria also hold abundantly true of the dance halls—and in some cases the argument can be made even more strongly with the dance halls than with the sites Habermas identifies. Moreover, the dance hall being far less male-dominated than Habermas's sites, considering it allows us to answer some of the theory's later, feminist critiques, such as that of Nancy Fraser (Fraser 1992).

Late-eighteenth-century Vienna is somewhat beyond the purview of Habermas's theory; after all, the Enlightenment movement (and associated societal development) is generally recognised to have reached Austria somewhat after it swept England, France and Germany. Yet those writers who have since extrapolated the theory to incorporate Joseph II and the Habsburg realm have found its model readily workable.[39] T. C. W. Blanning ties the emergence of a Viennese public sphere to the development of a free press, catering for an educated audience that could read its offerings. He draws attention to the manner with which writers in this medium consciously address 'the public', in support of his assertion that 'the development of the periodical press . . . and the topical pamphlet helped to create a "public sphere" in which private citizens could apply their

[39] Coffee is an expense regularly recorded in Beethoven's memorandum book.

rational, critical faculties to the great issues of the day' (Blanning 1994, 164). As this quotation shows, Blanning's perspective on Joseph II's Vienna owes much to Habermas's broader theory; indeed, Habermas too sees the discourse that originated in the *Tischgesellschaften*, *salons* and coffee houses ultimately becoming the material of the press, 'the public sphere's preeminent institution' (Habermas 1991, 181).

However, to locate the emergent public sphere almost exclusively in institutions designed primarily to facilitate a discursive space seems to indicate an inherent bias: it demonstrates an inclination towards arenas where the *word* (spoken or written) forms the main currency.[40] Of course, such an approach is valid, especially since words and ideas have in the past often been where the academic meat is found; but these were not the only institutions in which private individuals came together to form a public. Rita Krueger, in a study whose scope spans the entire eighteenth-century Habsburg realm, explores how the establishment of the urban garden spaces created a new physical arena for the public sphere. In particular, she argues that Joseph II's reforms that permanently opened up to the public parks to which previously only the nobility had enjoyed access—the Prater in 1766, the Augarten in 1775, and the Schönbrunn palace gardens in 1779—'invited a new type of social mixing' (Krueger 2009, 152). Mentioning the regular public concerts that were held in the Augarten, Krueger goes on to claim that '[t]he Augarten was not a new venue just in terms of access to green space, but also as a site to promote sociability through public access to cultural events' (Krueger 2009, 153). Although she remains somewhat hazy about the exact nature of this 'sociability' or the actual processes by which it would be attained, other than the fact that persons from different social strata would inhabit the same space, she successfully broadens the field of reference.

[40] Gerard Hauser's 'rhetorical public sphere' offers a prime example of this approach (Hauser 1999).

I want to expand the inquiry further, by considering *dance spaces* as institutions of the eighteenth-century Viennese public sphere. In so doing, I employ an epistemological outlook that recognises meaning beyond that which relies on words for its expression. (Habermas's prose and ideas resist straightforward summarisation. In the interests of full representation, I quote from his original text at some length.) The first criterion Habermas identifies of the *Tischgesellschaften*, *salons* and coffee houses is as follows:

> *First*, they preserved a kind of social intercourse that, far from presupposing the equality of status, disregarded status altogether. The tendency replaced the celebration of rank with a tact befitting equals. The parity on whose basis alone the authority of the better argument could assert itself against that of social hierarchy and in the end carry the day meant, in the thought of the day, the parity of "common humanity". (Habermas 1991, 36)

As we already have seen, disregard of status was a fundamental aspect of Josephinist policy towards the dance hall. Recalling the 1772 imperial decree that 'any person, regardless of class, is to be admitted to these balls in the Redoutensaal', we see that even its wording comes close to Habermas's own (1772). Along the same lines, Löper's 1780 observation that at the Redoute 'there is no distinction between people' speaks to this state of affairs (Löper 1780, 72). Such parallels are easy to draw. Habermas's point here, though, is that the activity undertaken in these places ensures disregard of status: in an arena whose central activity is that of reason-based discourse, social status simply has no place or relevance.

Of course, Habermas's position is somewhat idealistic—an idealism that, as I shall show, he recognises. Sidestepping this issue for a moment, though, let us consider how the central activity of the late-eighteenth-century Viennese dance hall promotes precisely this disregard of status. The transformations undergone by the minuet aptly illustrate an increasing irrelevance of social status in arena, strikingly similar to that

discussed by Habermas. As we saw earlier, in the comparison of Rameau's and Feldtenstein's discussions of the minuet, a strong socio-hierarchical consciousness permeated both the minuet itself and the events at which it was performed, in its earlier form. Dancers were selected precisely in descending order of social status, and the performance of the dance was carefully directed towards the présence—the highest-ranking individual—at the head of the room. Socio-hierarchical connotations could hardly be more strongly attached to the minuet in its earlier instantiation. Yet, as we saw, these connotations have all but disappeared in Feldtenstein's much later account of the group minuet. The fact that the dance is now performed simultaneously by many, in a circle or a line, renders consideration of status of no consequence.

Other integral aspects of the Redoute would have contributed directly to the establishment of a 'common humanity' in this arena. As discussed above, the practice of masking, when observed, would have obstructed any attempts at social classification, even if there remained other means of identifying an individual's status. More fully-fledged costumes would have further obscured any socio-hierarchical markers. The 'peasant wedding' balls are particularly interesting in this regard: the collective dressing up as peasants does not merely eradicate social distinction between the participants; it uses this eradication as a means of liberation. Assuming the identity of the very lowest class enabled members of the higher classes to drop the rigid social protocols by which they were customarily bound, and to enact more licentious modes of behaviour. Of the Venetian *Ridotto*, cafés and theatres, earlier in the century, Johnson writes that '[f]or the merchant or artisan who until now had dealt with the ruling elite only as a subordinate, these places offered interactions on the mask's unique terms, the fiction of similitude'

(Johnson 2011, 127). Whereas for Habermas's discursive sites it was the primacy of rational argument that created the conditions for a 'common humanity', in the Viennese dance halls it was the masks and their 'fiction of similitude' that played this role.

Habermas's second criterion centres on his notion of 'common concern':

> *Secondly*, discussion within such a public presupposed the problematization of areas that until then had not been questioned. The domain of "common concern" which was the object of public critical attention remained a preserve in which church and state authorities had the monopoly of interpretation not just from the pulpit but in philosophy, literature, and art, even at a time when, for specific social categories, the development of capitalism already demanded a behavior whose rational orientation required ever more information. To the degree, however, to which philosophical and literary works and works of art in general were produced for the market and distributed through it, these culture products became similar to that type of information: as commodities they became in principle generally accessible. They no longer remained components of the Church's and court's publicity of representation; that is precisely what was meant by the loss of their aura of extraordinariness and by the profaning of their once sacramental character. The private people for whom the cultural product became available as a commodity profaned it inasmuch as they had to determine its meaning on their own (by way of rational communication with one another), verbalize it, and thus state explicitly what precisely in its implicitness for so long could assert its authority. (Habermas 1991, 36-37)

Again, the process undergone by the minuet in eighteenth-century Vienna closely mirrors that which Habermas ascribes to discussion in his emergent public sphere. Just as philosophy, literature and art 'no longer remained components of the Church's and court's publicity of representation', so the minuet finds itself extricated from its court setting. We saw earlier the means by which the minuet in its first iteration fulfilled an entirely representative function, glorifying Louis XIV and allowing others to express their subordination (see also Leppert 1988, 88-91), and how with its later removal to the public Redoute and alterations to its steps and gestures it subsequently became separated from this function. Habermas's description transfers easily to the minuet: the minuet, too, became available as a commodity, in this instance advertised and sold by the dancing masters. It, too, was now 'in principle generally accessible': indeed this is precisely what the dancing masters sought to stress, in claims like Lindner's that he had rendered the dance 'as graspable as possible'. And with this increasing accessibility came the same

‘loss of [its] aura of extraordinariness’ and ‘profaning of [its] once sacramental character’, leading to observations like that of de Luca in 1794 that the purity of the minuet was maintained only by the socially elite, and to suggestions from dancing masters like Vieth in 1795 that precision of the steps was no longer a crucial concern. In short, as the minuet became cemented as a feature of the public Redoute it underwent a fundamental change in its nature: it was no longer a device of courtly representation, but now a commodity for public consumption. As such, and with the concomitant emphasis on accessibility, the minuet’s once-sacrosanct character rendered itself open to defilement.

Habermas’s final criterion, the principle of inclusivity, relates to the domain of common concern. He argues:

> *Thirdly*, the same process that converted culture into a commodity (and in this fashion constituted it as a culture that could become an object of discussion to begin with) established the public as in principle inclusive. However exclusive the public might be in any given instance, it could never close itself off entirely and become consolidated as a clique; for it always understood and found itself immersed within a more inclusive public of all private people, persons who—insofar as they were propertied and educated—as readers, listeners, and spectators could avail themselves via the market of the objects that were subject to discussion. The issues discussed became “general” not merely in their significance, but also in their accessibility: everyone had to *be able* to participate. (Habermas 1991, 37)

It was precisely such inclusivity that the 1772 and 1781 imperial edicts sought to foster: membership of the dancing public was now in principle open to all; by law, no longer could inclusion or exclusion be determined on grounds of class. As in the above example, *Wiener Zeitung* advertisements for balls were deliberately addressed—in a manner not imitated by most other advertisements—‘An das Publikum’. Indeed, the growing accessibility of the minuet occurred in tandem with this establishment of the dance hall as an inclusive space.

The emphases in the final sentence are Habermas's, and are significant. In claiming that 'everyone had to *be able* to participate', he recognises that a fully inclusive public of private people would not, in fact have been realised in practice in the spaces he discusses. This is true of the dance halls, as well: regardless of whether the law permitted one's presence there, one needed the means to pay for an entrance ticket or to read the advertisement, in order to attend. The point is, rather, that the public was at least theoretically and idealistically open to all. Habermas similarly qualifies his first criterion: 'Not that this idea of the public was actually realized in earnest in the coffee houses, the *salons*, and the societies; but as an idea it had become institutionalized and thereby stated as an objective aim' (Habermas 1991, 36). Even when an event or space catered for a specific circle, the constituent members of that circle were conscious of being part of a public at large. Habermas's qualification here is important because it addresses Korhonen's challenge, discussed earlier, that as bourgeoisie began to populate venues that had previously been more exclusive the upper classes left and moved to new spaces, thereby reinforcing social distinctions instead of removing them. In fact, Korhonen's observations seem to lend support to the Habermasian picture. The complaint of the nobility was precisely that the spaces had become too *inclusive*: this inclusivity was recognised at the time itself by the very people who were populating the dance halls. Whether one reads this as reinforcing class distinctions depends on how one considers such distinctions to be manifested. On the one hand, members of the nobility did certainly express their dissatisfaction at the new mixing of classes in the dance halls, and a refusal to integrate with the lower classes. But, on the other, if the complaints over social mixing in the dance hall indeed occurred so frequently, this in itself suggests precisely a

collective consciousness that the spaces these people were inhabiting were now indeed open to all—the *potential* for mixing was there, whether or not it was realised in practice.

The Redoute: an account

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, many writers sought to evoke the magic of the Redoute, particularly as censorship relaxed under Joseph II and the genre of travel writing burgeoned. One such example, particularly noted during its time and reprinted several times over the decades that followed, came from Johann Pezzl, whose *Skizze von Wien* was published in multiple volumes between 1786 and 1790. Pezzl, who in the nineteenth century came to be know as the 'Austrian Voltaire' (Trencsényi and Kopeček 2006, 80), was not simply writing to satisfy readers' curiosity about a far-off place; rather, he was writing to *analyse* the civilisations he encountered, such that all might benefit from their ways. Unlike various other such descriptions, the *Skizze* is organised by topic or type of event. One chapter, for instance, is entitled 'Aufklärung', in which Pezzl argues that although the Viennese were welcoming the moral liberation of the Enlightenment they were still not ready to accept new ideas with the readiness necessary of an Enlightened civilisation. In the chapter entitled 'Redute', he describes the imperial Redoutensäle, and the practices contained therein during Fasching. Let us return to the quotation that began the Introduction of this dissertation. It is easy to see how the *Skizze* attained such enduring popularity: Pezzl immediately draws us in, giving a vivid, present-tense account of the experience of entering the Redoutensäle from the perspective of a first-time attendee:

> One climbs an iron staircase, passes a row of fifty bearded grenadiers, who, with their crude bearskin caps and bayonets at the ready, make the shy maiden tremble when, with beating heart, she visits the famous Redoute on the arm of her beloved for the first time. Having passed through

> the hall of Mavors and climbed a few more steps, there suddenly opens up the great magic hall. Several thousand wax candles on great reflecting crystal lusters and pyramid-formed chandeliers in symmetric rows dazzle the eye, and the sound of trumpets and timpani, mixed with the softer tones of a hundred musical instruments, move the enchanted ear and bestir the youthful foot spontaneously to the joyful dance. . . . . (Pezzl 1787, 514-515)[41]

The dots are Pezzl's own. They lure the reader into the ballroom, inviting us to pause in the text for a moment, that we might allow the imagination to conjure up the scene that has been set before us. Moreover, they suggest that the description above is only the beginning—that this is only the beginning of the night and more is to follow, since there is no telling quite where the music will take the youthful foot.

I want to take up the invitation posed by Pezzl's dots—to follow his 'shy maiden' into the Redoutensaal, as the night unfolds before her. At its heart, this is an exercise in reconstruction: based on surviving archival evidence in the Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv (much of which is presented here for the first time in recent scholarship), I will try to piece together a detailed picture of what would have gone on at a particular Redoute. Although the Redoute of Pezzl's description was held during Fasching, I focus on one that was held outside this season—on 25th November 1792. As I shall argue, this was a highly significant event on Vienna's social calendar, for members of various classes, and one in which Joseph Haydn played a particularly prominent role. Several writers have mentioned this event in passing, but it has hardly been the focus of any devoted study: H. C. Robbins Landon gives a few pages to it in the third volume of his

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[41] 'Man steige an einem eisernen Gatter ab, gehet durch eine Reihe von fünfzig schnurbärtigen Grenadiers, die mit ihren rauhen Bärnmüzen und Bajonettengeklirre das scheue Mädchen beben machen, welches zum erstenmal mit hochklopfenden Herzen am Arm ihres Geliebten die berühmte Redute besucht. Wenn man durch diese Halle des Mavors gedrungen, und einige Stufen hinangestiegen ist, öffnet sich plözlich der grosse Zaubersal. Viele tausend Wachskerzen auf grossen wiederscheinenden kristallnen Lustern und piramidenförmigen Leuchtgestellen symmetrisch gereihet, blenden das Aug, und Pauken- und Trompettenschall, mit den sanfteren Tönen von hundert musikalischen Werkzeugen vermengt, rühren das entzükte Ohr, und heben unwillkürlich den jugendlichen Fuß zum fröhlichen Tanz. . . . .' (Translation above from Heartz 1995, 67-68, with one adjustment.)

Chronicle and Works (Landon 1976b, 205-8), but he is alone among more recent scholars to give the event even this degree of attention; the only other source of which I am aware that dwells on the occasion in detail is Cyriak Bodenstein's 1888 centennial retrospective on the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler, *Hundert Jahre Kunstgeschichte Wiens, 1788-1888* (Bodenstein 1888, XI-XIV). My endeavour here differs from previous studies of similar dance cultures in one important respect. Past studies have tended to err on the side of breadth rather than detail: typically, they try and paint an all-encompassing picture of dance activities in the city with which their study is concerned, considered over a prolonged time span (for example, Salmen 1990). While this is of course a valuable exercise, I want to try a slightly different approach here: I forego an extended account of dancing in Vienna during this period (of which a fine example can, in any case, be found in Fink's *Der Ball* (Fink 1996)), and instead offer as detailed as possible a study of one particular night. In so doing, I hope to give a vivid account of just what would have gone on in the Imperial Redoutensäle.

Pezzl has primed us to be ready for the invitation that his dots present. Rather than giving an impersonal, fly-on-the-wall description of the scene, he instead creates, briefly, a *character*, through whose eyes, ears and feet we are to perceive the occasion. This was not a frivolous venture, but a calculated tactic—a popular literary technique in travel writing at the time, thought then to have been inaugurated by Aristotle's pupil Theophrastus, and intended to heighten the reader's involvement with the scenes being depicted (Trencsényi and Kopeček 2006, 82). Quite simply, Pezzl puts us *in the shoes* of his shy maiden. The dots come just as the tones of the hundred musical instruments bestir the youthful foot spontaneously to the joyful dance. We would be hard pushed to find a

better starting point from which to set out on the main endeavour of this dissertation. This dissertation, in its attempt to analyse the somatic knowledge of the minuet steps, is all about trying to put ourselves in the shoes of these minuet dancers at the very balls Pezzl describes. What follows, then, is a continuation the account from where Pezzl left off.

I give the shy maiden a name, but keep her almost entirely undeveloped as a character (although I do assign her to a class that would have been fully represented at the ball in question). The focus is on what is taking place around her—I do not dwell on her at all. Essentially, this section of the dissertation is an attempt to find an appropriate means of presenting—of bringing to life—some impressively detailed archival materials, which have not been discussed in recent scholarship.[42] The Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv holds a rich collection of documents pertaining to the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler's 1792 ball, for which Haydn composed the music. They include the *Ereignisprotokoll* (the Gesellschaft's record book), lists detailing who bought tickets and who was given complimentary tickets, communications from the Imperial offices, bills and receipts, posters and other advertising materials, and literature printed by the Gesellschaft to give to members and guests. Most of the events of the narrative that follows are designed to expose some of this material, the text of which is given in a corresponding footnote.[43] Where appropriate, reproductions follow in an appendix. I also draw on other source materials, such as contemporaneous descriptions of similar events, and articles in the *Wiener Zeitung*, as well as my knowledge of the spaces, the original shells of which still exist despite their interiors having been gutted by a fire in 1992 If

[42] I am grateful to Richard Wolf for sharing with me a manuscript draft written in a somewhat similar style.
[43] I am grateful to Gisela Fleischmann for her assistance in deciphering some of the old script.

there are any rare instances of pure conjecture, I try to make it clear to the reader that this is the case.

Every event in the story that follows is essentially a starting point for discussion of a related point. For instance, the character might walk into a room and see someone who we know to have been present from a ticket list undertaking an activity that we know from a contemporaneous description that he/she was likely to have done. There is no 'plot'—no 'drama'—rather a simple attempt to outline what might happen over a *typical* evening at the Redoute, as a character experiences it. Some sources will recur several times through the account, in an effort to stay as true as possible to the reality of the experience of attending the Redoute, rather than clear delineation of the sources—the character will not suddenly bump into every single person on the ticket list in the order that they appear on that list, for example! For the sake of simplicity, I have assumed a certain degree of omniscience on the part of the character, in instances when does not present too much of an issue to do so; it should not matter quite how she is able to recognise by sight a particular member of the minor nobility, for example.

It almost never happened. Theresa only found herself at the Redoute thanks to a last-minute impulse. Just four days prior, on 21st November, Frederick (her suitor of three months) had chanced upon a notice in the *Wiener Zeitung*. Boldly headed 'An das Publikum', it read:

> The Gesellschaft bildender Künstler in Vienna has received gracious permission from the highest of authorities to give a masked ball over the three coming years for the benefit of its established pension fund ('Wittweninstitute': widows' institute). Since this year's Redoute is now fixed for 25th November 1792, the Gesellschaft has the honour to issue herewith preliminary notice of it to the venerable public. At a residence where the fine arts have their seat, where from the throne gracious looks smile down on artistic talent, where levels of the state pay homage to the muses and offer helping hands to the art industry, it would be almost a mistrust in the magnanimity of the inhabitants to call on them first through rhetoric to great success. The Gesellschaft believes that

> through its invitation it must only remind [them of] this: that some of its members—not so much for the embellishment of the so tasteful Redoutensaal as for the evidence of a heart imbued with gratitude—seek to glorify this day through an allegorical representation (Vorstellung), whose explanation will be distributed free of charge to attendees; and that for the minuets and German dances the famous Kapellmeister Herr Joseph Haiden has crafted original music our of love for his artistic kinsfolk and for the benefit of the institution. Ticket price, lighting, refreshments, masks, entrance and exit, and everything else, is as per the usual Redouten.[44]

It was Theresa's first time at the Redoute. Her mother and father had never been: regardless of financial status, the Redoutensäle simply had not been open to anyone outside the nobility, when they were younger. Frederick had attended a few times before, but not regularly. As a doctor at the Bürgerspital in Vienna, on a healthy annual salary of four hundred Gulden (see Morrow 1989, 112), a pair of two-Gulden tickets was a significant expense, but an affordable one, especially if indulged just two or three times a year. The *Wiener Zeitung* notice spoke to Theresa and Frederick. Frederick's family counted itself among the city's art lovers, frequently attending concerts in the Mehlgrube (see Morrow 1989, 50-51). Theresa was reasonably proficient at the piano, to the point that she could play some of Haydn's more straightforward piano sonatas and trios. And both of the couple had, when they were slightly younger, taken dance lessons from two of the many dancing masters that had now set up shop in the city. In short, they counted themselves as part of the 'Publikum' to whom the notice was addressed, and attending

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[44] 'An das Publikum
Die Gesellschaft bildender Künstler in Wien, hat von allerhöchsten Orten, die gnädige Erlaubniß erhalten zum Besten ihres errichteten Wittweninstitutes durch drei auf einander folgende Jahre einen maskieren Ball zu geben. Da nun der 25. Novemb. 1792 zur diesjährigen Redoute bestimmt ist, so hat die Gesellschaft die Ehre, dem verehrungswürdigen Publikum hiemit vorläufig davon Nachricht zu ertheilen. Zu einer Residenz, wo die schönen Künste ihren Sitz haben, wo vom Throne huldvolle Blicke auf das Kunsttalent herablächeln, wo die Stände des Staats den Musen huldigen, und dem Kunstfleiß hilfreiche Hände darbiethen, wäre es fast ein Mißtrauen in die Großmuth der Einwohner, sie erst durch Rednerkünste zu einem zahlreichen Zuspruche aufzüfodern. Nur dies glaubt die Gesellschaft bei ihrer Einladung erinnern zu müssen: daß einige ihrer Mitglieder—nicht so sehr zur Verzierung des so geschmackvollen Redoutensaales, als zum Beweise eines von Dankbarkeit durchdrungenen Herzens—durch eine allegorische Vorstellung, deren Erklärung den Eintretenden unentgeldlich ausgetheilt wird, diesen Tag zu verherrlichen suchen: und daß der berühmte Kapellmeister Herr Joseph Haiden, zu den Menueten und deutschen Tänzen aus Liebe zur Kunstverwantschaft und zum Besten des Institutes eine originelle Musik verfertigt. Eintritspreis, Beleuchtung, Erfrischungen, Masken, Zu- und Abfahrt, und alles übrige ist, nach dem Fuße der gewöhnlichen Redouten. Wien den 14. November 1792.' (Advertisement, *Wiener Zeitung*, November 14, 1792, 3080; repeated November 21, 1792, 3144-5.)

the Redoute presented an opportunity to assert their presence in this public. Moreover, as music lovers, the opportunity to hear—and to dance to—Haydn's first compositions for Vienna since his return from London was too great to miss. Indeed, the fact that the Redoute was being mounted by the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler was itself a guarantee of a high level of artistry: to go would be to participate in a finely crafted, artistic experience—on a par with the premiere of a new opera, for instance.

Attending the Redoute was not simply a matter of showing up at the appointed place and time; preparations had to be made over the preceding days. This being Theresa's first time at the Redoute, her family had to make various purchases for her—she already had a suitable gown and shoes, but needed new gloves, and a mask. Although masking was prohibited at all other dance halls in the city, in the Redoutensäle it was allowed—and typically guests took advantage of this dispensation.[45] Shrewdly, one Peter Neumahr placed an advertisement in the *Weiner Zeitung* the day before the ball took place, reminding readers that he sold all the necessary accessories for the Redoute at the cheapest prices, and that customers could either visit his shop or make purchases and rent masks from his boutique by the entrance to the large Redoutensaal itself.[46] Theresa opted, then to rent the mask upon arrival at the Redoutensäle. Theresa's dancing master had stressed that to dance the minuet was to *enact nobility*; as she prepared for the Redoute,

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[45] Pezzl notes in *Skizze von Wien* that 'Masken sind, ausser dem Redutensaale, gänzlich verboten' (Pezzl 1787, 452).

[46] 'Nachricht
Unterzeichneten machet dem hohen Adel und verehrungswürdigen Publikum bekannt, daß den ihm eben so wie voriges Jahr, alle Gattungen von Masken in seiner Wohnung unter den Tuchlauben im Auge Gottes Nr. 577. im 4ten Stockwerte über die hauptstiege uns den billigsten Preis zu maskirten Bällen ausgeliehen werden. An jenen Tagen, da Bälle in den k. k. Redoutensälen gegeben werden, können auch die Masken von 8 Uhr Abends allda bestellt werden, in seiner Butik beim Eingang in den großen Redoutensaal, wo man zugleich all Gattungen von Handschuhen, Larven, etc. etc. haben kann, auch abgegebene Manteltleider gegen Empfang eines Zeichens ordentlich aufbewahrt werden. Zur Umkleidung der Masken sind die beim Eingange des großen Redoutensaales hiezu bestimmten Zimmer mit bester Bedienung bereit gehalten, wo ebenfalls alle Gattungen Masken, Handschuhe, Larven, Schminke, etc. etc. zu haben sind.
Peter Neumahr' (*Wiener Zeitung*, 24 Nov 1792, 3177).

though, she realised that this was true of the whole enterprise: walking into the Redoutensäle was not just about mixing with the nobility, but also about acting like them, and one's dress had to reflect this.

Theresa and Frederick arrived at the Redoutensäle together, on foot, a little after 10pm.[47] The streets were clogged with the horses and carriages of the wealthier patrons, as the couple approached the Josephsplatz. Everybody with a ticket, regardless of social standing, entered by the same door, in the middle of the Josephsplatz. Immediately upon walking into the building, they were greeted by a huge painting, fourteen feet tall and eight feet wide.[48] This painting was by one of Vienna's most noted painters and frescoers, Franz Anton Maulbertsch, who had earlier painted the frescoes at the neighbouring Michaelerkirche and was in fact the Director of the Gesellschaft. The painting was pronounced a 'symbolic representation of the gratitude of the Künstlergesellschaft, which has established itself under the protection of the monarch himself, and feels supported by his and the kindest Empress's clemency'.[49] Indeed, the Gesellschaft certainly owed a debt of gratitude to the Empress: its initial request to hold the Redoute had been turned down;[50] it was only after its Vice-Director, Lorenz Kohl, an architect and 'Zeichenmeister' at the imperial court, actively sought the intercession of the Empress

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[47] According to Artaria's *Guide du Voyageur à Vienna*, the rooms opened at 9pm and the ball continued until 6am: 'Les salles sont ouvertes à 9 h. du soir et la musique ne se retire qu'à 6 h. du matin' (quoted in Landon 1976b, 210).
[48] Sadly, the painting is now lost.
[49] 'Herr Director Maulbertsch mahlte hierzu ein Bild in Oelfarben von 14 Schuhe in der Höhe, und 8 Schuhe in der Breite, welches dem Haupteingange gegenüber aufgestellt wurde. Es war eine symbolische Darstellung der Dankbar- keit der Künstlergesellschaft, die unter dem Schutze des Mon- archen sich errichtet hat, und durch dessen und der gütigsten Kaiserin Milde sich unterstützet fühlet.' (*Ereignisprotokoll*, 44)
[50] The first request was turned down on 7th November 1791.

that the plan was approved (Bodenstein 1888, XI).[51] It was vital that the Gesellschaft foster the relationship with the Imperial family: not only were the Habsburgs a useful source of financial support, but also any dance event in the city needed Imperial approval.

An air of measured chaos pervaded the hallway, immediately inside the entrance. Those guests with masks to affix to their faces were engaged, with some assistance, in this activity here, it being strictly illegal not to wear one's mask anywhere outside the Redoutensäle. Various merchants were selling their wares around this space, and Theresa found Peter Neumahr's 'boutique', where, as planned, she bought a pair of gloves and rented a mask for the evening. She chose one of the smaller masks, which covered little more than her eyes; from looking around, she had already ascertained this style to be the most popular among the present company. Although these masks did not obstruct much of the face, they still made immediate identification or recognition difficult. Theresa and Frederick were about to step back out into the main thoroughfare, when they became aware of a large party approaching. At its head, unmasked, were Prince Anton and Princess Maria Anna Esterhazy. It was unlikely that they were there merely because Haydn, their own Kapellmeister had written the music: Prince Anton was known not to be particularly fond of music and had indeed disbanded much of his own court's musical establishment; but the fact that their family was there in such force further underlined to

[51] The second request was made on 12th April 1792, and approval granted on 3rd May. The original document detailing the terms of the approval is in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv; and was copied into the *Ereignisprotokoll*: 'Der Gesellschaft der bildenden und mechanischen Künstler ist die gebetene Erlaubniß in den königlichen Redoutensählen am Sonntag vor Catharina zur besseren Gründung ihres Pensions- fonds eine Redoute geben zu dürfen, auf drey folgende Jahre mit dem Bedingniß allergnädigst ertheilet worden, daß dieselbe die sämmtlichen dießfälligen Unkosten tragen, und bey der obersten Theatral Hofdirection sich hierum jederzeit geziemend melden sollen.' (*Ereignisprotokoll*, 38)

Theresa the social significance of this event.[52] Indeed, rumours were circulating that the Imperial couple had promised to attend.

Slowly, Theresa and Frederick ascended the stairs at the end of the hallway. This took some two minutes, given the number of attendees attempting the same, and the fact that several of the ball gowns trailed down onto the previous step.[53] At the top of the staircase was a small foyer, through which they passed into the large Redoutensaal. What struck Theresa first—as was the case for most first-time attendees—was the lighting. Seven huge chandeliers dominated the room, each stuffed thick with innumerable candles. She had probably never been in a better-lit room before; it felt brighter than being outside in the midday sun.[54] In fact, the heat of the room, filled at that point already with several hundred guests, reinforced that sensation. Standing just inside the door for a few moments, she scanned the room, trying to make out what was going on. Right by her, all around the edge of the room, people were standing in small clusters and talking. Theresa was surprised that they seemed far more concerned in each other than in the dancing or the music, which were ostensibly the primary activities of the room; for them, the event seemed to be above all an occasion for socialising. Theresa could certainly hear the music, and through gaps in the crowd could make out lines of dancers nearer the

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[52] 'Fürstin Esterhazy' appears near the top of the ticket list, ordering twelve tickets, and then again near the bottom of the same list, for another six (A1 - Akten: Aufzeichnungen über die Ausgegebenen Redoute Billets).

[53] Pictures of Redoutensäle balls from around the time, such as a 1795 painting and Joseph Schütz's well known colour etching of 1815 (see Salmen 1988), show the fashion to have been for long, flowing dresses that were not particularly wide but that often swept the floor behind them.

[54] Pezzl (quoted above) was by no means the only commentator to draw attention to the candles; Gianluigi de Freddy, in his *Descrizione della città, sobborghi, e vicinanze di Vienna* of 1800 notes early on that 'both [ballrooms] are illuminated round about by an innumerable quantity of wax candles, and in the middle of the first you have seven large chandeliers, and five in the second' ('Sono entrambe tutt'all'intorno illuminate da un'innumerevole quantità de candele di cera, e nel mezzo poi della prima vi hanno sette gran lampadarj, e cinque nella seconda') (quoted in Landon 1976b, 208-9). Contemporaneous pictures cast a clear distinction between the illuminated centre of the room and its shadier perimeter.

centre of the hall, but she and Frederick decided to explore a little more before venturing fully onto the dance floor.

In part to escape the oppressive heat, the couple stepped out of the large Redoutensaal, and into the adjoining foyer. On the other side of the foyer was the entrance to another hall—the smaller Redoutensaal.[55] Although typically this would provide another venue for dancing, with its own, smaller orchestra, tonight it was being used just as a gathering room for those who wanted to socialise.[56] Beyond the foyer, several other small rooms surrounded the Redoutensäle. In addition to Peter Neumahr's, there were other stalls where one could rent masks or more fully-fledged costumes for the evening. In another room hot food was served, and could be purchased at extra cost. Frederick and Theresa found a room in which coffee was being served, and sat for a while to drink, steeling themselves to return to the large Redoutensaal.[57]

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[55] The Grosser Redoutensaal measured (and still measures) some forty by seventeen metres, and the Kleiner Redoutensaal twenty-two by eleven metres.

[56] Landon claims that a second orchestra was playing music by another composer that same evening in the small Redoutensaal (Landon 1976b, 206), but I can find no evidence of this on this specific evening. It would certainly have been the case throughout Fasching, though: the pay records show that a second orchestra was employed throughout this time. From 1793 onwards, it is always the case that there are two orchestras playing two sets of music in the different Redoutensäle during the Gesellschaft's balls, but I can find no evidence of this happening in 1792, and the Gesellschaft always seemed to record the details when this happened in subsequent years.

[57] De Freddy describes the surrounding rooms, and the facilities they offered: Around the first room [the large Redoutensaal] is a gallery constructed by Joseph II, where the spectators sit, and also around the same room on the ground floor you have three tiers of steps that likewise serve the same purpose. On the first floor [second floor, according to current American usage] adjoining the same room you have then some rooms ('camere'); each contains masking clothes ('abiti di maschera') to rent, and the cloaks of participants ('concorrenti') in storage; the others coffee, and the restrooms for the men and for the women. In the second then you have the *Trattoria*, and *Riposteria*, where it [food] is served at prices on boards fixed to the wall. In both one and the other you can observe a very impressive orderliness and cleanliness. (Gira attorno della prima sala una galleria fatta costruire de *Giuseppe II*. ove siedono i spettatori, e d'intorno pure a piano-terra delle sale stesse v'hanno a tre ordini di gradini i Sedili, che servono parimenti allo stesso effetto. Al primo piano contiguo alle stesse Sale vi sono quindi alcune camere; le une contengono abiti da maschera da noleggiare, ed i mantelli de' concorrenti in deposito; le altre il caffè, e le ritirate sì per gli uonmini, che per le donne. Al secondo poi havvi la Trattoria, e Riposteria, ove si viene servito a prezzi stabiliti nelle Tabelle affisse al muro. Sia nelle una, che nelle altre osservasi un ordine, ed una pulizia molto plausibile.) (Quoted in Landon 1976b, 209.) De Freddy's mention of the *ritirate* for the men and women—probably the equivalent of a restroom today—serves to remind us that the image we construct of today of the ballroom is probably highly sanitised. As Michael Burden's article, 'Pots, privies, and WCs: crapping at

By the time the couple returned to the large Redoutensaal, the number of guests in there had grown dramatically—Theresa estimated, without exaggeration, that there may be around a thousand people packed into the hall. The lines of dancers had grown considerably now, although there were still as many people as before clustering around the edge of the room, talking. One of the volunteers collecting the tickets at the entrance[58] had mentioned that more than two thousand tickets had been sold, all together.[59] In fact, the number present seemed about right: the large Redoutensaal was full, but there was still sufficient space to dance, with a certain amount of care. Earlier in the evening, even with a few hundred attendees in there, the room had certainly not felt empty, but there was something exciting about being a part of a larger crowd.[60] Several members of the Habsburg family were nearby, and Theresa was standing close enough to Archduchesses Marie Anna and Marie Clementina to overhear their conversation.[61] They were talking about the Imperial couple: from what Theresa could hear, she gleaned that the Emperor

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the opera in London before 1830' (2011), makes clear, we generally prefer not to factor this aspect into our consideration of public spaces. Certain accounts of Vienna's ballrooms mention inhalation of too much sawdust from the floor as a cause of illness and even sometimes death. And, of course, our conditioning by contemporary concert rituals of silence and attention may set us up to expect the music of the ballroom to be treated with considerably more reverence than was the case.

[58] The tickets were engraved in copper and supplied at no cost to the Gesellschaft by Sebastian Mansfeld: 'Herr Sebastian Mansfeld besorgte das in Kupfer gestochene Eintrittsbillet unentgeldlich' (*Ereignisprotokoll*, 44).

[59] The ticket list details that 2181 tickets were sold in total, of which 509 were bought in batches by patrons whose names were listed on one side of the ticket list, much like a subscriber list.

[60] Contemporaneous commentators are in fairly close agreement about what makes the ideal number of attendees at a Redoute: 1,000 is too few, 3,000 too many, and 1,500-2,000 about right. The Artaria *Guide*, for instance, claims: 'The number of people who go to the to the redoute grows in size as one approaches the end of carnival; when there are only 1000, the rooms are not sufficiently full; but when there are more than 3000, the press is too strong and the temperature stifling.' (Le nombre de personnes qui vont à la redoute augmente à mésure que l'on approche de la fin du carnaval ; lorsqu'il n'y en a que 1000, les salles ne sont pas suffisamment remplies ; mais quand il s'élève à 3000, la presse y est trop forte et la chaleur étouffante.) (Quoted in Landon 1976b, 211.) Pezzl makes a slightly higher estimate: 'If only a thousand people attend, it is too empty. 1,500 makes a proper Redoute. 2,000 displaces the dancers from needed space. In the last days of carnival, when the joy seekers mount to nearly 3,000, then one is pressed.' (Quoted in Heartz 1995, 68.)

[61] Both Maria Anna (1770-1809) and Marie Clementina (1777-1801; Leopold II's daughter) appear high up on the ticket list, each purchasing twelve tickets and making an additional donation to the Gesellschaft.

was unwell and would be unable to attend.[62] Broadly speaking, though, the nobility was well represented at the Redoute, despite the Imperial absence. Count Johann Carl Dietrichstein—noted diplomat and confidant of Joseph II—headed a party of ten. Members of the Prokopp family, part of the Schwarzenburg dynasty, were present. And many representatives of the Locatelli family—whose own private ballroom was frequented by the upper nobility—were in attendance.[63]

Frederick asked Theresa if she would like to dance, but she was too nervous at this point. Still, they drifted further into the Redoutensaal, and stood against the wall opposite the orchestra, whose members were stationed in the gallery, about halfway up the length of the room. Closer, and with the external noise of the surrounding rooms less audible, the orchestra's sound was quite impressive. The bass line, in particular, was clear and firm. The near-fifty players[64] were led from the violin by the orchestra's concertmaster, who stood at the front of the balcony and split his attention between the orchestra, his music stand, and the dance floor.[65] In fact, the concertmaster functioned

[62] The *Ereignisprotokoll* records that the Imperial couple sent a gift of 199 ducats, nevertheless (*Ereignisprotokoll*, 45).

[63] 'Count Hanß Carl Dietrichstein' is listed as purchasing ten tickets, and 'Herr Prokopp' bought four. 'Herr Anton Lokatelly' bought three tickets; further down the list, 'Herr Lokatelli' is listed as purchasing 86. There is one other large purchase on the list: 'Herr Trauenfellner' bought 177. These large purchases may perhaps have been for other societies, or for Masonic lodges.

[64] The 33 original parts are preserved in the Musiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, with the distribution: 1 violino primo 'pro direttore'; 5 violino primo; 4 violino secondo; 2 violoncello obligato (*sic*); 4 basso; 1 flauto traverso primo; 1 flauto traverso secondo; 1 oboe primo; 1 oboe secondo; 1 clarinetto primo; 1 clarinetto secondo; 2 fagotto primo; 2 fagotto secondo; 2 corno primo; 2 corno secondo; 1 clarino primo; 1 clarino secondo; 1 tympano. If each string part (except the director's) had two players, this suggests 48 players in total. The orchestra that regularly played in the large Redoutensaal numbered 43. Landon claims that there were 47 players, but does not cite his sources for this projection (Landon 1976b, 206.) In any case, all the evidence indicates that the orchestra would have numbered somewhere between forty and fifty players.

[65] The 'violin primo pro direttore' part is marked with the names of the solo instruments at the moments at which they play. Landon claims that the orchestra was 'conducted' by Johann Patatschny, but again it is unclear on what evidence he bases this claim. Landon mentions a rehearsal in the prior week that cost the Gesellschaft 27 Gulden, which suggests that he was referring to another document, which may contain this information, but despite an exhaustive search of the Gesellschaft's archival records I cannot find any such document.

really as a conduit between the dancing master and the orchestra. It was the dancing master's task to set and maintain the tempo of each dance, and to relay this to the concertmaster, who in turn kept the orchestra in order.[66] In fact, the dancing master in this case was none other than Antonio Muzzarelli, who enjoyed an enviable reputation in the city. Leopold II himself had asked Muzzarelli to move to the Viennese Imperial court in the autumn of 1791, where his main role as Balletmeister was to coordinate the dancing in the Hofburg Redoutensäle. It fell to him to announce each dance, to line up the guests in the correct formation, and to set the dancers off in motion in time with the music. This he accomplished with a not insignificant degree of ceremony.

Theresa looked out at the lines of dancers. She noticed that, in fact, very few members of the nobility seemed to be dancing, at least right now. There were, however, various high-ranking government officials among the dancing masses. Perhaps most notable was Alois Ugardt, Governor of Moravia and Silesia and President of the Militär- und geistlichen Hofcommission, who had enjoyed particular favour under Leopold II.[67] Government Secretary Herrn was also dancing.[68] Theresa also observed various employees of the Habsburg court. Johann Ferdinand von Hohenberg, the court architect whose fingerprints were all over the city: for Maria Theresa he had built the theatre at the Schönbrunn Palace and renovated the palace gardens, during Joseph II's reign he had

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[66] As Salmen explains, the dancing master 'has to pay attention to the orchestra, to set a reasonable tempo and to prevent all rushing' ('Auf das Orchester hat er ebenfalls zu achten, ein angemessenes Tempo anzugeben und alles Eilen zu verhindern.') (Salmen 1989, 116). A 1795 painting of a ball in Buda, Hungary, by Joseph Pollencig (see Salmen 1988, 105), illustrates how this interaction would have taken place, with the dancing master (on the floor) in dialogue with the concertmaster (on the raised platform) while the guests dance (reproduced in Salmen 1989, 117).

[67] The ticket list details that 'Sr. Excellenz Herrn Grafen v Ugardt' received twelve tickets, free of charge. (For further details on Alois Ugardt, see: http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz83222.html (accessed October 25, 2014).)

[68] 'Herrn v Siber Regierungs Secretär' is listed as receiving three free tickets. 'Graf v Kufstein' is listed for accepting no tickets ('hat keine angenohmen'), indicating a prior expectation that he would have been given some.

been tasked with designing a prototypical church to meet Josephinist ideals, and he had been the architect of the Palais Fries-Pallavicini—the very building that directly faced the Josephplatz entrance to the Redoutensäle.[69] One court official was present with specific responsibilities: Herr Inspector Diell was monitoring the room on behalf of the Theatral Hofdirection,[70] ensuring that all guests complied with the various laws governing the Redoutensäle and the activities undertaken on and around the Hofburg premises.[71]

Finally, Theresa and Frederick chanced upon somebody they knew. Johannes, an accountant at the same hospital at which Frederick worked, had come to the Redoute with his wife, Anna. Johannes and Anna had attended several Redouten before, together, and when Muzzarelli announced that the next minuet was shortly to commence they led Theresa and Frederick to find a space in the lines that were assembling. Muzzarelli counted off, and the dance began. Despite her nerves, Theresa executed the steps with real poise—she had trained extremely well for this moment, and she had of course danced the group minuet at other, less upscale balls. The path of the minuet, with its characteristic 'Z' figure, meant that she came face to face, and closely crossed shoulders, with three men—Frederick, Johannes, and someone she did not know. The stranger, it subsequently emerged, was Count Fries, a noted patron of music, at whose well-regarded open houses Haydn had played.[72] Indeed, unsurprisingly, various wealthy art-lovers were in the Redoutensäle that evening. Countess Würbna and Baron Waldstätten—both of

[69] The ticket list notes that a 'Familie Billet' was given to 'Herrn v Hohenberg', free of charge. (For further details on Alois Ugardt, see: http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz31943.html (accessed October 25, 2014).)
[70] As discussed above, the document granting permission to the Gesellschaft to hold the ball stipulates: 'bey der obersten Theatral Hofdirection sich hierum jederzeit geziemend melden sollen' (*Ereignisprotokoll*, 38).
[71] The ticket list records that a 'Familien Billet' was given to 'dto. H. Inspector Diell'.
[72] 'Graf Frieß' is noted on the ticket list, with a purchase of twelve tickets. Beethoven would also play at his open houses.

whose families had significantly supported Mozart—both brought guests to the Redoute.[73]

The night wore on. Buoyed by the earlier success, Frederick and Theresa danced another minuet, and then another. They then retired from the Redoutensaal to rest a little. When they returned, the orchestra was playing German dances, also composed especially for the occasion by Haydn. These being more 'upbeat' than the minuets, simpler, and involving more touching, the German dances seemed to enjoy somewhat greater popularity. Much of the dance floor was occupied now, with couples moving to the music. With this heightened excitement, Theresa noticed, came a significant rise in the overall volume of the room. A couple of times, Muzzarelli had to gesture to the concertmaster to keep the orchestra's volume up. As time passed, Theresa noticed the crowd becoming somewhat rowdier; the behaviour of some of the men was becoming a little less proper. Whether this was caused by the dance or by the effects of the night, Theresa did not know, but the feeling of the room was certainly markedly different from earlier in the evening.

The German dances drew to an end, and the orchestra took a break. Later, the minuets would start up again, and the dancing would re-commence, but Theresa and Frederick had by now had their fill. At around 3am, with the Redoute still going strong, they decided to be on their way. On their way out of the building, they were given a souvenir—an *Ode* by the poet Franz Anton Schrämbl.

[73] 'Comtesse Würbna' purchased four tickets, and 'Baron Waldstätten' fourteen, according to the ticket list. Baron Waldstätten's estranged wife, Martha Elisabeth, had in 1782 given Mozart the red coat that would eventually be immortalised in Barbara Kraft's 1819 posthumous painting of the composer. 'Gräfin Kynsky', whose son would later be one of Beethoven's most important patrons, purchased twenty-four tickets.

Conclusion

If the annotations in the memorandum book suggest that Beethoven was in the habit of checking the advertisement listings in the *Wiener Zeitung*, one such announcement, just a few days later in November 1792, might have caught his eye. Addressed 'An das Publikum', it gives notice of a ball being held the following week, in the Imperial Redoutensäale. The Gesellschaft bildender Künstler, a society founded in 1788 to provide pensions for aging artists, was now seeking to boost its funds, and to this end was holding a charity ball, on 25th November. As the advertisement proclaims, 'the famous Kapellmeister Herr Joseph Haydn' had composed new sets of minuets and German dances, especially for the occasion (*Wiener Zeitung* 1792, 3080).[74] Whether or not Beethoven had his sights set upon this particular ball, this was precisely the kind of event—a social gathering with dance at its heart—for which he needed to be equipped.

Acknowledging that the dance hall and the Redoute played a central role in late-eighteenth-century Viennese social life, for much of the bourgeoisie and the nobility, carries clear implications for musicological study. These implications are no clearer than for the minuet. Quite simply, in eighteenth-century Vienna the minuet was experienced *primarily* as a piece of music to which one *danced*—not music to which one sat and listened. As such, for those who knew the minuet step and had spent years enacting it, the muscular activity of this step would have been the primary association in their conception of 'minuet'—even when listening to a symphonic minuet in the concert hall. As we shall see, the available source materials support this assertion. Of course, the various German-language dance treatises from the time all deal with the danced minuet, but what is striking is that the contemporaneous music-theoretical writings also do this. In their

[74] '[D]er berühmte Kapellmeister Herr Joseph Haiden'.

discussions of the minuet they consistently assume the *danced* minuet to be the model from which the norms of the genre are to be derived. After all, this was how the minuet was normally experienced—in the city's dance halls.

The following two chapters set out to answer this question, then: What *was* the minuet in 1790s Vienna?

Chapter 2: The Choreography of the Minuet in 1790s Vienna

First steps

Stand up.[1]

i. Your toes will probably be pointing forwards. Turn your feet outwards such that your ankles form a 90-degree angle with each other (see Fig. 2.1). Try to include the whole leg in this turnout, such that the knees, as well as the toes, now point out from the body.

Figure 2.1: feet at 90-degree angle (looking down at one's feet).

ii. Keeping the torso upright, gently shift the body's weight onto your left foot, such that the right foot is free to move if you direct it to.

iii. With the weight of the body over the left foot, now slide the right foot backwards a short distance (see Fig. 2.2).

Figure 2.2: right foot behind the left.

[1] My reasons for starting the chapter in this manner will become clear. In the hope of rendering the content here as accessible as possible for any person unable to stand and to enact its physical demands, I include numerous diagrams and detailed descriptions.

1. Next, BEND your left knee out over your left toes. At the same time, raise your right foot slightly off the floor, by bending your right knee, and tuck your right ankle gently behind your left ankle (see Fig. 2.3). Throughout this stage, keep your torso fully erect.

Figure 2.3: BEND (viewed from opposite the body).

2. With the knees bent, gently PLACE the right foot on the floor a little way in front of you (see Fig. 2.4), but do not let it assume the body's weight: keep the weight back on the left foot.

Figure 2.4: PLACE.

3. Now, RISE by pushing the right foot into the floor and straightening both knees (see Fig. 2.5); as you do this, take the body's weight fully onto the right foot, such that the left foot would be free to come off the floor, if you wanted it to.

Figure 2.5: RISE.

Be assured: this is the most taxing physical demand that will be made of you in this chapter. Stop, reset, and repeat the above stages, over and over (with the same feet—do not switch). After about twenty repetitions, the set of movements should begin to feel natural, and you might start to feel a rhythm over the latter stages 1-3, such that you can softly say to yourself 'BEND, PLACE, RISE' as you execute the movements. Do not read on until you feel some degree of familiarity with it.

You have just performed a kinaesthetic activity with a rich past. Over the past four centuries, anyone learning to dance the minuet likely started with this (or a similar) set of movements. In fact, you have just enacted a *demi coupé*, the first (and hardest) component of the minuet step. My instructions here are very rudimentary, and my breaking the step down into the stages of BEND, PLACE and RISE is not done with any historical authority, other than that they successfully characterise the main stages of the *demi coupé* for me, and will serve us well in our ongoing discussion. Indeed, the only authority I claim for explaining this step in my own words is that this is how a dancing master would explain it, in person, to a student—in terms that make sense to the student

there and then.[2] That said, the description of the step that I present here is all developed from various late-eighteenth century treatises, to be discussed shortly. I distinguish in the numbering of the stages between Roman and Arabic numerals: stages i-iii are preparatory and simply involve getting the reader into a suitable position to enact the *demi coupé* itself, which finds itself in stages 1-3. The Arabic numerals represent the *demi coupé* proper, then.

The good news is that the rest of the minuet step is comparatively easy. We might as well go on and learn it now. The minuet step that we will use here has four component steps—a *demi coupé* on the right foot (explained above), a *demi coupé* on the left foot, a plain step on the right foot, and a plain step on the left foot. In a sense, the minuet 'step' actually consists of four steps—right, left, right, left. To avoid confusion, I will refer to each of these internal steps as a 'component step', and the combination of the four component steps together as the 'minuet step'. To perform a complete minuet step, first execute the *demi coupé* onto the right foot, detailed in stages 1-3 above. As you complete stage 3, you should find yourself in precisely the correct position to do the same stages 1-3 again, but with 'left' and 'right' reversed—the *demi coupé* onto the left foot. With the two *demi coupés* now completed, all that remain are the two plain steps, right then left, and the minuet step is complete. We will now call the plain step an *élevé*. Try to execute each *élevé* without bending the knee: keep the leg straight, swinging from the hip. As before, take some time to practice this over and over, so that the body starts to take ownership of the step. Remember to say 'BEND, PLACE, RISE' to yourself over stages 1-3

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[2] I thank the many guinea pigs who tested out these instructions for me, to help ensure their comprehensibility.

of both *demi coupés*. During the two *élevés*, keep the knees unbent, so that the legs remain as straight as possible.

The basic component movements of the minuet step thus learnt, we might now apply a pulse to them. Perhaps the most defining feature of the minuet step—true throughout the minuet's history—is that it is executed over *two bars* of music in 3/4 metre, or six crotchet beats, of music. Indeed, earlier minuets were typically notated in 6/4 metre (see Russell 1992, 124). One crucial facet of the minuet step as explained here is that it starts on the *upbeat* to the first of the two musical bars, such that if one is counting along to the musical pulse while dancing (as is almost always done throughout the pedagogical process), the most natural way to do so for the minuet step is '6, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5'. Returning to the Arabic numbered stages of the *demi coupé* given earlier, we might characterise points 1-3 as three stages of motion, or BEND, PLACE, RISE. Both BEND and PLACE form part of the *preparation* of the *demi coupé*; its *arrival* comes on RISE. For the first *demi coupé*, the RISE comes on beat 1 of the minuet step, while BEND and PLACE come prior to this, during beat 6 of the previous bar. Although in practice the stages of the BEND, PLACE, RISE sequence should flow into each other fluidly, a straightforward way of applying this step to a pulse is to subdivide beat 6 into quavers, counting it as 'six and one', and to execute BEND on 'six', PLACE on 'and', and RISE on 'one', as denoted in Table 2.1. This brings us back to an important point mentioned earlier: because the bulk of the activity of the *demi coupé* comes in its preparation, beat 6 must be considered an integral part of the *demi coupé*, even though the step's actual arrival comes later.

<table>
<tr><td>Beat</td><td>6</td><td>+</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Motion</td><td>BEND</td><td>PLACE</td><td>RISE</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Component</td><td colspan="3">demi coupé R</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">preparation</td><td>arrival</td></tr>
</table>

Table 2.1: distribution of the *demi coupé*.

As for the rest of the minuet step, the second *demi coupé* can be executed over beats 3 and 4, with BEND on 'three, PLACE on 'and', and RISE on 'four'. This leaves the first *élevé* to be placed on 'five', and the second *élevé* on 'six'. Table 2.2 charts the component steps of a whole minuet step to a pulse. This is by no means the only possible rhythmic distribution of the component steps; as we shall see, there are various options, just as the component steps themselves can be varied. This is simply the distribution that we will use now, and indeed one that is generally believed to have been popularly adopted at the end of the eighteenth century.

Beat	6	+	1	2	3	+	4	5	6			
Component	*demi coupé*				*demi coupé*			*élevé*	*élevé*			
Motion	B	P	R		B	P	R	P	P			
	prep.		arr.		prep.		arr.					
Foot	R				L			R	L			
									6	+	1	2
									demi coupé			
									B	P	R	
									prep.		arr.	
									R			

Table 2.2: overall distribution of the minuet step.

Over the course of the minuet, this step is repeated many times: at beat 6, as soon as the left foot has been placed in the final *élevé* of the step the knee should start to bend, such that the first *demi coupé* of the next minuet step follows seamlessly on. The shaded area of Table 2.2 attempts to show this—that the end of one minuet step runs fluidly into the beginning of the next. Plotting the motions of the minuet step on a table carries risks: it emphasises the individual parts over the whole, and makes the parts somewhat too discrete. In fact the opposite is true: my 'BEND, PLACE, RISE' sequence is a wholly artificial construct, made just to render the *demi coupé* more readily digestible; really, the *demi coupé* is a single entity in itself. Moreover, the fact that each motion has been assigned a particular beat does not mean that they are executed abruptly, on the

immediate moment of the pulse in question; rather, the motions flow into each other: BEND flows into PLACE and PLACE flows into RISE to create the *demi coupé*, and the two *demi coupés* and *élevés* run together to create the complete minuet step.

Primacy of the danced minuet

In late-eighteenth-century Vienna, what was the minuet? Put another way: what did the minuet *mean* to the people who encountered in late-eighteenth-century Vienna? Supposing you stood at the door of the Kärntnerthortheater in 1792, as members of a concert audience were filing through the entrance, and said to each of them 'minuet'. It would surely summon an array of different associations for different people. To some, it might mean 'third movement of a symphony'. To some, it might mean a 3/4 metre, or two-bar phrases, or certain rhythms. To some, it might mean a particular character or affect—the noble, or the courtly, for instance. To some, it might mean 'French' or 'old'. To some, it might mean 'difficult' or 'uncomfortable'. To some, it might mean vague visual recollections of people bobbing up and down. And to a few, it might just be a word that means nothing at all. Yet—and this is the central tenet of my thesis—to *many* of them it would summon up the physical sensations of actually dancing the minuet.

This is why we started the chapter by undertaking the minuet step itself—I wanted to get off on the right foot (so to speak). Quite simply, in eighteenth-century Vienna the minuet was experienced primarily as a piece of music to which one *danced*—rather than as music to which one sat and listened. As such, for those who knew the minuet step and had spent years enacting it, I believe that the kinaesthetic activity of this step would have been the primary association in their conception of 'minuet'. Although

Haydn's own abilities as a dancer are poorly documented, biographical details from other composers' lives speak to the centrality of dance in their lives. Mozart's love of dance is the stuff of lore, as is Constanza's proclamation to the tenor Michael Kelly that 'great as his [Mozart's] genius was, he was an enthusiast in dancing, and often said that his taste lay in that art, rather than in music' (Allanbrook 1983, 32). The young Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf took extensive instruction from the noted dancer Angelo Pompeati (Salmen 1990, 47). Beethoven, as saw in Chapter 1, made it a priority to find a dancing master immediately upon his arrival in Vienna in 1792. In addition to its associations with particular phrase structures and harmonic constructions, then, the minuet would surely have held ingrained *somatic meaning* for anyone who danced it.

The available source materials support the assertion that the minuet was primarily experienced through dance. Of course, the various German-language dance treatises from the time all deal with the danced minuet, but what is striking is that the contemporaneous music-theoretical writings also do this. In their discussions of the minuet they consistently assume the *danced* minuet to be the model from which the norms of the genre are to be derived. After all, this was how the minuet was normally experienced—in the city's dance halls. Johann Kirnberger's article 'Menuet' in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, first issued in 1771 (Kirnberger 1787, 316-7),[3] begins: 'A small piece of music set for dancing in ¾ metre that consists of two parts, each of which has eight bars' (Kirnberger 1787, 316).[4] For Kirnberger, then, the minuet in its rawest form is the *danced minuet*. At the time Kirnberger was writing, composers had

[3] Beverly Jerold has recently expressed doubt over Kirnberger's authorship of some of the articles in the *Allgemeine Theorie*, arguing that Kirnberger's own pupils may have contributed more than previously thought, but does not mention the 'Menuet' article (Jerold 2013).
[4] 'Ein kleines fürs Tanzen geseztes Tonstük in ¾ Takt, das aus zwey Theilen besteht, deren jeder acht Takte hat.'

been writing minuets purely for seated listening for decades—yet when it comes to defining the minuet in terms of generic norms the danced version is immediately assumed, without qualification. Indeed, the article bears the dual subtitles 'Musik; Tanzkunst': music and dance are inseparable here. Later in the article, he goes on to distinguish danced minuets from minuets intended 'merely for playing' (zum bloßen Spielen), by which he means undanced minuets, written to for listening rather than dancing. He sets these undanced minuets against the norms of the danced minuet that he has earlier described. Surely this perspective reflects the common perspective of the day: if minuets were most commonly encountered in the dance hall, it is entirely reasonable to assess the genre in terms of the norms of the danced minuet.

Kirnberger's impulse to conceive immediately of the danced minuet is by no means unusual. Heinrich Christoph Koch's discussion of the minuet in the third volume of his *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, written at the very end of the century in 1793 (Koch 1983) expresses a similar perspective:

> The *minuet*, which, above all other dance melodies, is taken up most often in our modern compositions, moves (1) in a brisk ¾ metre, which can begin not only on the upbeat, but also with the downbeat. If it is arranged for dancing, then (2) its melodic sections must have a rhythmical relation of an equal number of measures; and (3) it must consist of two sections or reprises, each containing no more than eight measures. If, however, it is not designed for a dance, then not only can its reprises be of quite arbitrary length, but also its melodic sections can be of an unequal number of measures. (Koch 1983, 79)[5]

Koch echoes Kirnberger: the dance aspect of the minuet is utterly integral to the concept—the very first feature to be mentioned. Where Koch differs from Kirnberger is that he accounts for minuets 'not designed for a dance', in addition to those that are. We might still read something of a privileging of the danced minuet over the undanced minuet: the danced version is explained first, with the numbered points continuing

[5] I have adjusted Baker's translation slightly, changing her 'even' to 'equal' and 'uneven' to 'unequal', in order to make it clear that at no point does Koch suggest that a section can have an odd number of bars.

through its description, while the undanced version is outlined by way of comparison with the norms of the danced version. Yet Koch concerns himself with both types of minuet from the outset.

Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie* enjoyed wide circulation, and Kirnberger's article on the minuet was no exception; when Gerhard Vieth quotes from it in his dance treatise of 1795, for instance, he treats it as the received wisdom of the day (Vieth 1795, 428). It seems fair to consider it representative of general perspectives held of the minuet around the time in question, with its distinction between the danced minuet and the art minuet, and its adoption of the former type as the norm. Not only does this point add weight to the argument that somatic associations would immediately accompany the notion of the minuet, if the danced version was the given norm, but it also exposes a marked difference between theoretical approaches then and today. Take William Caplin's 1998 *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* as an example of a generally well received, popularly adopted theoretical approach: Caplin's discussion of 'Minuet/Trio Form' draws all its models solely from undanced minuets. Likewise, Nicholas Cook's *Analysis through Composition* textbook, which starts out with minuet arrangements, cites examples only from the undanced repertory (Cook 1996). Despite their previous prevalence both in theoretical writings and in general musical life, danced minuets are systematically excluded from present music-theoretical discussion.

The main reason for which the danced minuet has been sidelined, I believe, is simply that we know very little about it. While dance historians have shown considerable interest in earlier, theatrical versions of this dance, later manifestations have received

very little study, we simply do not know how the minuet was danced at the Viennese Redoute at the end of the eighteenth century. Nor do we know very much about the music to which it was danced: surprisingly few examples of *danced* minuet compositions have survived from this time, and those that do exist are not readily available. As I shall show, our limited understanding of the danced minuet as a musical genre is based on a remarkably thin body of evidence. In what follows, I examine the choreography of the danced minuet in 1790s Vienna, in an attempt to reconstruct this dance. In the next chapter, I explore the music of the danced minuet, with constant reference to the danced as established here. The reconstruction of the Redoute minuet's choreography is based on four German-language dance treatises that were in circulation at the time—C. J. von Feldtenstein's *Erweiterung der kunst nach der Chorographie zu tanzen* (1772), Gerhard Vieth's *Versuch einer Encyclopädie der Leibesübungen* (1795), Georg Link's *Vollkommene Tanzschule aller in Kompagnien und Bällen* (1796), and E. Chr. Mädel's *Die Tanzkunst für die elegante Welt* (1805).[6]

The minuet steps

Given the primacy of the danced minuet, let us return to the minuet step once more, and unpack it on the terms laid out by the dancing masters, on which I based my earlier basic description of the step. In their accounts of the minuet, writers typically start by explaining the minuet step itself, then going on to draw the bigger picture of the dance as

[6] I am grateful to the Dewey Library at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for allowing me access to their copy of Vieth's treatise, of which the Google scan is incomplete, to the Ohio State University Library for making available their microfilm of Links treatise, and to the New York Public Library for allowing me access to Mädel's treatise.

a whole. Feldtenstein's initial task, he explains, is to distribute the distinct four component steps that make up the whole 'minuet step' over the triple-metre music:

> I divide the *minuet* step hence into four parts. The union of these, of the four steps, is a *minuet* step. The metre of the *minuet* consists of three crotchets [to the bar]. So it not possible to bring the above four [steps] into these three divisions; however, the *cadance* consists of two minuet bars, and therefore constitutes six crotchets, which while also not proportional to the above four [steps] can be divided up. (Feldtenstein 1772, 78)[7]

The 'cadance' to which Feldtenstein refers is best understood as the rhythm of the dance steps. In other words, he cannot squeeze four steps into three crotchet beats, but can spread them, rhythmically, across six beats. Retaining his concern for proportion, he suggests a rhythmic distribution for the four steps:

> The basis, however, through which an even proportion (Ebenmaas) can be developed lies in the two theatrical steps out of which the minuet step is put together, that is to say out of the *pas demi coupé* and *pas de bourée*. The first is a bent step; the last consists of one bent step and two upright steps. . . . If therefore a *pas demi coupé* occupies the first bar, and a *pas de bourée* is expected at the second, then the measure of the *cadance* is correct. (Feldtenstein 1772, 78-79)[8]

To keep his even proportions, Feldtenstein explains that, although the minuet step as a whole consists of four steps, the latter three of these steps (a *demi coupé*, *élevé*, *élevé*) themselves constitute another type of 'theatrical' step—the *pas de bourée*. Parsing it this way, Feldtenstein can divide the minuet step into two steps—*demi coupé* followed by *pas de bourée*. Executing the *demi coupé* in the first bar and the *pas de bourée* in the second gives one step per bar, enabling a proportionally even *cadance* for the minuet step. Indeed, this is the very step distribution that we learnt at the start of this chapter.

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[7] 'Ich theile daher den *Menuet*-Schritt in vier Theile. Die Verbindung derselben, oder di vier Schritte, ist ein *Menuet*-Schritt. Der Takt der *Menuet* bestehet aus drey Vierteltheilen. Also ist es nicht möglich, die obigen viere in diese drey Theile zu bringen, die *Cadance* aber bestehet, aus zwey *Menuet*-Takten, und macht daher sechs Viertel aus, welche ebenfalls nicht proportionirt in die obern viere können vertheilet werden.'

[8] 'Der Grund aber woraus ein Ebenmaas entstehen kann, liegt in zwey theatralischen Schritten, aus welchen der *Menuet*-Schritt zusammen gesetzet, und zwar aus den *Pas demi Coupé* und *Pas de Bourée*. Der erste ist ein gebogener Schritt; der letztere bestehet aus einen gebogenen und zwey gehobenen Schritten. . . . Wenn daher ein *Pas demi Coupé*, auf dem ersten Takt aushält, und ein *Pas de Bourée* auf dem zweyten gerechnet wird, so ist das Maas der *Cadance* richtig.'

Feldtenstein's distribution of the component steps offers one coherent, satisfying way of organising the step, and perhaps the most frequently adopted *cadance* at the end of the eighteenth century.[9] The earlier Table 2.2 gives a detailed illustration of this very distribution, with each *demi coupé* broken down neatly into my 'BEND, PLACE, RISE' sequence. However, now that we are familiar with the division of *demi coupé* into its 'preparation' and 'arrival' stages, and now that we are exploring the historical sources in depth, Feldtenstein's minuet step can be charted in the more conventional manner given in Table 2.3. Here, we drop the pedagogical crutches of 'BEND, PLACE, RISE'; we acknowledge that the table denotes each step from its moment of arrival, and that preparation prior to this point is still necessary, even if not shown. For the *demi coupé*, the preparation is fairly involved, and requires most of the preceding beat. The *élevé* also require some preparation, albeit less than for the *demi coupé*; again, the gives the moment of the *élevé*'s arrival, when the foot lands on the floor.

Bar	1			2		
Beat	1	2	3	1	2	3
Step	*demi coupé* (R)			*demi coupé* (L)	*élevé* (R)	*élevé* (L)

Table 2.3: Feldtenstein's distribution of the minuet step.

Yet Feldtenstein's step distribution is by no means the only way of performing the minuet step over the two bars. Vieth offers a table similar to mine above, in his discussion of the minuet step, given here as Fig. 2.6. His version of the step differs from Feldtenstein's in that instead of a second *demi coupé* Vieth posits a *glissé*—a slide. Vieth's table in fact offers three possible options for the step distribution, and he explains

[9] This step distribution is generally accepted among historical-dance specialists to have been most commonly employed for the minuet at the end of the eighteenth century. As I shall discuss later, the sources perhaps suggest there was greater flexibility in step distribution at this time than is often recognised today.

that there are no rigid rules as to when precisely each component of the minuet step should be enacted, during the two bars. He insists that it is for the dancer to decide which distribution to use in the moment of the dance itself, on the basis of each distribution's suitability for the music:

> Any dancer that has a musical ear (which should be had by anyone who wants to concern themselves with dance) will judge according to their own sensibility whether this or that order of steps is suitable for this or that melodic passage. (Vieth 1795, 429)[10]

Erster Takt.			Zweiter Takt.		
Viertel) Erstes	Zweites	Drittes	Erstes	Zweites	Drittes
Schritte) 1. De	mi - cou	pé.	2.glis.	3. elevé	4 élevé
oder) 1. Demi-	coupé	2. glissé	3. é l e	v é	4. élevé
oder) 1. Demi-coupé	2. Gl	issé -	- - -	3. élevé	4. élevé

Figure 2.6: Vieth's options for step distribution (Vieth 1795, 429).

Vieth goes on to supply the first four bars of a minuet that he believes to have been composed by 'the great Haydn', to which he suggests that the first of his step sequences would be best applied (see Fig. 2.7). The concordance between the first step sequence and the melody is immediately clear: essentially, there is one step per note, with the *demi coupé* spanning the dotted minim and the *glissé* and two *élevés* over the following three crotchet beats. For Vieth, step-for-note concordance is the ideal here.

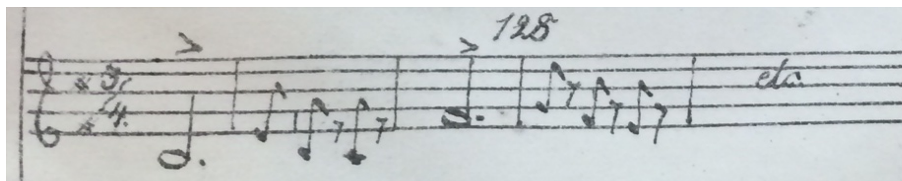

Figure 2.7: Vieth's 'Haydn' minuet (Vieth 1795, Tab. V).

[10] 'Jeder Tänzer, der ein musikalisches Ohr hat (das billig jeder haben sollte, der sich mit Tanzen abgeben will), wird nach seiner eigenen Empfindung beurtheilen, wie diese oder jene Ordnung der Schritte zu diesem oder jenem Gange der Melodie passend ist.'

Vieth's different step options quite clearly lend themselves to various standard rhythms that might well occur in a minuet. Vieth's assertion that his first option should be danced to a minuet with a rhythm of one dotted minim followed by three crotchets (as shown in Fig. 2.6) is evidence that he values concordance between steps and music: the musical rhythm is in fact identical to that of the steps, with the long *demi coupé* in the first bar followed by a step on each crotchet beat of the second bar. His other step options imply other likely rhythms. Option 2, with its steps on beats 1 and 3 of each bar, gives rise to a clear long-short, minim-crotchet pattern. Option 3, with its long *glissé* starting on beat 2 of bar 1, suggests a musical phrase rhythm with a similarly prominent second beat, perhaps infused with connotations of the sarabande.[11] Perhaps the aberrant upper-case 'g' of 'Glissé' in option 3 bespeaks some degree of consciousness of the pronounced nature of this particular *glissé*, whose beginning surely requires far clearer definition than is the case with the *glissés* of options 1 and 2.

Vieth's minuet step differs from Feldtenstein's beyond his replacing the second *demi coupé* with a *glissé*. Whereas Feldtenstein grouped the component steps of his composite minuet step into a *demi coupé* and a *pas de bourée*, Vieth seems to consider his four components as four separate entities. Nowhere in the text does Vieth explicitly group the four component steps into larger divisions, as Feldtenstein does when determining his 'even proportion'. Vieth also does not specify whether any steps begin with a BEND, apart from the initial *demi coupé*, which always contains a BEND. Typically, BENDS mark the divisions within a minuet step, with minuet steps normally containing two, or occasionally three (Feldtenstein specifies two). (A minuet step with two BENDS is

[11] We should note, though, that many choreographed versions of the sarabande do not in fact reflect the prominent second beat with a similarly pronounced step—this is not necessary an utterly requisite feature of the dance.

described as 'à deux movements', and one with three is 'à trois movements'.) This said, despite the fact that Vieth does not explicitly state any divisions, a dancer performing his version of the minuet step might undertake his/her own perceptual organisation. The combination of a *demi coupé* followed by a *glissé* is in fact a step in itself—the *pas coupé*. This would surely be immediately apparent to a dancer, performing these two steps in succession, who would likely perceive the two together as a single entity. Not only would this contribute to a sense of continuity between the first two component parts of Vieth's minuet step, but it also affects the relationship between the steps and the music: in option 2, the resultant *coupé* occupies the first bar, and the following two *élevés* the second bar, but in options 1 and 3 the *coupé* cuts across the barline, potentially creating a disjunctive relationship between steps and music.

Vieth's account of the minuet step does in fact lack some other key details, in addition to the above. Whereas with my Table 2.3 earlier I clearly stated that I was designating the *arrival* stage of each step, and that therefore the preparation stages must occur prior to that, nowhere does Vieth explicitly specify the breakdown of each step in his table. In his first step option, the *demi coupé* is shown spread across all three beats of bar 1, but he offers no specification beyond this as to how the various stages of the *demi coupé*—the BEND, PLACE, RISE sequence—should be distributed across this time span, or indeed whether this just denotes the RISE part of the sequence, with BEND and PLACE to be carried out prior to the downbeat of this bar.[12] In Vieth's third option the *demi coupé* is squeezed into one beat, which does not offer sufficient time for a BEND, PLACE, RISE sequence to take place. In this option BEND and PLACE clearly need to be folded into the

[12] The indentation of 'demi-coupé' in option 1 surely arises out of mere typographical necessity, following the word 'Schritte'.

élevé on the final beat of bar 2, leaving the RISE for bar 1^1. Similar ambiguity pertains to Vieth's designation of the *glissé*. Sliding the foot along the floor is of course a drawn-out motion. The positioning of 'glissé' in the first option probably shows its arrival point, at bar 2^1. In contrast, the spread-out positioning of 'glissé' across three beats in the third option probably suggests that the motion starts at bar 1^2, arriving around bar 2^1. In the comparatively uninvolved *élevé* step, we are surely safe to assume that the positioning of this in the table probably marks the moment when the foot hits the floor and assumes the body's weight—on beats 2 and 3 of bar 2 in the first and third options, and on beats 1 and 3 in the second option. In general, and with the exception of the third option's *glissé*, I suspect that Vieth's table gives the moment of each step's arrival, its preparation to take place beforehand.

Several possible reasons might account for these ambiguities in Vieth's description. To start with, Vieth probably did not expect his treatise, which forms part of a larger book on general etiquette, to provide the sole basis for tuition in dance. In most cases, it probably supplemented lessons from a dancing master, where such points would be ironed out. Moreover, Vieth might have simply omitted this information because he did not consider it necessary. Indeed, his readiness to leave decisions over which step option to employ up to the dancer might extend to the distribution of each component step itself—for the first step option, for example, perhaps Vieth would rather that the dancer decides whether to execute the entire BEND, PLACE, RISE sequence during bar 1, or whether to enact the BEND and PLACE stages before the downbeat of bar 1. And perhaps it is understandable that Vieth preferred to conceive of the stages only in holistic terms: my own perceived need to spell out each stage of the step carefully probably stems from an

anxiety to recover the 1795 minuet according to Vieth as faithfully as possible, and my version of faithfulness is to attempt to reconstruct the step with internal rhythmic distributions as close to those that Vieth knew; yet perhaps for Vieth the internal rhythmic distribution simply was not set, and more important was for the dancer to choose a rhythm coherent with the music. On the one hand, then, Vieth's account of the minuet runs somewhat short for the scholar attempting to reconstruct the minuet, in its omission of various key details regarding the step's makeup. But on the other hand it offers some valuable lessons. First, it clearly shows that, for some at least, there is no one, single way to distribute the minuet step's component parts across each two bars. Second, it explicitly states that concordance between step and music is desirable—indeed, this is what should determine the distribution of the step. Finally, Vieth's account constitutes a reminder to us today, wherever possible, not to let a concern for specifics result in an overly pointillistic conception of the dance.

In addition to those of Feldtenstein and Vieth, Mädel offers yet another possible distribution for the minuet step:

> The minuet step is divided into a certain numeric distribution, as: 1, 2, 3, 4. Thereupon go two musical bars. The music behind the minuet has three crotchets to the bar; two [bars] consequently make six crotchets, into which these 1, 2, 3, 4 must be divided, namely: on 1, step for two crotchets; on 2, one crotchet; on 3, one crotchet; on 4, two crotchets; hence on 1 it has a crotchet pause, and on 4 the same, which one would count: 1, -, 2, 3, 4, -; (the dash denotes the pause). (Mädel 1805, 34)[13]

In a manner similar to Feldtenstein's, Mädel presents the four component parts of the minuet step against the music's 3/4 metre, then finding a way to distribute the steps across two bars of music. His minuet step differs from all those that we have examined so

[13] 'Der Menuetschritt ist nach einem gewissen Zahlmaaße eingetheilt, als: 1, 2, 3, 4. Hierauf gehen zwei Musiktakte. Die Musik zur Menuet hat Dreivierteltakt, zwei machen folglich sechsviertel, die in diese 1, 2, 3, 4, eingetheilt werden müssen, nämlich: auf 1, gehen zweiviertel; auf 2, einviertel; auf 3, einviertel; auf 4, zweiviertel; es hat daher 1, einviertel Pause, und 4, desgleichen, welches man nun so zählen wird: 1, -, 2, 3, 4, -; (Der Gedankenstrich bedeutet die Pause)'.

far, particularly in his placement of the last component step one beat earlier than both Feldtenstein and Vieth. (In case it is not clear from his prose, Table 2.4 shows Mädel's distribution of the minuet step.)

Bar	1			2		
Beat	1	2	3	1	2	3
Step	1		2	3	4	

Table 2.4: Mädel's distribution of the minuet step.

Mädel states as his 'rule no. 1' that 'in the minuet the right foot always has the priority. When one counts 1, it must always be [onto] the right foot' (Mädel 1805, 36).[14] However, unlike the other dancing masters, he omits to mention precisely what steps his '1, 2, 3, 4' actually comprise. Yet this is not as surprising as it might initially seem. It suggests that Mädel probably assumed himself to be writing for a readership that already knew the minuet to some extent, and indeed may have had lessons in person with a dancing master. His text, then, is intended as supplementary to a prior, working understanding of the minuet. Moreover, it may indicate some flexibility on his part: Mädel may not want to prescribe a particular set of steps, preferring to leave this up to the individual dancer's preference. Alternatively, he may consider one particular step combination to be so widely known and taken as 'correct' that there is no need to spell it out. Whatever the case, his emphasis is on the rhythmic distribution of the four component steps over each two bars. Suppose, however, that we take the step combination suggested by Feldtenstein, of *demi coupé* followed by *pas de bourée*, (the *pas de bourée* consisting of *demi coupé*, *élevé*, *élevé*), and apply Mädel's rhythmic distribution to it. (After all, this is generally taken to be the step combination most

[14] 'Regel 1. In der Menuet hat der rechte Fuß stets den Vorzug. So wie man 1 zählet, muß es allemal der rechte Fuß seyn'.

popularly adopted at the end of the century.) Table 2.5 shows how such a distribution would work.

Bar	1			2		
Beat	1	2	3	1	2	3
Step	*demi coupé*		*demi coupé*	*éleve*	*éleve*	

Table 2.5: Feldtenstein's component steps with Mädel's distribution.

What is noticeable about Mädel's rhythmic scheme when applied to this step combination is that his two two-beat steps both precede the *demi coupé* steps. The *demi coupé* being the step with the involved preparation stage, with BEND and PLACE needing time for their execution, such a rhythmic distribution works well, in that it allows time for the unhurried, graceful execution of both *demi coupés*. In other words, while Mädel's rhythmic scheme might initially seem somewhat ungainly—stilted, even—with its accented bar 2^2, in terms of the practical necessities of each step it works very well.

In short, while there are several variations across the accounts of the minuet step given by Feldtenstein, Vieth and Mädel, certain key features bind all the descriptions together. All agree that the minuet step comprises four component steps, and that these are executed over two bars of music in 3/4 metre. Where stated, all agree that it starts on the right foot with a *demi coupé*, and ends with two *élevés*. To say that the dancing masters 'disagree' over the rhythmic distribution of the four component steps might be somewhat inaccurate: it is not so much that they disagree, but rather that they recognise that there is flexibility between the various available options for distribution of the step, and simply advocate for their preferred option(s). Whichever version of the minuet step a dancer chooses, he/she repeats this step over and over, for the entire duration of the dance. Earlier in the minuet's history, when it was chiefly a theatrical dance, performers would incorporate various other steps, in addition to the minuet step, into the dance. By

the end of the century, however, the minuet step alone was used, in the group version of the dance.

So far, among people practising historical dance, there has been little interest in or demand for the minuet as practised in Vienna during the latter part of the eighteenth century (hence the need for my exploration of the source materials here). Among these people, though, there seems to be a general acceptance that the step combination and its rhythmic distribution was largely set by this point, and followed the pattern outlined by Feldtenstein. Taking into account these other sources suggests that the situation might have been somewhat more heterogeneous: in fact, there seems to have been a diverse array of options, from which an advanced, discerning dancer would select the most ideal for the occasion and circumstances that presented themselves.

The minuet figures

The minuet's characteristic Z-figure

The minuet consists of a defined set of 'figures'—patterns traced across the dance floor—executed by each couple. Over the dance's history, these figures stayed largely the same in their order and general outline. As with the step, dance treatises show only fairly mild variations between the various figures. These treatises allow us to draw a composite picture as to what each of these figures looked like, which we can then build out into an overview of the dance as a whole. They offer their evidence through various means. Feldtenstein's treatise contains only brief textual descriptions of each figure, but an extensive set of diagrams, detailing every step's placement on the floor for each of the main shapes. Link, who did not deal with the minuet step itself, makes some highly

useful specifications regarding the figures: he lists the starting and ending foot position of each figure, and states the number of bars each should take; from this, we can confirm a running order for the figures (only vaguely stated in the other treatises), as well as their duration. Mädel offers detailed textual descriptions of some of the key figures, breaking them down step by step. Vieth, who was very forthcoming on the subject of the step itself, offers a brief outline of the figures, but little detail. While I focus on these German-language treatises, I supplement them with information from other sources, such as Monsieur Malpied's *Traité sur l'art de la danse* (Malpied 1785), in order to clarify certain points.

Throughout its history, the minuet has always been known for one characteristic figure in particular—a 'Z' shape—through which the dancers move. Although this is not the very first figure of the dance, I want to start with it here, since it is unquestionably the most important. As Vieth describes it, 'two parallel lines, joined together by a transverse line, make up the principal line' (Vieth 1795, 431).[15] Feldtenstein offers a plain figure showing the 'Z' shape as the conceptual basis of the minuet, onto which he will later superimpose the necessary steps (see Fig. 2.8). He also spells this out in a rather basic manner, similar to Vieth: 'The choreographic figure of the *minuet* suggests a Latinate *Z*, which is assembled out of two *diametric* and one *diagonal* lines' (Feldtenstein 1772, 74-75).[16] The pace at which Feldtenstein and Vieth explain seems rather laboured, especially if they believe themselves to be writing for an audience that already has some practical experience of the dance. Feldtenstein even gives two further diagrams in addition to his 'Z'—one showing a single horizontal line, and one showing a diagonal. Yet I believe that

[15] 'Zwey Parallellinien, durch eine Transversallinie verbunden, machen die Hauptlinie aus.'

[16] 'Die Chorographische Figur der *Menuet*, stellet ein lateinisches *Z* vor (T. 3. Fig. 60.) welches aus zwey *Diametral*, (siehe Fig. 2. T. 2.) und einer *Diagonal*- (Fig. 4. T. 2.) Linie zusammengesetzet ist.'

the slow pacing of this explanation is deliberate: the dancing masters need to etch this shape into their students' minds.

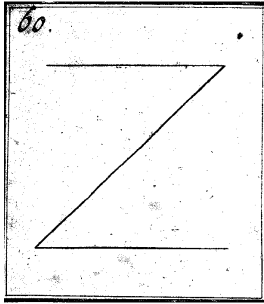

Figure 2.8: Feldtenstein's minuet basis (Feldtenstein 1772, Fig. 60).

The reason that the *conceptual* basis of the Z-figure needs to be so emphatically put is that the shape might not be immediately visible, just from watching (or even dancing) the patterns that arise in relation to it. The couple does not simply trace a 'Z' shape across their area of the dance floor: this would be considered far too plain for a dance like the minuet. Rather, they weave a pattern that carefully curves around the conceptual diagonal of the Z—a sinuous pattern to which the minuet in no small part owes its gracefulness and charm. In a later figure, which employs a somewhat basic form of Beauchamps-Feuillet notation, a popular means of notating dance throughout the eighteenth century, Feldtenstein goes on to show precisely how the dancers outline this figure. This diagram, shown in Fig. 2.9, is in fact fairly straightforward to unpack.

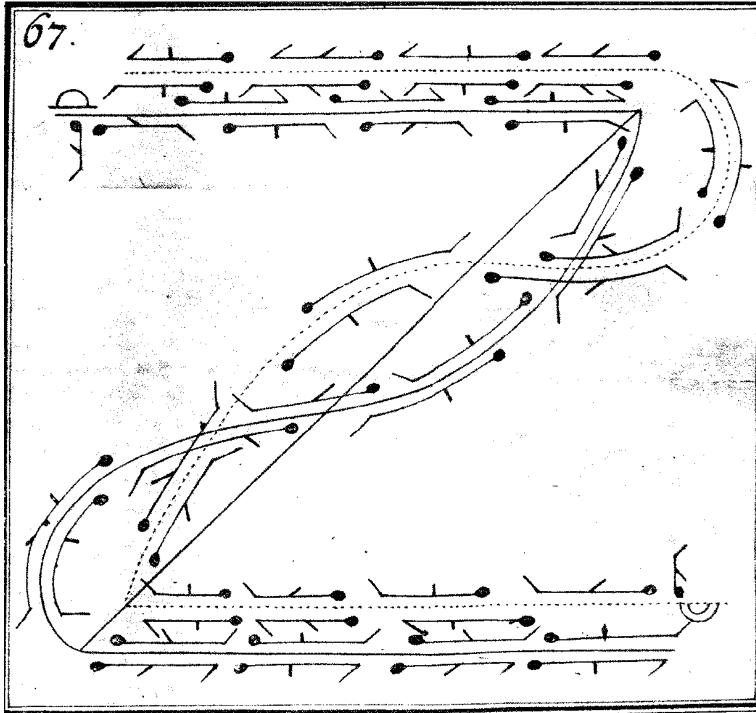

Figure 2.9 Feldtenstein's Z-figure (Feldtenstein 1772, Fig. 67).

For the sake of a straightforward explanation here, I will equate the top of the figure with north. In the upper-left corner of the diagram is a semicircle closed at the bottom with a straight line: this symbol represents the starting position of the male dancer in the northwest corner of the dancing space, and tells us that he is standing facing south. In the lower-right corner are two semicircles, one enclosing the other, and with a dotted line above them: this represents the starting position of the female dancer, who is in the southeast corner, facing north. The two dancers, then, start at opposite ends of the Z, both facing in towards the middle of the dance floor. The male dancer follows the path of continuous line with the marked steps.[17] As we see it on the page: he first moves from the upper-left corner to the upper-right; he next curves his way around the diagonal line, from the upper-right to the lower-left corner; finally, he moves along the bottom of the figure, from the lower-left to the lower-right corner. The female dancer follows the dotted

[17] This is to say he does not follow the straight diagonal line, which has no steps marked.

line, which we read off the page as moving from the lower-right corner to the lower-left, then following a curving route from the lower-left to the upper-right corner, then moving from the upper-right to the upper-left corner.

This is how the dancers' movements appear *on the page*, and would appear if we were watching from up above the dance floor, hanging from a chandelier. From the dancer's own perspective, however, the sensation is different: what we read off the page as a rightward motion for the male dancer, from the upper-left corner to the upper-right, is for the actual dancer, who is facing south, a *leftward* motion. And what looks from above to be a leftward motion for the female dancer, from the upper-right to the upper-left corner at the end of her figure, is experienced from her perspective, facing south, as a *rightward* motion. In short, the Z-figure entails the same set of movements for both dancers in the couple. For the first part, they execute leftward sidesteps. Next, they wind across the diagonal, first with a curve out to the left and then one out to the right; they pass right shoulders with each other in the centre of the floor. As they arrive at the other side of the diagonal, a fast turn will be necessary, to reverse the direction in which the body is facing. Following this turn, they perform rightward sidesteps, ultimately arriving in the location from which their partner started the figure.

Two points are not easily conveyed by the notational system that Feldtenstein employs, so I clarify them here. First, the directional orientation of the body in relation to the step changes over the course of the shape. In the prose, Feldtenstein explains that when moving along the diagonal line of the 'Z' shape the dancer must step forwards (*Pas en avant*), but that when moving along the horizontal lines one must step sideways (*Pas à Coté*), rather than forwards (Feldtenstein 1772, 75). In other words, if I am dancing the

first and third parts of the Z-figure, I step in a direction at 90 degrees to that in which my body is facing; in the second part, though, curving across the diagonal, I continually turn my body, such that the step is always 'forwards' in relation to the directional orientation of my face and torso. The second point of clarification is that when I arrive at the end of the second part of the Z-figure, I need to turn my body so that I am facing in the opposite direction, in order that I end the figure facing into the middle of the dance floor. This necessitates a fast, anticlockwise turn to connect parts two and three of the Z-figure (the logistics of which are explained in detail in Chapter 3).

To read the *individual steps* in Feldtenstein's diagram, we first need to recall that he describes the minuet step as a *demi coupé* followed by a *pas de bourée*, and that the *pas de bourée* itself consists of a *demi coupé* followed by two *élevés* (plain steps). This gives us our four-part minuet step, starting on the right foot—*demi coupé* (R), *demi coupé* (L), *élevé* (R), *élevé* (L). Fig. 2.10, reprinted here from Feldtenstein's treatise, contains these ingredients for the minuet step.

Figure 2.10 Feldtenstein's ingredients for the minuet step (Feldtenstein 1772, Fig. 68).

Take the left-most symbol in this figure, which pertains to the right foot. The filled-in circle at the bottom shows the starting position for my foot. The long line extending out of this circle shows the path that my foot will travel. The short line extending diagonally

from the top of the long line shows where my foot will land, and in pointing north-east tells me that my right foot will be turned out from my body at 45 degrees. The diagonal dash in the middle of the long line tells me that this step begins with a BEND—in other words, it is a *demi coupé*. The sole difference between this symbol and the next symbol along, for the left foot, is that the short line at the top extends from the long line in the north-west direction, indicating that my left foot also ends its *demi coupé* turned out from the body. The two foot symbols on the right of this figure are distinguished from those on the left by their perpendicular dash in the middle of the long line, where the left two had a diagonal dash. This perpendicular dash indicates that this step is taken with the leg straight, with no bend—that this step is an *élevé*. (The fact that one perpendicular dash extends out to the left of the long line and the other to the right has no significance here.)

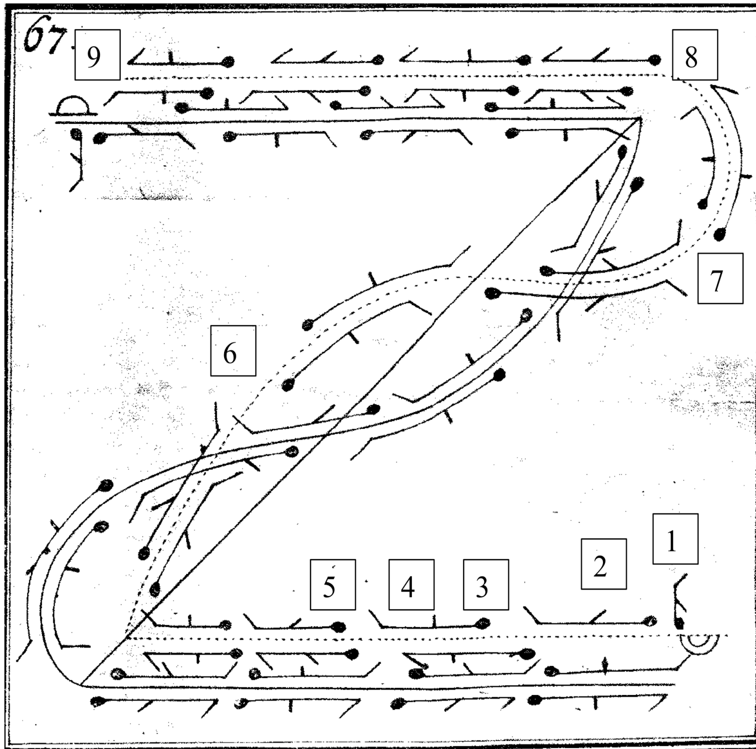

Figure 2.11: Feldtenstein's Z-figure with annotations.

Returning to Feldtenstein's larger diagram, shown with annotations as Fig. 2.11, let us focus on the female dancer's part, which (as discussed above) starts in the lower-right corner of the figure, and follows the broken line to its left. At (1) we see the very same symbol that began Fig. 2.10, denoting a forwards *demi coupé* on the right foot.[18] The symbol at (2) shows the next *demi coupé*, on the left foot. Reading leftwards, with the step, the symbol starting directly below (3) shows the first *élevé*, on the right foot; the positioning of this symbol lower on the page than those of the left foot conveys that the right foot passes behind the left, in this step.[19] The symbol at (4) shows the second *élevé* of the minuet step, on the left foot. We thus have our first complete minuet step of the Z-figure, over symbols (1)-(4). This is followed by a second leftward minuet step, starting at (5), which only differs from the first in that the first *demi coupé* continues the leftward motion, rather than travelling forwards. Moving across the diagonal, (6) shows the dancer's first minuet step curving out to the left of the diagonal, and (7) shows her second, curving out to the right. At some point around (6)-(7) she will pass her partner over the right shoulder. At (8) the dancer turns to face inward,[20] and begins her two rightward minuet steps to finish the figure. At (9) she has arrived in the position from which her partner began his own Z-figure. As such, she is ready to begin the return journey. With two minuet steps for each part, then, Feldtenstein's Z-figure takes six minuet steps in total. Recalling that each minuet step spans two bars of music, we understand that his Z-figure covers twelve bars.

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[18] The filled-in circle at the bottom of this symbol here comes to the right of the long line. Feldtenstein does not seem to attach any significance to this aspect of the notation—the circle variously appears on both sides of, and centre-aligned with, the line, for both feet.

[19] The short diagonal line at the end of the long line is incorrectly angled in this symbol and for the remainder of the leftward sidesteps in this figure: the right foot should simply retain the turnout that it established in its previous step.

[20] Feldtenstein does not notate the turn, even though this is possible in Beauchamps-Feuillet notation. It is clear from his prose, however, that he expects the turn to happen.

Descriptions in the other treatises cohere closely with Feldtenstein's prescribed scheme. In fact, compared with their instructions for the rest of the minuet, the dancing masters' explanations of the Z-figure are strikingly consistent across the board. Vieth advises that 'preferably, one dances the minuet with eight sidesteps (with a double cadence)' (Vieth 1795, 432).[21] By 'eight sidesteps' he means eight component steps, or two minuet steps, as he clarifies with 'double cadence'—the same number of steps as Feldtenstein. Likewise, Link stipulates that each part of the Z-figure should span four bars of music; with two bars of music for each step, this also means two minuet steps for each part of the figure (Link 1796, 17). Mädel's description also runs along similar lines—essentially, it constitutes the content of Feldtenstein's diagram in prose form. He explains the rightward sidestep first:

> First half. In the aforementioned direction [rightward] now one steps with the right foot into second position, and counts 1; then draws the left behind the right into third position, and counts 2; then with the right again placed into second position, and counts 3; then the left again drawn behind the right into third position, and counts 4. . . . Second half. Is as the first. (Mädel 1805, 36-7)[22]

Mädel's descriptions of the leftward sidestep and crossing the diagonal follow this pattern, broken down into each component step. For Mädel, too, each part of the Z-figure comprises two minuet steps. He also agrees with Feldtenstein regarding which foot should pass behind which during the sidesteps. In short, this corroboration of Feldtenstein's scheme for the Z-figure by the other dancing masters suggests that by this point it is largely a stable part of the dance's form, executed in a similar manner by all practitioners.

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[21] '. . . man gern die Menuet mit acht Seitenpas (mit einer doppelten Cadence) tanzt'.

[22] 'Erste Hälfte. In vorerwähnter Richtung nun streife man mit dem rechten Fuß aus in die zweite Position, und zähle 1; ziehe dann den linken hinter den rechten in die dritte Position, und zähle 2; dann mit dem rechten abermals ausgestreifet in die zweite Position, und zähle 3; dann den linken nochmals hinter den rechten in die dritte Position gezogen, und zähle 4. . . . Zweite Hälfte. Ist wie die erste.'

The dancers repeat the Z-figure, typically several times. Vieth describes the presentation of this *Hauptfigur* as going on 'for some time' (Vieth 1795, 431).[23] This is really the defining part of the minuet; Feldtenstein calls it 'the action of the whole minuet' (Feldtenstein 1772, 75).[24] However, the Z-figure is not the only figure: there are several other parts to the dance, consistently mentioned across the treatises and deeply rooted in the dance's history. Although the treatises differ, sometimes quite significantly, over the specific details of various figures, it is clear that a general scheme is consistently followed. Vieth lists the stages in order:

> The beginning is made with two bows, the first to the society, the other with a few passing steps towards the *Moitié*. Thereupon follows the presentation of the *Hauptfigur* [the Z-figure] through some steps in the round. After one has danced the *Hauptfigur* for some time comes the giving of the right and then the left hands; then will return again to the *Hauptfigur*, and finally with the giving of both hands and with two bows [the dance] ends. (Vieth 1795, 431-2)[25]

The minuet always opens with 'révérences'—bows to the assembled company and to one's partner—following which the couple make their way to their positions at opposite ends of the Z, by routes of varying intricacy. Next comes the Z-figure, which is danced at least twice, and is often danced several times at this point. Following this comes the 'giving of right hands', in which the couple loop around each other in a clockwise direction, taking and then releasing each other's right hand, and then the 'giving of left hands', in which they loop around each other anticlockwise, taking left hands. After this, the Z-figure normally returns, repeated as before. Finally comes the 'giving of both hands', where the partners turn in towards each other, take hands, and execute a partial

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[23] 'Nachdem man einige Zeit in der Hauptfigur fortgetanzt hat . . .'
[24] 'Die Aktion der ganzen *Menuet*'.
[25] 'Der Anfang wird mit zwey Verbeugungen gemacht, die erste gegen die Gesellschaft, die andere mit ein Paar Zwischenschritten gegen die *Moitié*. Sodann erfolgt das Einführen in die Hauptfigur durch einige Schritte in der Runde. Nachdem man einige Zeit in der Hauptfigur fortgetanzt hat, kommt das Geben der rechten, sodann der linken Hand; wiederum wird in die Hauptfigur eingekehrt, und endlich durch das Geben beyder Hände und mit zwey Verbeugungen geendigt.'

circular figure together before releasing hands. At the very end come the closed 'révérences', which typically follow the same pattern as those that began the dance. With only very rare exceptions (discussed below), all the figures between the *révérences* can be assumed to be executed over the ongoing minuet step.

Other figures of the minuet

The opening 'révérences' of the minuet hail from the dance's earlier setting in the court, where the entire dance performance would be directed to the *présence*, seated at the head of the room. In this context, each dancer would begin the minuet by bowing to the *présence*, before stepping inward to face and bow to each other. Fig. 1.1, given in Chapter 1, from Pierre Rameau's *Le maître à danser*, depicts such a scene in the court of Louis XIV. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, at the Redoute, with multiple couples dancing simultaneously and with no *présence*, the first *révérence* was typically conceived and enacted as a general bow to the assembled company. Vieth, for instance, explains that 'the beginning is made with two bows, the first to the society, the other with a few passing steps towards the *Moitié*' (Vieth 1795, 431). Mädel spells out the *révérences* in rather more detail, detailing foot positions and counting out the stages, 1, 2, 3, 4:

> The gentleman stands side by side with his lady[26] in second position; now he draws his left foot behind his right; the lady simultaneously [draws] her right behind her left foot into third position; they count 1, and both pay a compliment [i.e. take a bow] in this position (which applies to the observers); then the gentleman places the right [foot] and the lady the left foot forwards in fourth position as 2; now both dancers turn opposite each other, the gentleman with the left [foot], the lady with the right [foot] in second position, as 3; and the gentleman draws the right behind the left, the lady the left behind the right foot, in third position, as 4; and together they pay the compliment reciprocally to each other. (Mädel 1805, 41-2)[27]

[26] Literally: 'in a straight line close to each other'.
[27] 'Der Herr steht mit seiner Dame auf gerader Linie nah an einander in der zweiten Position, so ziehet er nun den linken Fuß hinter den rechten; die Dame sogleich mit ihm, den rechten hinter den linken Fuß in die

Mädel also advises the male dancer to remove his hat at this point with his left hand, and to let it hang down casually with the arm (Mädel 1805, 42).[28] Mädel's numbering here should not be mistaken for the numbered step components of a single minuet step, as seen in his earlier description of the step. Although there are also four stages here, there is far too much going on here for it all to happen over the space of a single minuet step, or two bars of music. Rather, Mädel seems to be advocating a set of just a few slow steps, which would probably take place over eight bars of music.[29] By way of further clarification, Fig. 2.12 shows Malpied's notated version of the *révérences* that begin the famous *Menuet de la Cour*. Malpied advocates for a considerably more complex step than that of Mädel, as the notation shows, but we need not concern ourselves with that here. His diagram is useful to us in that it clearly shows the basic trajectory of the *révérences*, with the first bow at the foot of the page, and the second, facing inwards, further up (the top of the page representing the head of the room). The same pattern is true of the *révérences* at the end of the century.

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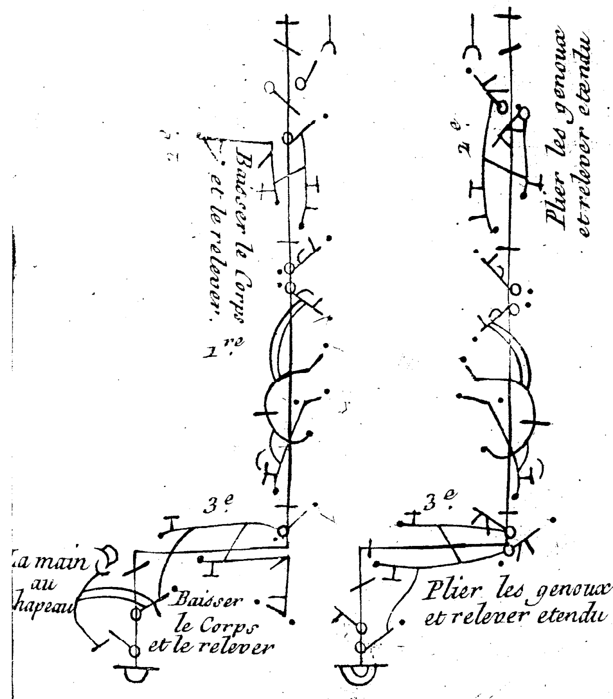
dritte Position, zählen 1, und machen so beide in dieser Stellung ein Kompliment; (welches den Zuschauern gilt) dann sezzet der Herr den rechten, die Dame den linken Fuß vor in die vierte Position als 2; nun drehen sich beide Tänzer gegen einander, der Herr mit dem linken, die Dame mit dem rechten in die zweite Position, als 3; und ziehen, der Herr den rechten hinter den linken, die Dame den linken hinter den rechten Fuß, in die dritte Position, als 4; und machen sich zugleich dabei gegenseitig einander das Kompliment.'

[28] Hat der Herr den Hut auf, so ziehet er ihn bei dem ersten Kompliment (für die Zuschauer) mit der linken Hand ab, und läßt ihn mit den Armen nachlässig herabfallen.

[29] The fact that alternate feet move in Mädel's description suggests that these are the only steps that he deems necessary for this figure—he is not describing the start and end positions for *sets* of steps.



The next stage of the minuet, in which the dancers must travel from the position in which they end the *révérences* to their starting positions for the Z-figure, exposes the greatest discrepancies between the treatises. Indeed, it speaks to the possible different aims and intentions of the dancing masters: Feldtenstein, for instance, seems to advocate a very simple, workmanlike version of the dance, possible for a beginner to learn without too much difficulty, while Link's suggestions point to a more complex, theatrical version of the dance, strongly reminiscent of some of the court minuets from earlier in the century. Vieth makes no mention of this stage, in his account of the minuet: in his brief account of the overall outline (quoted earlier) he simply moves from the *révérences* to the Z-figure.

Feldtenstein suggests a very straightforward path for the dancers to find their way to their positions at either end of the Z. He proposes that 'the dancers stand on the diametric line and through straight and circular lines make a start to the dance' (Feldtenstein 1772, 75),[30] as his diagram, given here as Fig. 2.13, shows. As we can read from the diagram, according to Feldtenstein's scheme each dancer takes one minuet step forward, followed by one somewhat oval minuet step in an anticlockwise direction, to get to their sides of the Z. They would then each need to take some rightward sidesteps, to arrive at their respective ends of the Z. Each dancer would likely execute two rightward minuet steps, to achieve this. This being the case, Feldtenstein's figure would come to a total of four minuet steps, or eight bars of music, to transfer the dancers from the end of the *révérences* to the start of the Z-figure.

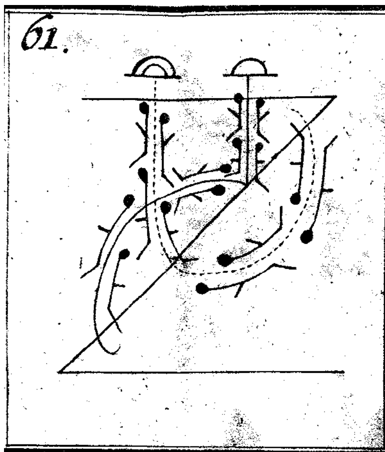


Figure 2.13: Feldtenstein's figure preceding the Z-figure (Feldtenstein 1772, Fig. 61).

Compared to Feldtenstein's description of this stage, those of Link and Mädel look considerably more involved. Link does not give diagrams or a prose description, but in his lists of foot positions and bar durations he details four components between the end

[30] 'Die tanzenden Personen stehen auf der Diametrallinie und machen durch gerade und Cirkellinien den Anfang zum Tanze, wie an der Figur (T. 3. Fig. 61) zusehen ist.'

of the *révérences* and the start of the Z-figure.[31] He specifies first one *Zurückführungs-Pas*—a 'return step', taking the dancers back to the position in which they performed the first bow of the *révérences* at the very start of the dance. This he follows with an *Aufführungs-Pas*—or simply a 'forwards step'. Next come two *Umführungs-Pas*—or 'leading around steps', in which the male dancer takes the hand of the female dancer and they step around a semicircular path. Finally come two *rechten Seiten-Pas*—rightward sidesteps—and the dancers are in position to begin the Z-figure. This set of steps is rather difficult to visualise, but fortunately it maps closely onto a diagram in Beauchamps-Feuillet notation from Malpied's treatise, taken from his depiction of the *Menuet d'Exaudet* (see Fig. 2.14).

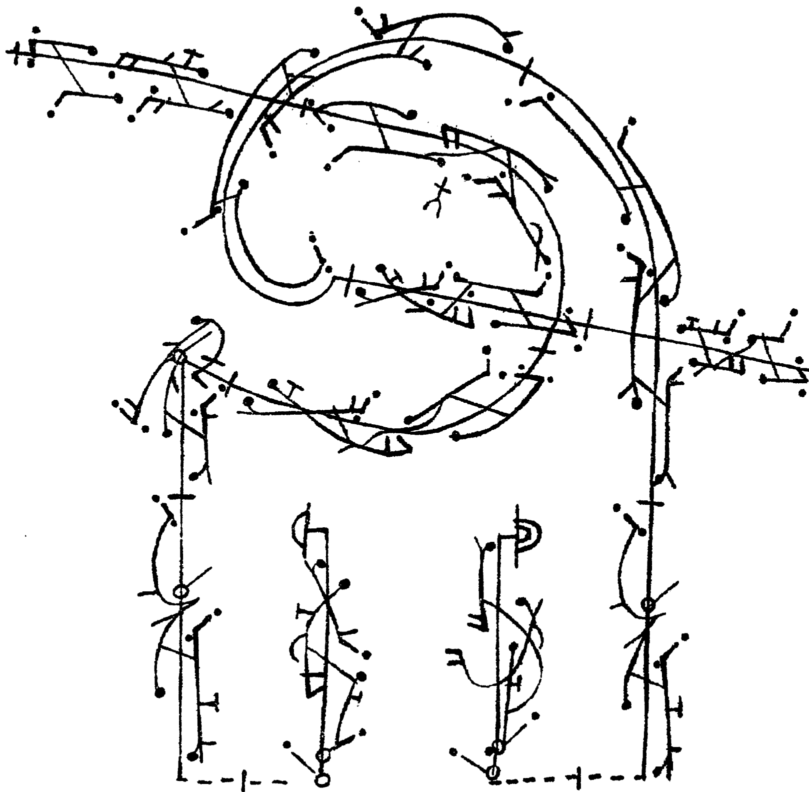


Figure 2.14: Malpied's *Menuet D'Exaudet*.

[31] Or five, if we include the two-bar pause he posits following the end of the second bow.

Although Malpied, in this theatrical version of the dance, uses steps other than the minuet step, his figure here comprises the same number of steps for each component part as Link recommends. With the male dancer on the left and the female dancer on the right, (1) shows the *Zurückführungs-Pas*, in which the dancers reorient themselves from facing inwards to facing the head of the room (the top of the diagram). (2) gives the *Aufführungs-Pas* that follows.[32] (3) and (4) show the *Umführungs-Pas*, and (5) and (6) the *rechten Seiten-Pas*. Midway through (5) a symbol shows that the dancers release their left hands, suggesting that Malpied omitted to insert a symbol, probably in (4), telling them to take hands. Malpied's diagram contains more information than we need regarding the specifics of each step, but is useful for tracing the overall path of the figure that Link advocates here, since it corresponds so closely. For both Link and Malpied, this stage entails six steps in total, or twelve bars of music.

Although Mädel does not spell it out quite with the clarity that Link's ordering provides, he seems to have a similar figure in mind. Mädel operates under a strict policy of never explaining anything twice. This, coupled with the fact that he puts his description of the Z-figure at the start of his minuet explanation, means that we have to jump around his text to piece together his conception of this stage of the minuet from somewhat disparate parts of his text. Helpfully, though, he follows his description of the *révérences* with the 'Rukpas', which functions like Link's 'Zurückführungs-Pas' to return the dancers from the positions from which they started the dance. Mädel follows this with the 'Vorführung', which he states is to position the dancers opposite each other,

[32] The broken line at the bottom of the page can be discounted: the dancers proceed along the same line down which they just travelled; Malpied just needs to notate the following step slightly to the side, so as to avoid writing over the previous step.

‘so that the minuet can make its proper progress’ (Mädel 1805, 43).[33] To explain this part, Mädel refers his reader to his earlier explanation of how to negotiate the diagonal line when dancing the Z-figure, adding that the only difference here is that the dancers take hands during it. Although he does not next describe the rightward sidestep that Link posits here, Mädel in fact placed this at the start of his explanation of the Z-figure, suggesting this to be a part of his conception of the overall figure here.

Although Link does not explicitly specify this, both Feldtenstein and Mädel indicate that the entirety of this figure would be executed over the minuet step. Feldtenstein’s diagram of this stage (given above) shows the entire figure executed solely in minuet steps. Mädel’s only explicit reference to the step in this particular section comes as he explains how the dancers should take hands, in which ‘the lady makes four natural steps forwards toward the hand of the gentleman’ (Mädel 1805, 44).[34] The fact that there are four component steps here strongly suggests the minuet step. Moreover, immediately prior to this Mädel has told the reader to refer to the description he gave of crossing the diagonal in the Z-figure, to perform this stage. This being part of the Z-figure itself, it would clearly be executed over the minuet step. Mädel makes no suggestion that the case is any different here, so it should be reasonable to infer that minuet step forms the basis of this figure, too.

The Z-figure, described in detail above, comes now in the sequence of the dance. It is performed by the couple at least twice, and often several times. Following these Z-figures, we have the giving of right hands, and then giving of left hands. The sources

[33] ‘Damit nun die Menuet ihren gehörigen Fortgang haben kann, müssen beide Tänzer gegeneinander stehen’.
[34] Die Dame macht an des Herrn Hand vier natürliche Schritte vorwärts

come together here to provide a neat overall, cohesive picture of these stages, only differing in fairly specific details. Mädel describes a scheme for the giving of right hands:

> Both dancers go towards each other with two straight[35] steps (fourth position) and outstretched (right) arm, and with the second step give each other the (right) hands; they go around each other with five more steps (right fourth position), let the hand go with the fifth step, and direct themselves such that with the fifth step they return to their place; and draw the left foot, with which they turn once again onto the straight minuet line, to the right [foot] in first position. (Mädel 1805, 45)[36]

Mädel's description of the giving of right hands corresponds very closely with Feldtenstein's diagram of the same (see Fig. 2.15). (It is noticeable that Feldtenstein still includes the conceptual 'Z' in this diagram, even though it is not really necessary for the figure.)

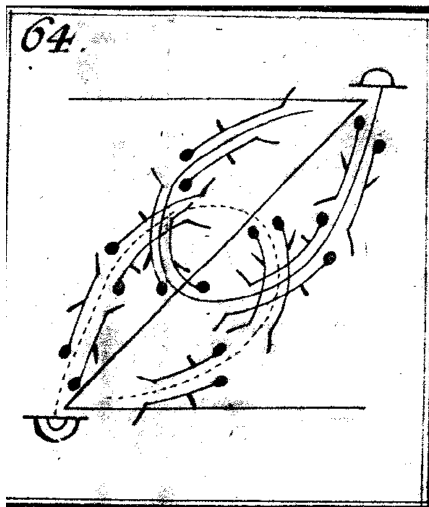


Figure 2.15: Feldtenstein's giving of right hands (Feldtenstein 1772, Fig. 64).

Like Mädel, Feldtenstein posits a total of eight component steps—or two minuet steps, in other words. Judging from his spacing on the diagram, the partners would be just about in range to take right hands, but the end of the second component step, and would likely let

[35] By 'straight', Mädel is referring to the directional path of these steps; he is not suggesting that the knee does not bend.
[36] 'Beide Tänzer gehen mit zwei geraden Schritten (vierter Position) und gehobenem (rechtem) Arm auf einander zu, und geben sich mit dem zweiten Schritte, die (rechten) Hände, gehen noch mit fünf Schritten (richtiger vierter Position) um einander herum, lassen mit dem fünften Schritt die Hand los, und richten sich ein, daß sie mit dem fünften Schritte auf ihren Plaz zurükkommen; und ziehen den linken Fuß, in dem sie sich wieder auf gerader Menuetlinie schwingen, zu dem rechten in die erste Position.'

go around the seventh step, as Mädel advocates. Although Mädel does not define the path that the figure should follow in his prose, it would probably follow a very similar path to that of Feldtenstein's diagram. Not least would it be necessary to approach from one's left, in order to loop around each other and give right hands; moreover, following his description Mädel instructs the dancers, 'now both make the first half of the rightward sidestep'—again referring them to his earlier explanation of the Z-figure (Mädel 1805, 45).[37] The fact that the dancers need to sidestep to the right suggests that they must be on the left of the dance floor. Link's version of the figure differs somewhat from Mädel's and Feldtenstein's, in that it entails three minuet steps, and therefore six bars (Link 1796, 17). This may result simply in a figure covering a larger area, with a more leisurely pace for the taking and releasing of hands, than in anything more complex. Alternatively, he might be including the following rightward sidestep in his calculation.

Mädel's description of the giving of left hands is similar to that for the right hands. It differs in some slight but significant details, though, so bears quoting in full:

> Thereupon both dancers set off anew towards each other with two straight steps, and outstretched (left) arm, and give each other the (left) hand; then they go around each other with four more steps, let the hand go with the with the fourth step, and turn themselves with the fourth step to the straight minuet line, where through the turning of the right foot towards the straight line the second position is formed, as the seventh step, and they draw the left [foot] behind the right in third position, as the eighth step. (Mädel 1805, 46)[38]

Again, there are notable correspondences between Mädel's description and Feldtenstein's diagram of this figure (see Fig. 2.16).

[37] 'Nun machen beide die erste Hälfte der rechten Seitenpas'.

[38] Darauf gehen aufs neue beide Tänzer mit zwei geraden Schritten, und gehobenem (linken) Arm auf einander zu, und geben sich die (linke) Hand, gehen dann noch vier Schritte um einander herum, lassen nach dem vierten Schritt die Hand los, und drehen sich mit dem vierten Schritt auf gerader Menuetlinie, wo während des Drehens der rechte Fuß auf gerader Linie die zweite Position formirt, als siebenter Schritt, und ziehen den linken hinter den rechten in die dritte Position, als achter Schritt.

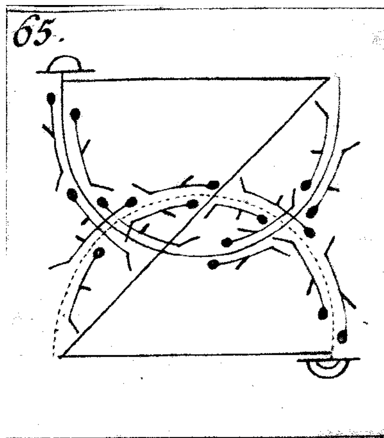


Figure 2.16: Feldtenstein's giving of left hands (Feldtenstein 1772, Fig. 65).

Both entail two minuet steps (eight component steps), and Mädel's proposed schedule for taking and releasing hands would work for the path that Feldtenstein proposes. However, Feldtenstein's and Mädel's schemes are not mere mirror images of that for the giving of right hands. Whereas for the previous figure the dancers returned to the same point from which they left, in the giving of left hands they move from their right over to their left. Indeed, this different trajectory might account for the fact that in the latter figure Mädel advocates releasing the hands one step earlier than he does for the former. Moreover, Mädel again follows his description with the instruction to make a rightward sidestep, suggesting that, again, the dancers have arrived at the left of the dance floor (as they face it, looking on). Again, Link's figure is a little more expansive, taking three minuet steps instead of two (Link 1796, 17).

At this point, the Z-figure returns, and is normally danced several more times. Following this comes the 'giving of both hands'. As Feldtenstein's diagram shows (see Fig. 2.17), this figure is somewhat more complicated than earlier, when a single hand was given at a time.

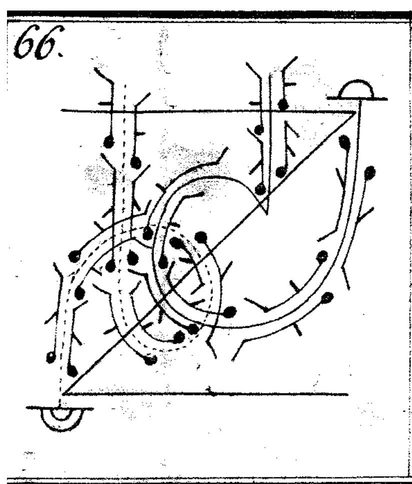


Figure 2.17: Feldtenstein's giving of both hands (Fig. 66)

This time, according to Feldtenstein, the dancers step forward and turn to face each other over the first minuet step, and take both hands. Holding hands, they then execute a complete revolution, and then release hands and step backwards to the positions from which they started the *révérences* at the beginning of the minuet. To undertake a complete revolution in little more than one minuet step, as Feldtenstein advocates, is possible, but requires nimble footwork. The couple need to be close together, to facilitate short steps. Again, Mädel instructs a scheme similar to Feldtenstein's, although he advises starting the turn sooner—midway through the first minuet step, such that the dancers 'go around each other for six [component] steps' (Mädel 1805, 47).[39] Mädel, like Feldtenstein, allows four component steps for the dancers to reverse back to the starting position, side by side. The correspondence with Feldtenstein stays very close: in order that she will reverse in a pattern symmetrical with her partner, Mädel instructs the female dancer to take the first of the four component steps onto her left foot, instead of her right. Likewise, Feldtenstein's diagram shows the female dancer beginning this last step combination of the figure on her left foot. In the light of this figure's more involved

[39] 'gehen so noch sechs Schritte um einander herum'.

nature, it is curious that Link allocates only two minuet steps for it, having allocated a generous three steps to the giving of right and left hands. It may be that he is only considering the first parts of the figure here—the dancers approaching and turning together. This would bring his scheme in line with those of Feldtenstein and Mädel. Alternatively, Link might be advocating for a scheme whereby the couple takes hands only very briefly, does not perform the revolution, and thereupon reverses to the positions of the *révérences*.

The biggest point of difference between the dancing masters in fact comes regarding the closing *révérences*. There seems to be considerable space for variation, with this final stage of the dance. Again, this speaks to the dance's new habitat, at the Redoute. At the court, a couple would invariably have finished the dance with a bow towards the *présence*, to whom, after all, their performance was addressed. Now, in its new context, the *révérences* sit somewhat redundantly, more as a vestige of the dance's past than as an integral part of its current formation. Vieth states, straightforwardly, that 'finally with the giving of both hands and with two bows [the dance] ends' (Vieth 1795, 432). Mädel seems to subscribe to a similar view, describing the couple executing two bows, the first to the assembly and the second to each other, just as they did at the beginning of the dance (Mädel 1805, 48). Link, however, advocates for just one set of bows at the end of the minuet. He allocates just two minuet steps, or four bars, in total for the 'letzte Kompliment', having suggested that the opening *révérences* should occupy twelve bars in total. Feldtenstein gives a different verdict altogether. He opines:

> It does not please the eye, when two people facing each other return to the [starting] place, where they will pay compliments. Then it gives the impression of the dancer withdrawing his *Moitié* to

> the starting place, which seems very informal to me, and not respectable. (Feldtenstein 1772, 75-6)[40]

Rather, he believes that the minuet should end with the giving of both hands, particularly given the circular turn of that figure, which echoes the circular turn that followed the dance's opening *révérences* (see Fig. 2.13): 'the dance that began with circular turns must also be ended so' (Feldtenstein 1772, 74). Clearly, by this point there is no set formula for the closing *révérences* of the minuet. Indeed, given that (as we shall see) at the Redoute dances can begin and end so fluidly, there is no need now to define the minuet's end with a closing full stop.

Overall shape of the minuet

Having surveyed the entire minuet, as described by these dancing masters, we are now in a position to determine the lengths of each figure, and from there to construct a working model of the minuet *as it was danced* in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century. Apart from his comment that each sidestep part of the Z-figure should consist of two minuet steps, Vieth does not offer any further guidance as to the proportions of each figure. However, from the other three treatises it is possible to deduce the lengths of most of the figures. In Feldtenstein's case, counting the number of steps in each of his diagrams allows the calculation of each figure's duration. Link, over two pages, lists the number of bars that each individual part of the 'Menuet ordinaire' should occupy, from which again we can determine the number of steps needed for each figure. And Mädel

[40] 'Es fällt nicht gut in das Auge, wann zwey Personen gegeneinander und auf den Platz zurück gegen [*sic*], wo sie complimentiren wollen. Dann es hat das Ansehen, als wenn der Tänzer seine *Moitié* auf den Anfangsplatz zurückziehet, welches mir sehr unförmlich, und nicht wohlanständig fürkommt.'

describes his figures in such detailed prose, often step-by-step, that it is possible to work out from the length of each figure from his text.

Link's list of bar numbers seems a good place to start this part of the study, since he gives us the numerical data on a plate (Link 1796, 16-17). In Table 2.6 I present the content of this list. I clarify his German terms for each component part in the middle column only briefly; each was explained in detail earlier, so refer back if necessary. Note that a 'step' here refers to a complete minuet step (i.e. four component steps).

Dance figure	Translation/explanation	Duration (bars)
Das erste Kompliment	First bow	4
Der Mittel-Pas	Connecting steps	2
Das zweyte Kompliment	Second bow	4
Eine Pause	Pause	2
Der Zurückführungs-Pas	Return step	2
Der Aufführungs-Pas	Forward step	2
Die zwey Umführungs-Pas	2 'leading around' steps	4
Die zwey rechten Seiten-Pas	2 rightward sidesteps	4
Die zwey linken Seiten-Pas	2 leftward sidesteps	4
Die zwey Umdrehungs-oder Tourner-Pas	2 steps across the Z-figure diagonal	4
Die drey rechten Hand-Pas	3 steps for giving of right hands	6
Die drey linken Hand-Pas	3 steps for giving of left hands	6
Die zwey beyde Hände-Pas	2 steps for giving of both hands	4
Das letzte Kompliment	Final bow	4

Table 2.6: Link's bar lengths for each component step.

Clearly, Link is following the general order of the minuet in his specifying of the number of bars. However, there is one important factor to consider: once he has specified the length of a component part, he never repeats it, even if it occurs multiple times in the dance. Thus to determine the length of each figure and the overall length of the minuet is not a simple task of totalling up his numbers. To start with, we noted earlier that the Z-figure is danced more than once, and then returns after the giving of right and left hands;

yet Link only includes the information for this once. Moreover, Link lists the rightward sidesteps where they occur for the very first time—at the end of the figure linking the *révérences* to the Z-figure—but when they recur as the third part of the Z-figure in the dance he simply omits them, having already specified their length. To determine the durations of each figure from Link's list, then, requires careful reading, and knowing where to re-insert particular figures or where the list needs to 'wrap' around on itself. In Table 2.7 I rework this information, making the necessary adjustments.

Overall figure	Component parts of figure	Duration (bars)
Opening *révérences*	First bow	4
	Connecting steps	2
	Second bow	4
	Pause	2
Connecting *révérences* to Z-figure	Return step	2
	Forward step	2
	2 'leading around' steps	4
	2 rightward sidesteps	4
Z-figure	2 leftward sidesteps	4
	2 steps across the Z-figure diagonal	4
	2 rightward sidesteps	4
Giving of right hands	3 steps for giving of right hands	6
Giving of left hands	3 steps for giving of left hands	6
Z-figure	2 leftward sidesteps	4
	2 steps across the Z-figure diagonal	4
	2 rightward sidesteps	4
Giving of both hands	2 steps for giving of both hands	4
Closing *révérences*	Final bow	4

Table 2.7: Complete version of Link's minuet scheme.

I make informed interpretative decisions where necessary; for example, I treat Link's specifications for the giving of right and left hands as if they incorporate the following rightward sidestep (see discussion above). Shaded areas of the table indicate that this figure is repeated an indefinite number of times.

Rearranged in this way, Link's specifications compellingly seem to be organised into twelve-bar chunks. We will explore this further later in the dissertation, but first let

us compare Link's scheme with those of Feldtenstein and Mädel, insofar as I can deduce them from the information they provide (see Table 2.8).

Overall figure	Component parts of figure	Bars: Link	Bars: Feldtenstein	Bars: Mädel
Opening *révérences*	First bow (inc. connecting steps)	6	?	4?
	Second bow (inc. possible pause)	6	?	4?
Connecting *révérences* to Z-figure	Return step	2	?	2
	Forward step	2	2	?
	'Leading around' steps	4	2	4
	Rightward sidesteps	4	4	4
Z-figure	Leftward sidesteps	4	4	4
	Steps across diagonal	4	4	4
	Rightward sidesteps	4	4	4
Giving of right hands	Steps for giving of right hands (inc. following sidesteps)	6	8?	6
Giving of left hands	Steps for giving of left hands (inc. following sidesteps)	6	8?	6
Z-figure	Leftward sidesteps	4	4	4
	Steps across diagonal	4	4	4
	Rightward sidesteps	4	4	4
Giving of both hands	Steps for giving of both hands	4	6	6
Closing *révérences*	Final bow(s)	4	0	8 (4+4)?

Table 2.8: Comparative minuet schemes.

Question marks denote figures for which the length is unclear in the treatises. As we saw earlier, there is no set number of times that the Z-figure should be executed—this is left up to the dancers, who will time it according to the music. Vieth instructs his dancers to perform the Z-figure 'for some time' (Vieth 1795, 431). Mädel poses the question: 'When should one make the change to the right and left hand?'—in other words, when should one begin the giving of hands, which follows on directly from the Z-figure (Mädel

1805, 46)?[41] He answers that the giving of right and left hands ideally comes in the middle of the minuet—that one repeats the Z-figure until the music reaches this point. He qualifies this, however, by adding that 'at balls and Redouten, where usually minuet music is danced for an hour without interruption, and where one can take up and relinquish [the dance] at will, it is up to each dancer how long he wants to dance [the Z-figure]' (Mädel 1805, 47).[42] I emphasise this point about the indefinite repetition of the Z-figure, because it is important to recognise that this figure really forms the bulk of the minuet, with the giving of hands carrying a comparatively small role.

Conclusion

In its essential makeup, then, the choreography of the minuet remains largely consistent across all four treatises. All writers describe the same sequence of figures, and the step is in many respects consistently described—it always consists of four component steps starting on the right foot, executed over two bars of music, and most often comprises two *demi coupés* and two *élevés*. These basic consistencies are very important, in that they would have united all who knew the minuet dance. To return to the scenario posed at the start of this chapter, if you stood at the door of the Kärntnerthortheater in 1792 and said 'minuet' to the concertgoers filing through, those who danced the minuet would draw these associations—the minuet's step and figures—with the word. That is to say that the notion of the minuet would summon somatic, kinaesthetic associations. As we shall see in Chapter 5, these associations would play a fundamental role in the audience's

[41] 'Wann soll man die Abwechselung der rechten und linken Hand machen?'
[42] 'Auf Bällen und Redouten, wo gewöhnlich einige Stunden ohne Einhalt der Musik Menuet getanzt wird, und wo man nach Willkühr an- und abtreten kann, steht es bei jedem Tänzer, wie lange er tanzen will.'

engagement with any symphonic minuet they heard later that evening in the Kärntnerthortheater.

It is also important to recognise the areas lacking in consistency across the dancing masters' treatises. First, there is the considerable variation across what they recommend as the ideal distribution of the component steps over the available two bars—if, indeed, they recommend a distribution at all. This means that there was no one, particular step rhythm associated with the minuet. Moreover, it means that when several couples were dancing the minuet simultaneously at the public Redoute, there would likely be considerable variation across all the step distributions. Practically, it would be all but impossible to achieve coherence in this respect across all the dancing couples, if all dancing masters are advocating different distributions of the component steps. Of even greater significance is the lack of consistency regarding the step figures. It raises the possibility that in terms of the overall shape of the dance, with multiple couples performing it together there would in fact be little correspondence—the Z-figures might all occur at different times within each couple, for instance. This matter will be taken up in detail in Chapter 3, when the figures are considered in relationship to their accompanying music.

Chapter 3: The Music of the Minuet in 1790s Vienna

The minuet's overall structure: theoretical prescriptions

So far, the minuet as we have explored it has been a largely silent entity. Mädel's counting 'one, pause, two, three, four, pause' speaks to the time-honoured tradition among dancing masters of 'counting the beats' as their students rehearse the steps, a practice still employed in the dance studio today. Yet, whereas the dancing masters only make passing references to actual music in their treatises, music theorists do show consideration towards the dance. As we saw earlier, they automatically take the *danced* minuet as that which provides the patterns of the genre. Returning to those claims that we examined only cursorily before, we see that concern for correlation between musical phrases and dance steps pervades both Kirnberger's and Koch's definitions.

Given that the fundamental basis of the danced minuet is its two-bar step, it is unsurprising that the theorists advocate a framework that accommodates this feature. Kirnberger deems phrase structure to be a matter of prime importance in his discussion of the minuet, addressing it in the first paragraph (indeed, the second sentence) of his article. He writes that '[the minuet] begins on the downbeat, and has its incisions every two bars at the last crotchet; precisely at the halfway point of each part these [incisions] must be somewhat more noticeable' (Kirnberger 1787, 316).[1] Quite what Kirnberger means when he states that the incision (i.e. the end of the previous phrase and start of the new) happens 'at the last crotchet' (auf dem letzten Viertel) of every two bars is not immediately clear: his use of the 'auf' preposition here makes it unclear whether this last crotchet forms the end of the first phrase or the beginning of the second. Similar

[1] 'Es fängt im Niederschlag an, und hat seine Einschnitte von zwei zu zwei Takten auf dem lezten Viertel: gerade auf der Hälfte jedes Theiles müssen sie etwas merklicher seyn.'

instructions elsewhere in his article, though, together with his stipulation (to which we will return) that the minuet must begin on the downbeat, suggest that he means that the incision should come *after* the last crotchet of every second bar, on the barline.

Yet the theorists' concern for phrase structure goes beyond the prescription of incisions every two bars. Of greater importance to them is the overall sectional structure of the minuet. Both Kirnberger and Koch emphatically state that each section of a danced minuet should always be eight bars long. Recall Kirnberger's opening sentence: 'A small piece of music set for dancing in 3/4 metre that consists of two parts, each of which has eight bars' (Kirnberger 1787, 316). Likewise, Koch instructs that the minuet 'must consist of two sections or reprises, each containing no more than eight measures' (Koch 1983, 79). Kirnberger's and Koch's descriptions are strikingly similar in that after stating the minuet's inherent dance nature and its 3/4 metre, both go on immediately to discuss its structure—specifically, that the danced minuet is made up of two sections, and that these two sections are equal in length, at eight bars each. That its structure is mentioned in the same breath as its metre signals that these theorists perceived this *Achttaktigkeit* to be an absolute given of the minuet genre, and a crucial part of its definition. Overall structure has nothing like the same prominence in their discussions of other dance types. Koch's definition of the minuet follows explanations of the gavotte, the bourée, the polonaise and the contredanse, not one of which mentions a specific number of bars for a section. In fact, for the polonaise Koch states that the two sections 'are bound to no definite number of measures owing to the arbitrary figure of the dance' (Koch 1983, 79).

While both theorists are notably strict in their prescription that each section of a danced minuet should only comprise eight bars, this rigidity does not extend to minuets

not intended for dancing. Koch contrasts the danced minuet with the undanced minuet, advising that the latter need not fulfil the same criteria: ‘if, however, it is not designed for a dance, then not only can its reprises be of quite arbitrary length, but also its melodic sections can be of an unequal number of measures’ (Koch 1983, 79). Kirnberger also deems the undanced minuet more flexible in its structure than the danced minuet, although he still adheres to multiples of sixteen:

> One also makes minuets merely for playing, of 16, 32 and even 64 bars. One also has those that begin on the upbeat, and which have the incisions at the second crotchet of each second bar; others that begin with the downbeat, but put the incisions sometimes at the second and sometimes at the third crotchet. Pastoral minuets exemplify this type: but one must be careful with such mixing of the incisions, so that rhythm does not lose its nature. (Kirnberger 1787, 316)[2]

That the theorists posit such a defined structural scheme for the danced minuet and then explicitly relax it—indeed, that they draw the distinction between the danced and undanced minuet at all—suggests that they have in mind practical considerations for this music’s use. It suggests that they believe eight-bar sections are needed to accommodate some aspect of the dance that will be enacted to this music.

In a 1992 article, ‘The Unconventional Dance Minuet’, Tilden Russell observes this very feature of eighteenth-century music-theoretical writings (Russell 1992). He identifies further instances where theorists *explicitly* link the perceived need for eight-bar sections with the dance itself—believing that any deviation from this structure will create difficulties for the dancers. Russell notes a warning from earlier in the century, in 1721, when Friedrich Erhard Niedt writes, ‘I find a minuet in Lully’s *Roland* in which both reprises have ten measures, with 5 as the *numerus sectionalis*—which can be danced only

[2] ‘Zum bloßen Spielen macht man auch Menuette von 16, 32 und gar 64 Takten. Man hat auch solche, die im Aufschlag anfangen, und den Einschnitt beym zweyten Viertel jedes zweyten Takts fühlen lassen; andere, die mit dem Niederschlag anfangen, aber bald bey dem zweyten, bald bey dem dritten Viertel den Einschnitt sezen. Von dieser Art sind insgemein die Pastoralmenuette: aber man muß mit solcher Mischung der Einschnitte behutsam seyn; damit der Rhythmus seine Natur nicht verliere.’

with difficulty' (Russell 1992, 119). And he finds a similar view still pervasive at the end of the century, too, with Johann Friedrich Daube's 1797 claim, following his advocating for eight-bar phrases, that 'our predecessors knew nothing of such organization. Thus it was in former times that so many minuets came to be written, or which the fewest could be used for dancing' (Russell 1992, 120). These music theorists clearly believe that *Achttaktigkeit* is a necessary condition for a coherent relationship between musical structure and the dance steps.

Russell argues, however, that their belief is founded entirely on a myth. Considering the actual circumstances of minuet performance in the dance halls, he posits that 'the minuet, when danced at late-eighteenth century balls, was far from the pattern of convention the theorists represented it to be' (Russell 1992, 121). There being no such 'perfect correlation' between the music and dance, he holds the music theorists to be thoroughly mistaken in their advice. 'Just as there was no standardized minuet choreography,' writes Russell, 'there was no standardized dance minuet music' (Russell 1992, 134). Russell's argument has since played a significant role in our thinking about dance-music relationships in the minuet, and we will return to it a number of times over the course of this chapter. Yet for a moment I want to slow the motion, and pause on this fact: regardless of the actual situation in the dance halls, the theorists do seem consistent in their *belief* that the danced minuets needed to consist of eight-bar phrases. The seriousness with which we address this belief should not rise and fall on the question of whether it is founded in an accurate portrayal of the reality. Rather, we need to recognise that the notion that eight-bar sections were needed for dancing clearly was *circulating*, and to ask to what extent this informed, influenced and responded to minuet composition.

Composing danced minuets: the sources

Do the composers heed the theorists' warnings, then? Are all their minuets divided into eight-bar sections? Is there an incision every two bars? Do they all begin on a downbeat? These are simple questions, but the quest for answers is not quite so straightforward. In 1805, when Haydn' undertook to make 'a list of all those compositions that, as nearly as I can remember, I composed from my 18th to my 73rd year', the danced minuets fully escaped his memory. The catalogue makes no mention of minuets written for dancing either in the Esterhazy court or at the Hofburg Redoutensäle (Larsen 1939). After all, if one genre of composition remained disposable while pieces in other genres were being preserved and reused, it was music written for dancing. As we saw in Chapter 1, public balls in Vienna were marketed with 'wholly new' minuet compositions, written by a prominent musician in the city. A set of minuets might be reused once or twice, but rarely more. Likewise, minuet sets advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung* during Fasching are always marked as 'wholly new' or 'in a new arrangement'. The sheer expendability of this music might go some way towards accounting for the fact that so little of it remains, physically, today. The pages of the *Wiener Zeitung* over the 1793 Fasching period, for example, contain more than thirty minuet advertisements. In addition to new minuets by Haydn and new arrangements of Mozart's music, assorted other composers are represented—Wiesner, Manhall, Offowski, Rauer.[3] Yet, for the most part, this music is all but untraceable now. Indeed, much of it might not have survived into 1794, let alone for the next two centuries. Most of the danced minuets that have made it through against the

[3] From 2nd January to 13th February 1793, the following pages of the *Wiener Zeitung* contain advertisements for minuets: 14, 47-8, 144, 178-9, 211-12, 239, 270, 303, 337-8, 366.

odds do so either in the original, handwritten parts from which the instrumentalists played, bundled up with drips of candle wax pressed into the pages, or in keyboard arrangements. A neat copy of the orchestral score would rarely be made: the music was led from the violin by the concertmaster, who played from a Violin I part containing a few extra annotations.

The music that does survive, then, is not particularly accessible, by today's standards of convenience. For all the convenience of modern musicological research, with the Internet's ever growing global library of resources, certain fields of interest remain to benefit from the accessibility that we now have the technological means to provide. Studying the music of the danced minuet comprehensively remains essentially an archival undertaking. It entails not just locating it and travelling to the archive housing it, but then piecing it together from the various orchestral parts. Few modern editions have been made of this repertoire, and understandably so; after all, there are no performance situations today creating a demand for it. Most modern editions of danced minuets come in *Gesamtausgaben* of composers sufficiently noted to warrant such publications.

Standing in a library, one can normally find the dance-music volumes in a *Gesamtausgabe* rather quickly; they are conspicuous on the shelves. Unlike the symphonies, quartets, operas or sonatas, the cloth covers on these books have hardly worn at all, and inside the pages are still crisp. Recently-published editions of dance music have received little attention from scholars, and unpublished exemplars of this repertoire still less. In fact, texts that are generally regarded as authoritative in their purported relating of aspects of the danced minuet often seem to lean on a remarkably

thin body of musical evidence—they suffer from the fact that the repertoire of the danced minuet is so inaccessible. Gretchen Wheelock vigorously asserts what she considers the very standard features of the danced minuet (Wheelock 1992, 61-62), but builds her conception of this genre solely on two, or at most three, minuet sets by Haydn, published in modern editions, from which she extracts just one piece to examine in any detail (Wheelock 1992, 223n20). She thus bases her definition of an entire genre on just a few pieces, written within about ten years of each other, all by one composer. Wye Jamison Allanbrook's *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart* suffers from a similar paucity in its referential basis. For all that Allanbrook's work has done to assert dance as a necessary field of musicological attention, and although she cites readily from contemporaneous *theoretical* treatises, her is not grounded very thoroughly in the actual danced music of its designated period of study. In fact, the only primary source of danced minuets that she cites, in addition to those of Mozart, is a 1770 collection from Edinburgh. The referential basis on which Allanbrook grounds her claims seems somewhat small.

Take as but one example Allanbrook's identification of the minuet's 'motto rhythm' as a crotchet followed by four quavers (Allanbrook 1983, 34). Such motto rhythms are integral to Allanbrook's study, for these are what encode an association with a particular dance into an otherwise undanced movement. Scholars have readily adopted Allanbrook's motto rhythms, as we shall see, but the actual provenance of these motto rhythms has gone somewhat unexamined. Initially, Allanbrook observes her minuet motto rhythm as a motivic cell in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* minuet, where it 'seems to be a deliberate attempt to signal "minuet"'. She explains that 'the motto found a widespread use' in minuet composition, citing the 1770 Edinburgh collection, and mentioning that

‘many people today wholly identify the minuet with it, perhaps because of the fame of the *Don Giovanni* version’ (Allanbrook 1983, 34-5). But this begs the question. Aside from the single Scottish minuet collection, the only piece of music from which Allanbrook’s motto rhythm acquires its association with ‘minuet’ is also the same piece of music that it allegedly imbues with a ‘minuet’ association![4] If any musicological claims need to be undergirded by an extensive, thorough exploration of a repertoire, claims regarding generic characteristics do.[5]

To be clear: I fully recognise the authority, force and impact of Allanbrook’s work, without which this dissertation would certainly not exist. Indeed, the very fact that her 1983 text still receives such heavy referencing today speaks to its dictionary-like status. Allanbrook’s stock of characteristic rhythms has *fed* musicologists, who have identified them across numerous pieces of music and drawn rich interpretative insights from these observations.[6] Yet perhaps this is the danger of a convincing argument coupled with its ready supply of rhythms: scholars can check in to the bank of Allanbrook and cash out with their chosen dance so easily that they have little incentive to question their goods. I noted in Chapter 1 that Lowe’s presentation of the minuet’s historical circumstances is constructed by way of heavy re-quoting from Allanbrook’s selected references. Lowe puts the same trust in Allanbrook’s musical claims; the ‘motto rhythm’ offers a case in point. In Lowe’s 2014 contribution, ‘Amateur Topical Competencies’, to the *Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, she identifies an instance of

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[4] This is of course not to deny that a piece of music might exert influence over a genre, but only to state that the music needs to be written first, before it can exert that influence! In fact, the first minuet of Adalbert Gyrowetz’s set, written in 1803 (detailed later), includes what may well be a quotation from the *Don Giovanni* minuet.

[5] One enduringly popular minuet that does feature Allanbrook’s ‘motto rhythm’, but which she does not adduce in support of her argument, is the *Menuet de la Cour*.

[6] In a profession where publication and pay are so closely linked, the feeding analogy can be taken quite literally.

‘the late eighteenth-century minuet “motto” rhythm’ in a quartet movement by Ignaz Pleyel (Lowe 2014, 603). In the main text, it is referred to simply as *the* minuet motto rhythm: such is Lowe’s acceptance of Allanbrook’s invention as a fact that she sees fit to divest of its devising. Even in the attached endnote, there is no explicit indication that Allanbrook authored this conceptual category (Lowe 2014, 628n8). In a similar manner, Lawrence Zbikowski rests an entire analysis of the finale of Haydn’s Op. 76 No. 4 quartet on Allanbrook’s observation that the opening of this movement ‘has many of the characteristics of a bourrée’ (Zbikowski 2008, 285). These scholars both treat Allanbrook’s work as gospel: they question neither her claims nor the evidential bases on which they sit. The fact that Allanbrook’s study is typically introduced with a deferential nod (Lowe finds it ‘brilliant’ (Lowe 2007, 123); for Zbikowski it is ‘pathbreaking’ (Zbikowski 2008, 285)) speaks to some extent to this state of affairs. Set so high on a pedestal, it simply does not warrant questioning.

Even Eric McKee’s 2012 ‘study of dance-music relations’, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz*, limits itself in its exploration of the danced-minuet repertoire. McKee’s chapter on ‘Mozart in the Ballroom’ includes much illuminating discussion about Mozart’s danced minuets, but, save for one trio by J.C. Bach, there is no further exploration of the danced minuet repertoire. Like Allanbrook and Wheelock, McKee too stays in the territory of published music. While this is of course an understandable tendency, particularly in the case of Mozart, many of whose danced minuets survive and are conveniently available in modern publications, it does not make for a very broad field of vision, when it comes to understanding the generic norms of the minuet. Moreover, this practice leaves the notion that the few published minuets by, say,

Haydn or Mozart are fully representative of the genre, as Wheelock hopes (Wheelock 1992, 61), wholly untested.

In this dissertation, I study fourteen sets of minuets by thirteen different composers—170 minuets in total, or 319 separate minuets and trios (not all of the minuets have an accompanying trio). These minuets were composed over 1792-1804, all for the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler. As explained in Chapter 1, starting in 1792 the Gesellschaft held an annual charity ball to raise funds for their organisation. For their first ball, Haydn composed twelve minuets and twelve *Deutsche Tänze*, as a gift. Following the success of this event, which was attended by well over 2,000 people, it was repeated annually. From 1793 onwards, two sets of minuets and *Deutsche Tänze* would be played—one in each of the dance halls. At least one of these sets was donated that year by a known composer in the city; the other set had normally been donated in a previous year. Haydn's, Süssmayr's and Beethoven's minuet sets have been published in modern editions; all the remaining sets considered here are held in the Musiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, mostly just in their original orchestral parts, with the exception of Eybler's, for whose minuets there is a manuscript score and Koželuch's and Eberl's, for whose only the keyboard arrangement survives, as detailed in Table 3.1. All the sets of orchestral parts were given to the ÖNB in 1871, when the Gesellschaft's archive was transferred there. Four-bar incipits for each minuet and trio are given in the Appendix.

Composer	Year	No. of minuets	Source materials
Franz Joseph Haydn	1792	12	Modern score
Leopold Koželuch	1793	12	Keyboard arrangement
Joseph Leopold Eybler	1794	12	Manuscript score
Franz Xaver Süßmayr	1795	12	Modern score
Ludwig van Beethoven	1795	12	Modern score
Anton Teyber	1796	12	Orchestral parts
Johann Baptist Henneberg	1797	12	Orchestral parts
Anton Teyber	1798	12	Orchestral parts
Joseph Lipavsky	1799	12	Orchestral parts
Václav Pichl	1800	13	Orchestral parts
Ignaz Xaver von Seyfried	1800	12	Orchestral parts
Adalbert Gyrowetz	1803	13	Orchestral parts
Simon Molitor	1803	12	Orchestral parts
Anton Eberl	1804	12	Keyboard arrangement

Table 3.1: Minuets written for the *Gesellschaft bildender Künstler* over 1792-1804.

The minuet's overall structure: compositional manifestations

The '8+8' model

Of these minuets, five sets *fully* espouse the theorists' *achttaktig* ideal: all the minuets by Süßmayr, Teyber (1796), Lipavsky, Gyrowetz and Eberl consist entirely of eight-bar sections. In a further three sets by Koželuch, Beethoven and Teyber (1798), all but one minuet consist entirely of eight-bar sections.[7] Of these minuets that follow the pattern, then, all comprise 32 bars of written-out music—a minuet of two eight-bar sections followed by a trio of two eight-bar sections. In performance, with each section repeated and with the minuet played again *da capo*,[8] this number expands threefold to 96 bars. Table 3.2 details each composer's predilection for the eight-bar scheme, and Ex. 3.1 gives Haydn's Minuet No. 5, which follows this pattern.

[7] The second half of Beethoven's minuet no. 11 in this set has the music written out twice identically, instead of using repeat marks. I include this minuet in the count of minuets following the eight-bar pattern.
[8] Repeats were always observed in the *da capo* minuet; this fact is uncontested now (see MacDonald 2008, 157).

Composer	No. of 8+8 minuets	Total no. of minuets
Haydn	5	12
Koželuch	11	12
Eybler	0	12
Süßmayr	12	12
Beethoven	11	12
Teyber (1796)	12	12
Henneberg	6	12
Teyber (1798)	11	12
Lipavsky	12	12
Pichl	7	13
Seyfried	5	12
Gyrowetz	13	13
Molitor	3	12
Eberl	12	12
TOTAL	120	170

Table 3.2: Minuets following the 8+8 model in both minuet and trio.

Example 3.1: Haydn's Minuet No. 5.

Some seventy percent of all these danced minuets, then, are comprised solely of eight-bar sections.[9] Conjecturally, we might divide the composers into three categories,

[9] By 'section' here I simply refer to each portion of a minuet enclosed with repeat marks. I avoid the word 'phrase' here, in general (as do Kirnberger and Koch), because an eight-bar section might contain two four-

here. First, there are those by Süßmayr, Teyber (1796), Lipavsky, Gyrowetz and Eberl, whose entire sets consist solely of minuets of eight-bar sections, who do seem to consider this a prerequisite of the danced minuet. At the other end of the spectrum, there are those composers who do not seem (on the face of it) to consider it necessary to write danced minuets following the 8+8 model—Haydn, Eybler, Henneberg, Pichl, Seyfried and Molitor. Occupying a middle ground, however, are the three composers—Koželuch, Beethoven and Teyber (1798)—who write sets with just one minuet resisting the eight-bar sectional model. The extremely high proportion of eight-bar sections in their minuet sets suggests that for these composers it does constitute something of a model: the one anomaly in these cases derives its expressive punch from the very fact that the other eleven minuets do follow the pattern. In Koželuch's and Teyber's sets, the anomalous minuet is the ninth in the sequence, and in Beethoven's it comes tenth, such that the preceding minuets have plenty of time to establish the pattern. Moreover, in all three minuets, the unorthodox section length coincides with other unusual features in the piece. In Koželuch's, the sixteen-bar section comes in the only minor-mode minuet of the set, in the B section, which has to execute a return modulation from the relative major. Similarly, Teyber's single unusually long section (also sixteen bars) coincides with an exceptional harmonic move: it comes in the B section of the trio, which unlike any other trio in the set is in the parallel-minor key to the major-key minuet. Just as with Koželuch's, this section also has to return from the relative major of the trio's minor key. Beethoven's anomaly does not coincide with any such tonal abnormalities, but is so strange in its construction, as we shall see later, that it cries out for interpretation against

bar phrases. Instead of 'phrase' I use the word 'subsection' to denote a portion of music within a single section. Although this term sounds a little odd at times in its application to music, it at least ensures clarity.

the structural norms. In short, the exception proves the rule, here. None of these anomalies suggests a casual dropping of the eight-bar pattern by the composer; rather, they seem designed precisely to *sit against* such a pattern, which in turn suggests that the eight-bar section was a perceived characteristic of the danced minuet, at least by many of these composers.

In fact, this *Achttaktigkeit* is more pervasive in the danced minuet than Table 3.2 lets on. Of the thirty percent that contain some sections longer than eight bars, the majority consist of sixteen-bar sections that divide into two eight-bar subsections. For example, although only seven of Pichl's minuets follow an 8+8 structure, all of the remaining six consist of a combination of eight- and sixteen-bar sections, whose sixteen-bar sections subdivide into two eight-bar subsections. In the B sections of both the minuet and the trio, the second eight-bar subsection always constitutes a reprise of the A-section material, giving it something of a recapitulatory function. Table 3.3 shows the breakdown of Pichl's sixteen-bar sections into their eight-bar component units.

Minuet	**Minuet A section**	**Minuet B section**	**Trio A section**	**Trio B section**
No. 1	8+8	8+8	8	8+8
No. 3	8	8+8	8	8
No. 5	8	8+8	8	8+8
No. 8	8+8	8+8	N/A	N/A
No. 10	8	8+8	8	8+8
No. 12	8+8	8+8	8	8

Table 3.3: Sixteen-bar sections in Pichl's minuets

In short, while Pichl frequently includes sections longer than eight bars in his minuets, these sections are all sixteen bars long, and divide clearly into eight-bar subsections, each eight bars separated with a clear incision. Every single section or subsection of Pichl's minuets, then, is eight bars long.

With just *four* exceptions, the non-eight-bar sections occur only in the B sections of the minuets and trios. Three of these exceptions come from Pichl, who occasionally writes a minuet that opens with a sixteen-bar section that divides into two eight-bar subsections. The other exception is by Haydn, who begins the seventh minuet of his set with a ten-bar section, which we will examine later. This fact—that in 166 of 170 minuets, the A sections of both the minuet and trio are consistently eight bars long—bears emphasis, not just for our understanding of the danced minuet but for our later exploration of minuets written just to be listened to and not danced. With only very few exceptions, then, all minuets and trios open with a repeated eight-bar phrase. No minuet section is ever shorter than eight bars.

Pichl is by no means the only composer whose B sections that are longer than eight bars still divide into eight-bar subsections. Indeed, even Eybler, whose set is remarkable in that it contains no minuets following the eight-bar pattern, writes many minuets that break down readily into eight-bar subsections, as detailed in Table 3.4. Moreover, every single one of Eybler's B sections longer than eight bars ends with an eight-bar reprise of the opening A section.

Minuet	**Minuet A section**	**Minuet B section**	**Trio A section**	**Trio B section**
No. 3	8	8+8	8	8+8+8
No. 4	8	8+8	8	8+8
No. 5	8	8	8	8+8
No. 6	8	8	8	8+8
No. 9	8	8+8	8	8+8
No. 10	8	8	8	8+8

Table 3.4: Sixteen-bar sections in Eybler's minuets.

If, then, instead of looking for minuets whose sections exclusively comprise eight bars, we expand the parameters slightly to include minuets whose sections comprise a *multiple of* eight bars, the percentage of *achttaktig* minuets rises significantly.

Composer	No. of 8+(nx8) minuets	Total no. of minuets
Haydn	7	12
Koželuch	12	12
Eybler	6	12
Süßmayr	12	12
Beethoven	11	12
Teyber (1796)	12	12
Henneberg	11	12
Teyber (1798)	12	12
Lipavsky	12	12
Pichl	13	13
Seyfried	9	12
Gyrowetz	13	13
Molitor	4	12
Eberl	12	12
TOTAL	146	170

Table 3.5: Minuets following the 8+(nx8) model in both minuet and trio.

As Table 3.5 shows, 146 of the 170 minuets in the sample (over 85 percent) consist *entirely* of sections that are eight, sixteen or twenty-four bars in length. In fact, as we shall shortly see, these minuets may not necessarily contradict the theorists' *achttaktig* model. Of the remaining minuets, these are still largely *achttaktig*, but just contain just one, or at most two sections that are not eight, sixteen or twenty-four bars long.

This all goes to show that the theorists' careful and pronounced identification of the minuet's *Achttaktigkeit* does correspond to a reality in the music. While the fact that seventy percent of these minuets consist exclusively of eight-bar sections is itself significant, what is more telling is that several *complete sets* exhibit such a pattern, and that other complete sets seem to be in dialogue with this very scheme. This suggests that some composers did indeed consider the same scheme that the theorists advance to constitute something of a model in their minuet composition.[10] This is not to say that minuets that do not follow this pattern should necessarily be judged against it. Neither is

[10] This is of course not to say that it is necessarily a 'rule' or that the composers write eight-bar sections merely to obey the theorists.

it to suggest that minuets with different section lengths are in some way better or more inspired than those that comprise eight-bar sections only—that Eybler is abler for composing different section lengths. Rather, this is merely to acknowledge that—in the *danced* minuet, at least—the eight-bar model clearly holds some considerable sway.

Acknowledging the possibility that such a pattern does exist in minuet composition, should now return to Russell's argument anew. Russell asserts that 'dance composers never felt any real obligation to adhere either to the theoretical 8+8 norm or the choreography' (Russell 1992, 127). He also discounts a claim made in a 1956 PhD thesis by Helmut Goldmann that 'hundreds of dance minuets, corresponding to the 8+8 norm, must been lost in a gradual winnowing through which only the exceptional, rule-breaking minuets were preserved' (Goldmann 1956, 17; Russell 1992, 120; Russell's paraphrase). Yet, fanciful though it might initially seem, the above archival materials suggest that Goldmann's idea is in fact truer than Russell thinks. There are *plenty* of dance minuets following the eight-bar pattern, which actually are not lost, but still exist and sit, ignored, in the ÖNB! The preponderance of the eight-bar pattern across this sample of danced minuets suggests that Russell has thrown the baby out with the bathwater, somewhat. While it is entirely true to claim that the presence of 'one or more minuets' indicates that composers did not feel bound by the theorists' dictum, it is a wholly more extended claim to argue from this that such a model did not exist, that 'there was no standardized dance minuet music' (Russell 1992, 134). Actually, I would argue that it suggests the very opposite, particularly in cases when the 'one or more minuets' come late in the set, following several embodying the very pattern of *Achttaktigkeit*. By definition, what qualifies these minuets' status as anomalous is the presence of a standard

from which they deviate. The sample of danced minuets examined here shows that, regardless of its usefulness for and relationship to the dance itself, an eight-bar pattern is a reality of the music.

Harmonic Structure

Just as the 8+8 model offers a straightforward framework for danced-minuet compositions, so are they likely to follow a very standard harmonic course. Minuet and trio are normally in the same key. Save for this commonality, however, and for the fact that minuet, trio and *da capo* minuet adjoin each other in one unbroken sequence, the minuet and trio should be considered as entities independent of each other. This is to say that there is no overarching harmonic argument executed across the entire minuet-trio-minuet structure, and no motivic relationship between the two. Even in the occasional instances of trios being in a different key to the minuet,[11] they still constitute closed units in their own right—the trio is not dependent on the minuet in any way. Kirnberger outlines two possible harmonic schemes for a minuet:

> Because of the shortness of the piece no divergences happen except into the dominant of the main key; other tonalities can be touched on only in passing. So the first part can close in the dominant, and then the second in the tonic. If, however, one wants after the second part to repeat the first, then close that [the second] in the dominant, and this [the repeated first part] in the tonic. (Kirnberger 1787, 316)[12]

To repeat, Kirnberger is not discussing a single construction encompassing both the minuet and trio in either of these schemes; rather, he is referring to a single minuet, or a

[11] Minuets in the parallel mode: Haydn No. 4, Koželuch No. 9, Eybler No. 5, Teyber (1798) No. 9, Pichl No. 10, Molitor No. 3, Eberl Nos. 2, 3 and 5; minuets in the relative mode: Teyber (1798) No. 6, Seyfried No. 8; minuets in the subdominant key: Teyber (1796) Nos. 7 and 9, Teyber (1798) Nos. 2, 10 and 11, Seyfried No. 9, Molitor No. 10, Eberl Nos. 1, 6, 7 and 9.

[12] 'Wegen der Kürze des Stüks haben keine andere Ausweichungen statt, als in die Dominante des Haupttones; andre Tonarten können nur im Vorbeygehen berührt werden. Also kann der erste Theil in die Dominante schließen, und denn der zweyte in die Tonica. Will man aber nach dem zweyten Theil den ersten wiederholen, so schließt jener in die Dominante, und dieser in die Tonica.'

single trio. (Trios were often referred to as 'second minuets'.) Kirnberger's first and second 'parts' would today usually be termed A and B sections.

Both of Kirnberger's harmonic schemes follow the same basic trajectory from the tonic key to its dominant and then back to the tonic. As he notes, in a piece as short as a minuet—particularly one following the 8+8 model—there is simply no time for modulation to more remote areas. Almost all of the 8+8 minuets of the sample here follow the overall outline of Kirnberger's first harmonic scheme, executed in one of three possible ways. There are three possible ways in which the A section typically ends, two of which exemplify Kirnberger's prescription for closing in or on the dominant. The dominant chord can be reached by

1. either a half cadence in the tonic key,
2. or a modulation to the dominant key confirmed with a perfect authentic cadence.

Almost all of the other A sections end with

3. a perfect authentic cadence in the tonic key.

In this latter category, the B sections that follow generally compensate for the lack of a prior dominant ending by beginning immediately in the dominant key, or at least with a dominant chord. Not all of the minuets following the eight-bar model actually modulate at all; some remain in the tonic throughout, their iterations of the dominant chord at the start of the B section still in the context of the overall tonic. In these instances, when the minuet stays in the tonic, the trio typically does modulate.[13]

Three consecutive minuets from Teyber's 1796 set neatly exemplify these main harmonic schemes. The A section of his Minuet No. 9 (see Ex. 3.2) ends on the dominant chord with a half cadence in the tonic key, before the B section takes up a new motivic

[13] William Caplin notes that the same is true of several undanced minuets (Caplin 1998, 225).

idea over tonic and dominant harmonies. Although the dominant chord features prominently at the end of this minuet's A section and at the beginning of its B section, the music never modulates to the dominant key.

Example 3.2: Teyber's (1796) Minuet No. 9; minuet.

The A section of Minuet No. 10 (see Ex. 3.3), on the other hand, does modulate to the dominant over bars 5-8, confirming the modulation with a perfect authentic cadence at the end of the phrase. The F-natural seventh in the melody at the very start of the B section returns the music to its original tonic key, confirmed by a perfect authentic cadence over bars 15-16.

Example 3.3: Teyber's (1796) Minuet No. 10; minuet.

In Minuet No. 11 (see Ex. 3.4), the A section does not modulate, ending with a perfect authentic cadence in the tonic key. The B section then leans heavily towards the dominant, with the dominant chord prominent throughout, although the lack of a perfect

authentic cadence in this key precludes the identification of an actual modulation to the dominant key here.

Example 3.4: Teyber's (1796) Minuet No. 11; minuet.

The '8+16' model

Kirnberger's second scheme, for minuets in which 'one wants after the second part to repeat the first' requires some clarification. Kirnberger is not advocating an obscure method of executing a *da capo* repeat within a minuet or trio itself. Rather, I believe that he is referring precisely to the practice that we witnessed earlier in the *sixteen*-bar B sections, of following the first eight-bar subsection of the B section with a reprise of the eight-bar A section, modified where necessary to close in the tonic key. By this plan, the tonal return from dominant to tonic coincides with the reprise of the opening material. Indeed, if we return to Pichl's minuets, whose sixteen-bar B sections we examined above, we see Kirnberger's second harmonic scheme borne out to the letter. All six of Pichl's sixteen-bar B sections end their first eight-bar phrase on the dominant, always by way of a half cadence, from which they return to the tonic with the start of the second phrase. The B section of his Minuet No. 3 (see Ex. 3.5), for example, begins with four bars of dominant prolongation over bars 9-12, before moving into a half cadence over bars 15-

16. A descending $\hat{5}$-$\hat{1}$ scale in the bass then leads the music back to the tonic for the reprise in bar 17. Expanding the B section in this way from eight to sixteen bars allows the composer to dwell for longer in the dominant key area, as we see here in the dominant prolongation over Pichl's bars 9-12. As a result, the dominant can establish itself more forcibly as a competing centre of tonal gravity than it could with its more fleeting appearances in the eight-bar B sections.

Example 3.5: Pichl's Minuet No. 3; minuet B section.

As one would expect, the larger, sixteen-bar B sections allow for a more extended harmonic progression over the first eight-bar phrase, but this has no impact on the harmonic shape of the eight-bar A section. In Eybler's Minuet No. 7 (see Ex. 3.6), following a half cadence in the tonic, the B section starts with a two-bar iteration of the relative-minor chord, before a short progression around the circle of fifths arrives on E*b* major chord in bar 13; over bars 13-16, the music modulates to the overall dominant key of B*b* major, confirmed with a perfect authentic cadence over bars 15-16; on the final beat of bar 16, A*b* in the melody converts this chord into a dominant seventh, and the music returns to its original key of E*b* major for the recapitulatory eight-bar phrase. The expanded size of the B section does not lead to another key—here the relative minor—

being more strongly established as a local tonic: rather, the relative-minor chord that begins the section functions as a launch pad for a phrase with a moving tonal centre.

Example 3.6: Eybler's Minuet No. 7; minuet.

This understanding of Kirnberger's second harmonic scheme suggests that the sixteen-bar B sections that we observed earlier among various danced minuets should not necessarily be considered an aberration from the eight-bar model put forward by Kirnberger and Koch. Both simply state that a minuet comprises two eight-bar sections; the number of times these sections are repeated is simply not mentioned, just as the dancing masters do not detail repeats of specific figures in their schematic outlines of the minuet. Indeed, this probably explains Koch's specification that the minuet 'must consist of two sections *or reprises*' (my emphasis). In other words, while the eight-bar phrase constitutes a defining feature of the danced minuet for both theorists and composers, this does not necessarily mean that a danced minuet must consist solely of two eight-bar sections. A minuet that consists of an eight-bar A section followed by a sixteen-bar B section, divided into two eight-bar subsections, also fits the definition.

To summarise, then, there are two basic structures that a danced minuet or trio can follow. It can (and does more commonly) adopt a binary structure, consisting of two eight-bar sections A and B, each section played twice (**A A B B**). Alternatively, it can take a ternary (or rounded binary) structure, in which the eight-bar A section is followed by a sixteen-bar B section, which itself comprises two eight-bar subsections, the latter of which recapitulates the A section. In this longer scheme first the A section is repeated and then the entire sixteen-bar B section; recognising the recapitulated theme from the A section in the latter phrase of the B section, this results in **A A B A` B A`**. I deliberately risk seeming laborious in my repetitious stating of these facts here: it is not just that the erroneous perspective propounded by Russell's article needs to be corrected, but more that I cannot stress enough the extent to which these two schemes are actually adhered to by the composers. Table 3.6 details by composer the number of compositions following these models, broken down now separately into minuets and trios (previous tables simply considered a minuet-and-trio as a single entity).[14] Of 319 minuets and trios, 245 follow the 8+8-bar model, and a further 38 the 8+16-bar model. Almost ninety percent, then, follow one of the two *achttaktig* schemes.

[14] As mentioned earlier, a few minuets lack an accompanying trio.

Composer	No. of 8+8 minuets or trios	No. of 8+16 minuets or trios	Total no. of minuets and trios
Haydn	13	2	23
Koželuch	23	1	24
Eybler	4	10	24
Süßmayr	24	0	24
Beethoven	23	0	24
Teyber (1796)	18	0	18
Henneberg	8	8	18
Teyber (1798)	23	1	24
Lipavsky	24	0	24
Pichl	9	9	18
Seyfried	17	4	24
Gyrowetz	26	0	26
Molitor	9	3	24
Eberl	24	0	24
TOTAL	245	38	319

Table 3.6: *Achttaktig* minuets.

My other reason for stressing the eight-bar nature of minuet phrase construction is to compensate for its under-statement in the more recent theoretical literature. The minuet has occupied a very marginal position in recent mainstream studies of late-eighteenth-century form.[15] Charles Rosen does, however, devote some pages to 'Minuet Sonata Form' in his *Sonata Forms* (Rosen 1988, 112-123), and in his book *Classical Form* William Caplin includes a short chapter on 'Minuet/Trio Form' (Caplin 1998, 219-230). Both scholars define the minuet in relation to sonata form, focusing on the harmonic properties of their models. Whereas Kirnberger and Koch immediately set the eight-bar phrase as a fundamental property of the form, stating it at the outset of their definitions, as we saw earlier, Rosen and Caplin do not even mention it. This aspect of the minuet's construction is present in their work, primarily as a recurrent feature of the examples that they cite, but they never work it into their overall definitions of the form. That the eight-

[15] James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy state explicitly in *Elements of Sonata Theory*, 'it cannot be the purpose of this book to detail the practices of the normal and deformational minuet (or scherzo) and trio' (2006).

bar aspect of the phrase structure does not leap out from the music to these theorists is understandable, given that they base their studies solely on the *undanced* minuets of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven; after all, as we saw Kirnberger and Koch remark earlier, these less likely to follow the eight-bar model. We will return to this topic in the final chapter, when Haydn's symphonic minuets are considered.

Anomalous examples

Having observed the two typical *achttaktig* patterns followed in danced-minuet compositions, and having noted their strictness and the extent to which composers readily adhere to them, we are now in a position to consider the anomalies that occur occasionally in the minuet sets. With the exception of Lipavsky's, whose minuets are extremely conventional, every minuet set in this sample contains at least one piece that detours either metrically or harmonically from the models defined above.

The first anomalous type to examine is the minor-mode minuet. Given the prevalence of minor-mode composition in general, it might initially seem something of a stretch to term this type of minuet an anomaly, but the minor mode occurs sufficiently rarely in the danced minuet to warrant, I believe, this designation. Of all 170 minuets, just four are in the minor mode.[16] Slightly more common is to insert a minor-mode trio into a major-mode minuet, which occurs in eight further compositions. Seven of these trios are in the parallel-minor key of the major-key minuet; one is in the relative minor.[17] With few exceptions, the minor-mode minuets and trios utilise the relative major as their

[16] Koželuch No. 9, Eybler No. 5, Süßmayr No. 7, Molitor No. 3.
[17] Haydn No. 4, Teyber (1798) Nos. 6 & 9, Pichl No. 10, Seyfried No. 8 (relative minor), Eberl Nos. 2, 3 & 5.

secondary key.[18] As is the case with the major-key minuets moving to the dominant, they either modulate to the relative major over the latter half of the A section or, if the A section does not modulate, they simply begin the B section in the secondary key. The fact that there are so few minor-mode minuets, with several composers not including a single one,[19] speaks to the general incompatibility of the minor mode with the general affect—nobility and grace—of the minuet: the turmoil inherent to the late-eighteenth-century minor mode simply does not befit the minuet. Indeed, Süßmayr's Minuet No. 7 begins in C minor, but after just four bars the flat signs are extinguished and the phrase continues in the parallel major. The repetition of this A section (which is written out) constitutes precisely the same eight-bar phrase that began the piece, except now entirely in C major (see Ex. 3.7).

Example 3.7: Süßmayr's Minuet No. 7; minuet A section.

Instead of closing in the dominant or tonic, very rarely the A section of a major-mode minuet or trio modulates to a minor key. Across all 319 minuets and trios in this sample, this happens three times. The A sections of Seyfried's Minuet No. 7 and of

[18] The G-minor trio of Seyfried's Minuet No. 8, which is in the relative minor of the B*b*-major minuet, modulates to VI, E*b* major. The G-minor trio of Eberl's Minuet No. 2 modulates to the dominant minor.
[19] The sets by Beethoven, Teyber (1796), Henneberg, Lipavsky and Gyrowetz contain no minor-mode minuets.

Gyrowetz's Minuet No. 8 both modulate to the relative minor, Seyfried's ending with a perfect authentic cadence and Gyrowetz's with a half cadence. The A section of the trio of Beethoven's Minuet No. 12 also seems destined from bar 5 to close in the relative minor, until at the last moment it veers off to the dominant minor of the relative minor—the mediant minor of the overall tonic (see Ex. 3.8).

Example 3.8: Beethoven's Minuet No. 12; trio A section.

Somewhat more common is for the A section to end as normal on either the tonic or dominant, and for the B section then to start in a new, more remote key. While B sections starting with a dominant emphasis (either established as the local tonic or with the dominant chord of the original tonic) far outnumber any other tonal schemes, the next most likely chord to start the B section is that of the relative minor. Depending on the length of the B section, this new harmony will receive different treatment. In the eight-bar B section of Beethoven's Minuet No. 1, the relative minor is expanded over a pedal for four bars, before the music returns to the tonic (see Ex. 3.9). The eight-bar B section of Gyrowetz's Minuet No. 6 starts on the relative minor in first inversion, proceeding to enact an authentic cadence over bars 11-12, then returning to the tonic over the final four bars (see Ex. 3.10).

Example 3.9: Beethoven's Minuet No. 1; minuet B section.

Example 3.10: Gyrowetz's Minuet No. 6; minuet B section.

The anomalies across this sample of minuets do not just concern their harmonic trajectory. As shown earlier in Table 3.6, some eleven percent of B sections have a length that differs from the eight- and sixteen-bar models. A few composers write minuets containing unorthodox phrase lengths in their B sections: around half of all Haydn's, Eybler's and Molitor's B sections do not follow the eight- or sixteen-bar model, while Beethoven, Henneberg and Seyfried also include the occasional B section of a different length.[20] Some composers have a predilection for one particular length—most of Haydn's and Molitor's B sections, for instance, are twelve bars long. Eybler and Beethoven also include one seventeen-bar B section; these are very unusual, in that they constitute an uneven number of bars, and will be discussed later in this chapter. *All* of Haydn's, Eybler's, Beethoven's, Henneberg's and Seyfried's extended B sections end with an

[20] Haydn's B sections of an unorthodox length in either minuet or trio number 8, Eybler's 10, Molitor's 12, Beethoven's 1, Henneberg's 2 and Seyfried's 3.

eight-bar recapitulatory phrase.[21] As such, they can be understood as following the *model* of a sixteen-bar B section, but with the first of the two B-section phrases lengthened or shortened. Haydn's twelve-bar B sections, for instance, consist of a four-bar phrase followed by the eight-bar recapitulation. Most often, these four bars involve dominant prolongation, either over a pedal, as in Haydn's Minuet No. 7 (see Ex. 3.11), or with a short progression that briefly tonicises the dominant chord before at the last minute returning it to a dominant function, by way of its seventh, as in the trio of Haydn's Minuet No. 6 (see Ex. 3.12).

Example 3.11: Haydn's Minuet No. 7; minuet B section.

Example 3.12: Haydn's Minuet No. 6; trio B section.

In the few instances when the B section is longer than sixteen bars,[22] the composer typically explores a more remote tonal region, dramatising the return to the tonic. In the

[21] The one exception here is Seyfried's Minuet No. 5, whose final eight-bar phrase draws on motivic material from the opening and is clearly rooted in the tonic key, but which does not constitute a direct repeat of the opening phrase of the A section.

[22] In addition to the two already mentioned, by Eybler and Beethoven, there are just seven such examples of B sections that are longer than eighteen bars across the entire sample. One is by Haydn, in his Minuet No.

trio of Eybler's Minuet No. 11, for example, the B section begins with an eight-bar phrase in key of the flattened submediant, before taking a further four bars to negotiate the return to the dominant of the home key and the start of the reprise (see Ex. 3.13).[23]

Example 3.13: Eybler's Minuet No. 11; trio B section.

Molitor is the only exception to this general pattern: although most of his B sections are twelve bars long, he prefers to have an eight-bar first phrase followed by just a four-bar reprise.

These minuets with irregular phrase lengths present something of a conundrum. On the one hand, the fact that out of the 319 separate minuets and trios played at the Gesellschaft's balls over 1792-1804 just 36 exhibit non-*achttaktig* phrasing invites some sort of interpretation. 36 out of 319 is sufficiently few to raise the question of whether this small group of minuets with different phrase lengths would have been in some way perceived against a model—a model that, after all, the theorists state quite explicitly. On the other hand, the fact that most of these 36 come from the same three sets of minuets, each of which has a fairly even ratio of *achttaktig* to non-*achttaktig* B sections, complicates the matter somewhat. If a non-*achttaktig* phrase is perceived as unusual or

1, another by Henneberg in his Minuet No. 1, and the remainder come in Eybler's Minuets Nos. 1 (trio), 3 (trio), 7 (trio), 11 (trio) and 12.

[23] The A section of this trio and its reprise are also unusual in that they start with a long prolongation of the dominant.

marked, then surely including one in around half of one's minuets and trios is too casual a deployment of this device. Moreover, the phrases themselves are devoid of any clear markers of disturbance; there is no sense of a composer stating 'I know that you are expecting an eight-bar phrase, so now I am going to thwart that expectation' through musical means, such as a deceptive cadence or an unexpected *fortissimo*. If, indeed, we do have an expectation for an eight-bar phrase, what makes these disruptions stranger is their sheer normalcy.

This curious state of affairs raises the question: *what does the dance require?* Do the dance figures themselves require solely eight-bar musical phrases, and, if so, what happens when a phrase of a different length is played? Or is there no need for such concerns?

Dancing the minuet: figures and music combined

Having now established some prototypical models for both dance and music of the minuet in 1790s Vienna, we are now in a position to line them up, side by side, to see how well they map onto each other. Since Link specifies the number of bars per dance figure in the greatest detail, we will use his scheme, here. And since Link's treatise was published in 1796, we will examine his scheme in conjunction with the first minuet from Teyber's set of minuets written for the Gesellschaft's 1796 Redoute. Teyber's minuet follows the standard 8+8 model. Table 3.7 shows the relationship between Link's steps and Teyber's music, assuming that dance and music start simultaneously, and supposing that the dancers execute the Z-figure twice each time it comes in the dance. A transcription of the minuet is given as Ex. 3.14, annotated with the figures.

Overall	Component parts of figure	Duration (bars)	Music

figure			
Opening *révérences*	First bow	4	Minuet A section
	Connecting steps	2	
	Second bow	4	Minuet A section repeat
	Pause	2	
Connecting *révérences* to Z-figure	Return step	2	
	Forward step	2	
	2 'leading around' steps	4	Minuet B section
	2 rightward sidesteps	4	
Z-figure	2 leftward sidesteps	4	Minuet B section
	2 steps across the Z-figure diagonal	4	
	2 rightward sidesteps	4	Trio A section
Z-figure	2 leftward sidesteps	4	
	2 steps across the Z-figure diagonal	4	Trio A section repeat
	2 rightward sidesteps	4	
Giving of right hands	3 steps for giving of right hands	6	Trio B section
Giving of left hands	3 steps for giving of left hands	6	Trio B section repeat
Z-figure	2 leftward sidesteps	4	
	2 steps across the Z-figure diagonal	4	Da capo minuet A section
	2 rightward sidesteps	4	
Z-figure	2 leftward sidesteps	4	Da capo minuet A section repeat
	2 steps across the Z-figure diagonal	4	
	2 rightward sidesteps	4	Da capo minuet B section
Giving of both hands	2 steps for giving of both hands	4	
Closing *révérences*	Final bow	4	Da capo minuet B section repeat

Table 3.7: Link's dance figures enacted to the 8+8 minuet.

Example 3.14: Teyber's (1796) Minuet No. 1 with Link's choreography.

With four Z-figures in total (shaded in the table), Link's scheme occupies 92 bars in all, making for a fairly snug fit into Teyber's 96-bar minuet. If Link had specified the usual two bows at the end, instead of a single closing bow, this would likely entail a further four bars of music, bringing the total length of the danced minuet up to 96 bars as well. The fact that the numbers of dance steps and musical bars correspond so closely seems too good to be true.

And it probably is. First, we should remember that two Z-figures are the *minimum* number that a couple might execute. Suppose a couple decided to perform just one more Z-figure: they would run out of music before ending their dance, or would have to abbreviate other figures to stand any chance of ending with the music. One portion of Link's choreography that may well be abbreviated is that of the bows and following steps before the Z-figure starts: 24 bars seems much longer than needed for this figure. Yet there is a more important point to make: the dance figures and the musical sections do not line up closely at all, and when they do it seems more the result of chance than of careful design. If we follow Link's directions closely, the repeat of the music's minuet A section comes midway through the second bow figure, and the second set of Z-figures starts halfway through the repeat of the trio's B section. Sometimes the dance figures and musical sections do coincide neatly, such as the start of the first set of Z-figures with the start of the repeat of the minuet's B section. Yet this is not the result of some sort of careful design, but rather that with a number of short dance figures and musical sections, there is a basic likelihood that some will coincide and some will not. There is no deliberate coordination between the structure of the music and that of the dance.

Indeed, the dancing masters seem to show no explicit interest in coordinating the dance with the music. No dancing master instructs his readers to wait until the next eight-bar phrase starts before commencing a figure, for instance, or even advocates four-step figures that will fit an eight-bar phrase. Of those considered in Chapter 2, the only instruction to align a figure somewhat with the music comes from Mädel, when he advises his readers to perform the giving of right and left hands at the middle of the minuet. This moment in the music can be easily identified, Mädel writes: 'I let the music, which for the minuet consists of four parts, play all the way through two parts; now I give the right and left hand, let it play through twice more again, and make the close' (Mädel 1805, 46-7).[24] Yet Mädel's advice is of little use in this context, because he seems to be referencing a much earlier musical form of the minuet—far from the minuet-trio-minuet form in use at the Redoute by this point. Mädel seems to have in mind a binary ABAB structure, which was still in use for *theatrical* minuets at this point. Indeed, in the 1780s Malpied was publishing choreographies for dances like the *Menuet de la Cour* and the *Menuet Dauphin*, replete with binary or rounded binary minuet melodies. This is not to say that the minuet as Mädel lays it out would not be danced to the music played at the Redoute—far from it. Mädel in fact specifically references the Redoute in the very same paragraph, writing of 'balls and Redouten, where usually minuet music is danced for an hour without interruption' (Mädel 1805, 47).[25] He just still has an earlier model of minuet composition in mind. In fact, while all the dancing masters readily advocate the adoption

[24] 'Ich lasse die Musik, die zur Menuet vier Theile enthält, zweimal ganz durchspielen; gebe nun die rechte und linke Hand, lasse sie wieder zweimal durchspielen und mache den Schluß'.
[25] 'Auf Bällen und Redouten, wo gewöhnlich einige Stunden ohne Einhalt der Musik Menuet getanzt wird . . .'

of their choreographies at the Redoute, their basic conceptions of the minuet's *music* still seem rooted in the theatrical version, with its older formal structures.

I agree with Russell's discussion of the dancing masters' seeming lack of concern for correspondence between dance and music. He ventures to suggest that the dancing masters even sought to prepare their students for a lack of cohesion by providing music that has no relation to the figures they are teaching. For his main example, he cites Malpied's *Menuet d'Exaudet*, which sets numerous six-step figures against a predominantly eight-bar phrase structure (Russell 1992, 128-38). (Malpied even breaks off the music in the middle of a phrase, at the end of the dance!) Moreover, Russell explains that 'a minuet choreography was learned to the tune in a particular manual, but there was little likelihood that at balls the same music would be played', meaning that dancers were 'constantly having to adapt the choreography they had learnt to different and perhaps phraseologically problematic music' (Russell 1992, 125). With different couples coming together, taught a variety of minuets by different dancing masters, dancing to music that was unknown—indeed, had been marketed to them on the basis of its *newness*—large-scale structural cohesion could only occur by chance, if it would occur at all.

Furthermore, the dance treatises frequently allude to a considerable degree of flexibility regarding any collective coordination of the dance figures among multiple couples, or even whether the start and end of a dance would be coordinated. Discussing the size of the Z-figure, Vieth advises that 'when many pairs are dancing simultaneously, *each starting and stopping arbitrarily*, then one must mostly keep to short distances' (Vieth 1795, 432; my emphasis). Likewise, we saw earlier Mädel's claim that 'at balls

and Redouten, where usually minuet music is danced for an hour without interruption . . . *one can take up and relinquish [the dance] at will*' (Mädel 1805, 47; my emphasis). Both writers seem to imply that dancers would simply start and stop dancing at their own leisure, absent any control from a dancing master directing the activities present at the event. Mädel implies that the orchestra would play near continuously, aiding this intermittent take-up of the dance. Feldtenstein offers a more coordinated *vision* of the group dance, contrasting his Z-figure (Fig. 2.12) with an alternative (see Fig. 3.1):

> I admit, one could argue that this figure [2.12] is best employed when the room stands open to two people who want to show their skill. However, figure [3.1], on the other hand, is always applicable in society where many are dancing. . . . If a whole row is lined up for dancing, performing all figures together, and in one Tempo or *Cadance* making all the turns together, a certain eye-catching symmetry is produced: the dancers do not touch or bump into each other, which is unavoidable with *Schemate (69)*. Thus if one column wants to end its dance, and at the same time a row of new dancers [stands] opposite, such that when the first [dancers] conclude the dance with the reverences, the others, however, immediately introduce the *Menuet* again with the opening-compliment, then the dance room remains never empty, and sad boredom never takes the place of joy and pleasure. (Feldtenstein 1772, 80-81)[26]

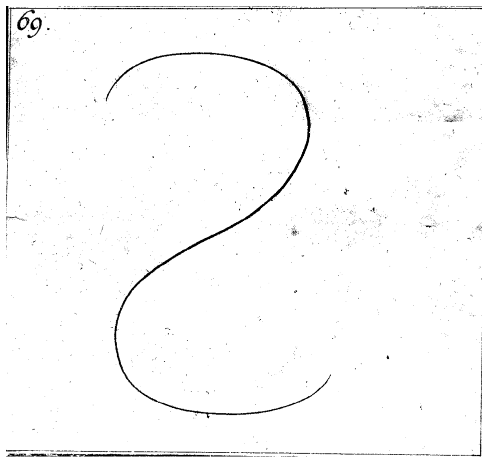

Figure 3.1: Feldtenstein's modified Z-figure (Feldtenstein 1772, Fig. 69).

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[26] 'Ich gestehe, man kann mir einwenden, daß diese Figur sich alsdann am besten ausnimmt, wenn für zwey Personen, die ihre Geschicklichkeit zeigen wollen, der Raum allein offen stehet. Die Figur [69] aber hingegen in Gesellschaft wo viele tanzen, jederzeit applicabler sey. . . . Wenn sich eine ganze Reihe zum Tanzen anstellet, alle Parthien sich zugleich aufführen, und in einem Tempo oder Cadance alle Touren der *Menuet* zugleich machen, so wird eine gewisse ins Auge fallende *Symetrie* hervorgebracht: Die Tanzenden werden sich nicht berühren oder anstoßen, welches bey dem *Schemate (69.)* unvermeidlich ist. Wenn also eine Colonne seinen Tanz endigen will, und sich zu gleicher Zeit eine Reihe neuer Tanzenden gegenüber, daß wann die erstern den Tanz mit dem Reverenz beschliesen, die andern aber sogleich mit dem Anfangs-Compliment die *Menuet* wieder eröffnen, so bleibt der Tanzsaal niemals leer, und die traurige Langeweile darf den Plaz der Freude und des Vergnügens niemals einnehmen.'

It is somewhat ambiguous quite whether Feldtenstein is advocating for the use of the curved 'Z' shape (his *Schemate 69*). He starts by saying that it is always applicable, but then swiftly suggests that it will cause collisions, with multiple dancers. In any case, he certainly does not consider it beyond the realms of possibility that a row of dancers might execute the steps of the minuet with a reasonable degree of simultaneity, and dances and dancers might succeed each other relatively smoothly. Set against the other descriptions, Feldtenstein's description comes over as too idealistic. Yet it is telling that he at least aspires to such organisation.

The degree to which dancing formations and figures were coordinated for the Redoute minuets probably depended on the inclinations of the dancing master in charge of the particular event, and on the abilities of the attendees. Although inter-couple cooperation seems to have occurred only rarely in the minuet unless it had been planned and rehearsed prior to the event, as in the case of the *menuets en quatre*, *en six*, and *en huit*,[27] it is not beyond the realms of possibility that certain occasions saw lines of dancers

[27] Although the minuet had always been a dance for just a couple, Feldtenstein and Link both mention the *Menuet en quatre* and the *Menuet en huit*, while Mädel describes the *Menuet en six*. Link's explanation of the *Menuet en huit* extends over eight pages, and consists of twenty-four stages. The pair is still integral to this version of the minuet—each stage is carried out between the pairs themselves. The choreography essentially functions to ensure that no cross-path collisions will occur as the couples execute the various shapes. The dancers start standing in a square formation, the man and woman of each pair facing each other. They then execute various patterns, some (such as the giving of hands) characteristic of the minuet, and others (such as the *Moulinet*) less so. Each would be united, though, by the fact that the minuet step would be continuously danced through all the patterns. Much like a refrain, at the end of each pattern, the dancers would enact a *Chaine*, to return to their original starting positions. Following this, Link notes that the *Menuet en quatre* is essentially the same dance, performed by two couples instead of four (Link 1796, 18-25). Yet the sheer length and complexity of this version of the dance suggests that it is unlikely that it was performed at the Redoute. This clearly had to be learnt before the event itself, and practised with all the couples present together: it could not simply be thrown together on the night by a disparate group that had never danced together before—it had to be prepared. In fact, Feldtenstein's mention of the *Menuet en quatre* and of the *Menuet en huit* comes in such a way that supports this theory. It comes during his discussion of group dancing of the minuet; he is explaining that the tempo and step of the minuet are particularly suited to the cross and circle shapes '(as invariably happen in the *Menuet en quatre* and *Menuet en huit*)'—in other words, Feldtenstein is *likening* this particular aspect of the collective minuet to *Menuet en quatre* and *Menuet en huit*, but they exist as a separate, parenthetical entity that he is not discussing at this point in his text (Feldtenstein 1772, 81). The *Menuet en quatre* and *Menuet en huit* are prepared,

moving together, in some sort of straightforward, dictated formation. Yet it was probably also not unusual sometimes to have couples scattered around the hall, not really considering themselves part of any larger, cohesive dancing mass, starting and ending the dance at their own discretion.

The evidence suggests that typically a complete set of minuets would have been played through at a time, in order, and without mixing in any other dance types (like *Deutsche Tänze*, for instance). As we saw in Chapter 1, the contracts that Fink has examined suggest that a batch of one dance type was played at a time, for about 45 minutes. This would allow a complete cycling through of a minuet set, with repeats and *da capo* minuets. I do not think that the musicians would have repeated a single minuet multiple times consecutively, beyond the repeats marked in the music. To start with, this would be somewhat tedious, and each ball had after all been marketed as offering 'wholly new' minuets by a noted composer of the day. Moreover, in Haydn's minuet set his minuet no. 10, which at only sixteen bars of written music is considerably shorter than the others, several of the instrumental parts are marked 'segue' (in a hand other than the copyist's), suggesting that they needed to move onto the following minuet immediately, presumably because no. 10 was too short to cover the dancing of a whole minuet. (The sonic effect of this join is somewhat jarring, with E*b* major following G major, and an upbeat starting for the latter minuet causing a seven-beat phrase.)

It is unclear whether minuets were played on back-to-back, or whether there was a short pause between each. On the one hand, if we take Mädel's claim at face value that 'at balls and Redouten, where usually minuet music is danced for an hour without

choreographed versions of minuet that were known but that were not performed as standard group dances by attendees at the Redoute.

interruption . . . one can take up and relinquish [the dance] at will' (Mädel 1805, 47), it seems to suggest that one could continue dancing from one piece right into the next, with little disturbance. Moreover, for the (fairly few) minuets without trios, even with all the repeats played these come to a total of 32 bars—not nearly enough to dance a single minuet. If these were not simply played over and over, with multiple repeats, the next most likely solution is that they were joined very rapidly onto the next (typically longer) minuet. Other indications suggest that minuets followed each other in rapid succession, such as use of particular instruments. Eybler has four sets of horn parts, but only two horns ever play at any one time, and he alternates between the pairs of horns. This allows time for each pair of horn players to change the crooks, from key to key. Finally, the overall key scheme of the minuet sets suggests that joins from one minuet to the next would not be particularly jarring: successive minuets are normally related in key by third, fourth or fifth.

On the other hand, other factors indicate that minuets were not joined on seamlessly from one to the next. The copyists are extremely careful with page turns: they only put a page turn when there is ample time for one, and do not ask players to turn back, for a *da capo* minuet, for instance. Playing on from one minuet to the next would necessitate some very rapid page turns. It would also result in some seven-beat phrases, when a minuet with an upbeat start follows a minuet with a third beat in the final bar. The fact that there is a 'segue' in the Haydn parts for minuet no. 10 also suggests that this was not *normally* the case: there would have been no need to write 'segue', if this was the habit anyway. Moreover, if the role of the dancing master (Muzzarelli, at the Gesellschaft's ball, as discussed in Chapter 1) was to organise the dancers into lines and

to start each minuet at a reasonable tempo (Salmen 1989, 116), this suggests that there must have been pauses between some minuets at least—that they did not simply run on unfettered, one to the next.

Achttaktig modifications

This lack of correspondence between the dance figures and musical sections might allow us to account for the seeming lack of concern shown for *Achttaktigkeit* by composers like Haydn, Eybler and Molitor. If dancers were not going to coordinate their figures with the music, then presumably the composers felt no great compulsion to write music that would accommodate the figures. Moreover, the dancing masters' indifference to the music can be explained on similar lines. As the minuet changed from a theatrical dance performed by a solo couple in to a public dance performed in groups, any opportunity for coordination between dance figures and musical sections became ever less feasible. Indeed, even the matching of figures between just two couples who had learnt the minuet from two different teachers could be difficult to attain, let alone between twenty couples and the music. Earlier, choreographed versions of the *theatrical* minuet do often include music divided into eight-bar phrases, the *Menuet Dauphin* being one such example. In these earlier versions of the dance, each new figure *does* begin with each new eight-bar phrase. For a composer writing new music to accompany these figures, eight-bar phrases *would* have been required. I believe, then, that the perceived need for the *Achttakigkeit* of the minuet simply extended longer than it was actually necessary. The situation that results is a slightly odd one, whereby *Achttaktigkeit* very much *is a feature of the music*, asserted by its sheer presence in the repertoire, and one that I shall later argue even

extends into the undanced minuet; yet at the same time the *Achttaktigkeit* is a redundant feature, inasmuch as the dance no longer depends upon it.

There is a twist in the story, though. In 1794, Artaria published a new arrangement of the music that Haydn had originally composed for the 1792 Gesellschaft Redoute. This new version sets both the minuets and the *Deutsche Tänze* for string trio—two violins and cello—with an optional keyboard part. Such arrangements were advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung* specifically as 'for small house balls'.[28] Yet the new instrumentation is not the only alteration that has been made to Haydn's original composition. Ex. 3.15 shows both the 1794 string-trio publication and the 1792 arrangement of the same minuets for keyboard, also published by Artaria.[29] The B section of the 1792 minuet has been significantly truncated, in its 1794 version, from 24 bars to eight. The 1794 version's B section comprises the 1792 version's bars 9-12 followed by its bars 17-20, the latter four bars transposed into the tonic. In this minuet, and in every minuet of the set, the arranger has adjusted each section to make it eight bars long. The fact that somebody has actively made these *achttaktig* adjustments, just two years after the music's composition, suggests that there must be a reason for the music's *Achttaktigkeit*.

[28] See, for example, in the 5th January 1793 *Wiener Zeitung*: '12 Minuetti von ganz neuer Erfindung a 2 Violini con Violoncello für die kleinen Haus-Bälle 1 fl.' (*WZ* 47).
[29] The Empress, who had been unable to attend the Redoute on account of the Emperor's being unwell, had requested a keyboard arrangement of Haydn's music. Haydn promptly obliged, and Artaria published the arrangement the following month.

Violino I

Violino II

Violoncello

Klavier
ad libitum

Example 3.15a: Haydn's Minuet No. 1; 1794 string-trio version of minuet.

Example 3.15b: Haydn's Minuet No. 1; 1792 keyboard version of minuet.

Günter Thomas, in a 1982 article (the only piece of modern research that mentions this discrepancy, as far as I am aware), suggests that the shortening of the phrases might be driven by pragmatic reasons rather than aesthetic concerns, as the publishers struggled to fit every minuet into the available space on the page (Thomas 1982, 145). But what if there is another reason? In fact, this is not the only set of minuets that has been adjusted in this way. The Hoboken catalogue details a set of ten *symphonic* minuets by Haydn, 'all shortened, with phrase lengths cut for use in dancing' (Hoboken 1957, 508).[30] In this collection, Minuet No. 1 comes from the third movement of Haydn's Symphony No. 91. As shown in Ex. 3.16, the symphony's minuet is transposed into D major, and the danced minuet's eight-bar B section is constructed out of the symphonic movement's bars 21-24 and bars 39-42. All ten minuets are constructed in this way, explicitly rendering the symphonic minuet danceable by making it *achttaktig*.

Minuet

Trio

Minuet da Capo

Example 3.16: Haydn's Symphony No. 91, iii; edited version of minuet 'for use in dancing'.

Even in the face of this evidence, Russell refuses to accept regular phrase structure as a necessary condition for danced minuet music. He claims that irregular minuet tunes like the 'Menuet de la cour' and 'Fischer's Menuet' (the latter now lost)

[30] 'alle gekürzt, zum Tanzgebrauch zurechtgeschnitten'.

'disprove a common misperception about the sophisticated art minuets perfected by high-Classic composers, especially Joseph Haydn', which are 'supposedly undanceable because their rhythmic and metric complexities could not fit the uniform structure of the dance' (Russell and Bourassa 2007, 24). Indeed, Russell is correct to dispel the notion of a uniform structure to the dance; as we saw previously, different dancers in different contexts execute different forms of the dance, and therein lies part of the delight of dancing the minuet. But to continue to deny that a regular, *achttaktig* phrase construction was—or was at least perceived to be—a necessary feature of minuet composition, given the apparent industry that went into *altering* minuets in precisely this way, seems untenable.

I want to suggest, hypothetically, another possible reason for the *achtaktig* re-composition of these minuets, and indeed for the fact that so many are structured in eight-bar units in the first place. We can read some significance from the fact that Artaria has the minuets altered specifically for its string-trio arrangement. Whereas the orchestral version was played at the public Redoute, the sting-trio version was intended for the house balls, and marketed thus in the *Wiener Zeitung*, as noted above.[31] As we saw in Chapter 1, Korhonen has shown that the house ball provided something of a refuge for the upper classes, as the lower classes steadily infiltrated the public settings. As a result, the minuet may have retained its earlier, courtly forms in the house ball—danced by a solo couple and to the older, theatrical choreographies that adhere much more rigidly to

[31] Quite how the keyboard arrangements of the dances were used domestically is unclear. They may have been played for dancing in the home, but may also have been listened to minus the dancing. When the music shop at Breunerstrasse Nr. 1158 advertises in the *Wiener Zeitung*, they list 'new music' and 'new dance music' in two separate sections. While all the dance sets for orchestra and string trio are listed under 'new dance music', the *Ländler* arranged for keyboard (12 Ländlerische Tänze in C. beym Clavier, á 20 kr.) are listed following the sonatas in the 'new music' section (Advertisement, *Wiener Zeitung*, February 6, 1793, 337-8). This categorisation suggests that the keyboard versions of the minuets might have been intended for listening rather than (or as well as) dancing.

the eight-bar schemes. As such, the string-trio arrangements for these occasions *would* have needed to exemplify an *achttaktig* model of construction, for the dance figures to retain their coherence with the musical sections that the earlier, theatrical choreographies demonstrate. Even if the minuet as danced at the Redoute was too heterogeneous in its various renderings to require the same degree of organisation in its phrase structure, a young composer keen to profit from the exposure of their music at this large event would do well to write minuets that can be readily adapted with minimal effort for commercial consumption—after all, the composers' contributions to the Gesellschaft's Redoute were uncompensated. By the same token, an old composer like Haydn, freshly returned from a lucrative London trip, does not need to worry about the commercial viability of his minuets, so can use whatever phrase structure he pleases, including even a ten-bar A section.

To link music's phrase construction with its commercial viability is perhaps not as far fetched as it might seem. Indeed, Lowe makes a very similar argument in asserting that music more amenable to the 'topical competencies' of its consumers (in her case, players) is like to sell better than that exhibiting 'topical dissonances', and accounts for the commercial success of Pleyel's 1783 string quartets over Mozart's 1785 'Haydn' quartets (Lowe 2014). As Lowe admits of her own argument, my suggestion that considering the subsequent use of these minuets might account for their *achttaktig* structure is also 'undoubtedly speculative by nature' (Lowe 2014, 603). However, it does offer a pragmatic explanation for the alterations made to Haydn's minuets, as well as accounting for the prevalence of the eight-bar unit in the wider repertoire.

Two-bar groupings and the minuet step

Although the various individual couples dancing the minuet simultaneously at the Redoute were uncoordinated with each other in terms of the dance figures, and although the dance figures would only line up with the musical sections occasionally and by chance, there was one aspect of the minuet in which all the dancers presently would be largely coherent both with each other and with the music. The minuet *step* itself would unite all engaged in the activity of the minuet, whether as musicians or dancers. As discussed earlier, the internal distribution of some component steps within the minuet step itself may differ somewhat between the dancers, and there may be some variation in the choice of the actual component steps, but other aspects of the step would be held in common across all its executions. All versions of the minuet step comprise four steps, which, if not undertaken by all dancers with an identical distribution across the two bars they occupy, are likely to be very similarly distributed. All the dancers are guaranteed to *start* the minuet step together, and in the same way. All versions of the minuet step begin with a *demi coupé*, and by definition the dancers all perform this at the beginning of each two-bar grouping. Every two bars, then, will be marked with all the dancers bending and rising in unison. Moreover, the community of dancers will collectively feel the impetus at the beginning of this step at the beginning of every odd-numbered bar, not only in the physical sense of the initial *demi coupé* putting the rest of the minuet step into motion but also in terms of the music providing a sonic impulse to propel the two-bar step.

While the dance figures and musical sections of the Redoute minuet are not coordinated, the situation is rather different with the *step* itself. Indeed, the propulsion of

the two-bar step seems to be regarded as the most important task of the music. For composition of danced minuets, Kirnberger advises:

> The fastest notes are quavers. But it is very good if one voice, such as the bass or the melody, proceeds in plain crotchets, so that the course of movement for the dancers will be more marked; this is actually also observed in other dances. But semiquavers can be used individually, following a dotted quaver. (Kirnberger 1787, 316)[32]

The aim of these prescribed note values is to set a clear pulse, to aid the dancers in their step. Whereas the realities of the situation are such that any attempt by a composer to coordinate musical sections with dance figures would be a lost cause, the music can—indeed, needs to—play a vital role in enabling the step. The chief reason that figures cannot be coordinated with the music is that they are of varying lengths, but this is not a problem with the step. As we saw earlier, the minuet step by this point in time always consists of four component steps, enacted over two bars of music. Although the distribution of the component steps within the two bars can be varied, the overall length of the step remains at two bars with utter consistency. We also saw earlier Kirnberger's instruction that minuet phrases include 'incisions every two bars at the last crotchet' (Kirnberger 1787, 316). These would correspond precisely with the step itself. Moreover, while the dancing masters state no explicit concern that their students coordinate the dance figures with musical sections, at the level of the step this changes markedly. Vieth's advice that dancers should adjust their step distribution in accordance with the prevailing rhythms of the music, that they need to 'judge according to their own sensibility whether this or that order of steps is suitable for this or that melodic passage', speaks to the importance the dancing masters attached to coordinating the step with the

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[32] 'Die geschwindesten Noten sind Achtel. Aber es ist sehr gut, daß eine Stimme, es sey der Baß, oder die Melodie in bloßen Vierteln fortschreite, damit der Gang der Bewegung für den Tänzer desto fühlbarer werde; welches überhaupt auch bey andern Tänzen zu beobachten ist. Doch können Sechszehntel einzeln, nach einem punktirten Achtel folgen.'

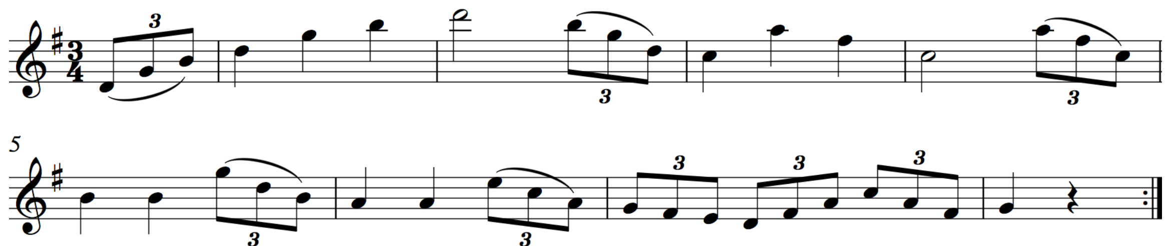
music (Vieth 1795, 429). By Vieth's view, it is not enough just to dance in time with the musical pulse; the distribution of the component steps needs to *cohere* with the rhythm of the music.

Typically, the distribution of the four component steps posits most of the activity in the latter half of the two-bar grouping. Feldtenstein's version of the step, discussed in Chapter 2, denoted a *demi coupé* over the first bar, and then *demi coupé*, *élevé*, *élevé* over the second bar. This distribution of the component steps allows for a highly reciprocal relationship with the music, whereby in the first bar of every two-bar grouping the music clearly establishes the pulse that will be needed for the remainder of the step, enacted over the second bar. The opening of Haydn's Minuet No. 1 exemplifies this (see Ex. 3.15b), the repeated crotchets of bar one clearly declaiming a pulse to which the remainder of the minuet step will be enacted. Yet the music does much more than merely setting a pulse. It gives an *impetus*, at the very start of the step, to thrust the step into motion. This impetus can be observed in the music alone: bars 2 and 4 are noticeably lighter than bars 1 and 3 preceding them; the even-numbered bars are *carried* by the momentum established by the impetus of the preceding bar. The same goes for the step: the impetus of bar 1 carries the entire step over bars 1-2. (The actual somatic sensation of this musical impulse will be theorised in the following chapter; here, we need to focus on the attributes of the music.)

The extent to which this feature—a two-bar grouping, with a clear impetus given by the first of every two bars—pervades minuet composition can be confirmed by surveying the incipits given in the Appendix, which show it across all the minuet sets. If we simply continue perusing Haydn's minuets, we observe a similar rhythm to that of

No. 1 in the opening of No. 2 (see Ex. 3.17), with emphatic crotchets in bars 1 and 3 followed by running quavers in bars 2 and 4. Next, No. 3 also opens with strident crotchets in the odd-numbered bars followed by looser rhythms in the even-number bars (see Ex. 3.18). In all these examples the music functions to propel each minuet step, every two bars. Notably, too, each of these three above examples initiates a sentence structure over the eight-bar A section. Indeed, a two-bar melodic cell repeated is highly conducive to sentence structure, with the presentation phrase of a sentence consisting of a two-bar basic idea and a repetition of the basic idea.

Example 3.17 Haydn's Minuet No. 2; minuet A section.



Example 3.18: Haydn's Minuet No. 3; minuet A section.

At the beginning of this chapter, we noted Kirnberger's observation that in two-bar groupings there are on the one hand 'those that begin on the upbeat, and which have the incisions at the second crotchet of each second bar', while on the other hand there are 'others that begin with the downbeat, but put the incisions sometimes at the second and sometimes at the third crotchet' (Kirnberger 1787, 316). In other words, the grouping generally stays constant: if a minuet begins with a two-bar melodic cell starting on the

downbeat, that grouping will likely persist throughout the rest of the minuet; if it begins with a melodic cell starting on the upbeat, so will that probably continue, too. The compositions bear out this observation. Almost always, there even is consistency between the minuet and the trio: if the minuet starts with an upbeat, so will the trio.[33] Despite Kirnberger's initial prescription that danced minuets should only begin on a downbeat, many—in fact, the majority—begin on an upbeat. As Table 3.8 shows, only Pichl's set consists entirely of downbeat starts.

Composer	**No. of minuets with upbeat starts**	**Total no. of minuets**
Haydn	9	12
Koželuch	12	12
Eybler	8	12
Süßmayr	11	12
Beethoven	11	12
Teyber (1796)	6	12
Henneberg	12	12
Teyber (1798)	9	12
Lipavsky	8	12
Pichl	0	13
Seyfried	12	12
Gyrowetz	2	13
Molitor	8	12
Eberl	2	12
TOTAL	110	170

Table 3.8: Minuets with upbeat starts.

Gyrowetz and Eberl also significantly favour the downbeat start. Koželuch's, Henneberg's and Seyfried's sets consist entirely of upbeat starts, and of Süßmayr's and Beethoven's minuets all but one start on the upbeat. Most of the other sets consist primarily of minuets that start on the upbeat, with a few, occasional downbeat starts

[33] The only exceptions to this rule across the sample are Eybler No. 6, Lipavsky No. 9, Gyowetz No. 7, Molitor Nos. 3 & 10. (In Lipavsky's case, although the trio starts with an upbeat, the end of the previous phrase still occupies a full three-beat bar, causing a seven-beat phrase. Every instrumental part contains the extra beat, between the minuet and trio. Presumably, the players elided the trio's upbeat with the last beat of the minuet, but it is surprising that no markings in the orchestral parts evidence this.)

mixed in. The upbeat is always a crotchet long, with only very rare exceptions. Most often, it simply constitutes a single crotchet, either on $\hat{1}$ or $\hat{5}$. The next most popular rhythm is a dotted quaver followed by either a semiquaver or two demisemiquavers. Only Teyber and Seyfried use upbeats of longer than a crotchet, occasionally beginning his trios with a three-quaver upbeat.

The preponderance of upbeat-starting phrases across these minuets may be in part an attempt to accommodate the 'upbeat' nature of the minuet step itself, with its BEND and PLACE stages occurring before the main beat of the RISE. Yet this is not crucial: since the minuet step proper only begins after the *révérences* figure, the dancers have time to get their bearings in relation to the music and execute the BEND and PLACE stages on the upbeat whether or not a note is actually played on that beat. In any case, those phrases that do have an upbeat lend themselves to the minuet step particularly well, the upbeat supporting the BEND and PLACE stages of the step, particularly when an upbeat dominant launches to a downbeat tonic.

Harmony has as much to do as rhythm in the definition of the minuet's characteristic two-bar groupings. In the above Ex. 3.15b and Ex. 3.18, the basic idea and its repetition follow the stereotypical harmonic construction of a basic idea and its repetition, with the basic idea given in the tonic over bars 1-2 and its repetition over the dominant in bars 3-4.[34] The coincidence of the change of harmony with the new minuet step adds further ballast to the impetus given at bar 3. Ex. 3.17 is different: here, the impetus for the start of the second minuet step at bar 3 comes from the music's return to the first-inversion tonic. In fact, outside of such formal constructions as the sentence, the

[34] As such, they follow the model of Caplin's own Ex 1.1 (Caplin 1998, 10).

harmony can add even greater impetus at the start of a two-bar grouping. If we follow this minuet further, into its B section, we observe dissonant, seventh chords in inversion on bars 9 and 11, resolving on bars 10 and 12 (see Ex. 3.19). This pattern of tension-release from odd-numbered bars into their even-numbered counterparts not only binds the two-bar groupings tighter but also enhances the feeling of propulsion at the start of each step.

Example 3.19: Haydn's Minuet No. 2; minuet B section.

Of course, there is a very obvious question waiting to be asked in relation to these two-bar groupings: to what extent are two-bar groupings just a feature of music in general, and on what grounds do I assign them special significance in composition of danced minuets? For, just as it is hardly remarkable that numerous minuets in the 1790s start with a sentence, so the iamb as a basic building block of musical form is widely accepted (see, for example, Epstein 1979). What qualifies my claim that this two-bar musical grouping is somehow driven by, or intended to accommodate, the two-bar dance step? To turn the question on its head, could it be, even, that the two-bar step is derived from the two-bar musical tendencies? What makes two-bar groupings worthy of note as an essential musical feature of the danced minuet is just how fastidiously composers adhere to this principle. Out of all the 319 separate minuets and trios examined in their entirety for this study, only two contain a phrase that disrupts this two-bar grouping. Even

the composers who alter the phrases beyond their standard eight-bar lengths treat the two-bar grouping as an incontestable element of minuet composition. After all, to do so would play havoc with the minuet step itself. Moreover, Kirnberger and Kochare not the only theorists to cite the two-bar grouping as an indispensable feature of the minuet. In Joseph Riepel's earlier treatise, the *Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst* (1752-1765), the *Praeceptor* explains at the outset to the *Discantista* the difference between a two-bar grouping (a 'Zweyer') and a three-bar grouping ('Dreyer'). Asked 'Which ones are better in a minuet, the *Zweyer* or the *Dreyer*?', the *Praeceptor* responds, '*Zweyer*. Because *Dreyer* are absolutely not used in it' (Riepel 1752, 3; cited in Eckert 2005).[35] In short, the two-bar grouping is all-pervasive across the entire repertoire, to an extent that far exceeds its use even in the undanced minuets, as we shall see. For the danced minuet, the two-bar grouping constitutes a feature even more basic than that of the eight-bar sections.

Perhaps the most instructive illustration of the two-bar grouping's essentiality in the danced minuet comes from the only two occasions when a composer breaks it. The martial dotted rhythm that begins the B section of Eybler's Minuet No. 1 (see Ex. 3.20) sets an impetus at the beginning of the minuet step over bars 9-10, as one would expect. This normative distribution continues for the next two minuet steps, with the dotted rhythm recurring in the bass on the upbeats to bars 11 and 13. Yet between bar 13 and the reprise of the A-section theme at bar 18, something goes awry. When the theme returns,

[35] 'Die Zweyer. Denn die Dreyer sind gar nichts nütze dazu.' Russell asserts another, contradictory passage some thirty pages later in Riepel's treatise as evidence to the opposite view (Russell 1992, 119). The *Praeceptor*'s explanation of *Dreyer* elicits from the *Discantista*, 'I am thoroughly familiar with all the German dances that are played in our beer halls. If there is one with two 4-measure phrases, the people are happy but a little subdued, but as soon as they hear one with two 3-measure phrases, they all begin to jump around as if they were crazy' (Riepel 1752, 30; cited in Russell 1992, 119; Russell's translation). Given, however, that this comes from a different section of Riepel's treatise, concerns *Deutsche Tänze* and not minuets, played in a beer hall, and describes the dancers as jumping around and crazy, I do not find it pertinent to the discussion at hand.

with the triumphant re-entrance of the winds at bar 18, the dancers are already mid-way through their step: step and music have become dislocated. The beginning of the dancers' next step, at bar 19, comes after the reprise is already underway, coincided with the *pizzicato* interjection from the strings—the musical equivalent of dancing on one's tiptoes. The phrase then ends mid-way through the dancers' step.

Example 3.20 Eybler's Minuet No. 1; minuet B section.

Looking at the score from above, we can see what went wrong. If one ignores the bass line, the treble shows a perfectly coherent eight-bar phrase from bars *10* to *17*, with clear two-bar groupings over bars 10-11 and bars 12-13, followed by typical fragmentation over bars 14-15 into the cadence of bars 16-17. If we start hearing the music from the upbeat to bar 10, then, the start of the reprise at the upbeat to bar 18 sounds entirely normative, following a conventional eight-bar phrase exhibiting regular two-bar groupings. The problem, it turns out, was the dotted rhythmic cell that initiated the B section, and its echoes that followed in the bass over every two bars following. This cell set us off on the wrong foot, so to speak, its bass recurrences serving only to continue the hoax. On the repeat of the B section, the relationship between dance and music is rectified—by the very cell that initially caused its disruption. Having executed the reprise of bars 18-25 out of time with the two-bar groupings of the music, the dancers need one

bar of music to be inserted to rectify the correspondence. The cell of bars 8^3-9^2 provides precisely this, and the remainder of the B section continues to its end with dance and music re-aligned.

An even bolder disruption of the two-bar grouping comes from Beethoven. Following nine minuets that utterly exemplify the *Achttaktigkeit* of the danced minuet—a continuous chain of eight-bar sections—Beethoven writes a seventeen-bar B section for the trio of his Minuet No. 10 (see Ex. 3.21). Prior to this, Beethoven has already made a somewhat strange gesture in the trio's A section, issuing a hunting call from the horns. While we need to be extremely careful about asserting topical incongruity in the minuets—as I shall show later, the main topics that previous writers have argued are incompatible with the minuet genre do in fact occur frequently in the danced-minuet repertoire—the hunting topic is absent from all of the Gesellschaft minuet sets that precede Beethoven's. The *achttaktig* A section exhibits normative two-bar groupings, which continue into the B section over bars 25-28. Nothing is strange about bars 25-28: harmonically, they prolong the dominant key of B*b* major by way of alternations with F major; the repeated local V-I progression that ensues from odd- to even-numbered bars imbues the odd-numbered bars with their typical impetus. However, at bar 29 the music stutters. Instead of progressing onwards to the (supposedly) impending cadence, bar 29 simply repeats the content of bar 28. This repetition initiates a strange passage in which bars 29-31 constitute a three-bar, *piano* standing on the dominant. The horns lose patience, though: suddenly, on bar 32, mid-way through the dance step, they burst in, *forte*, doubled shrilly at the octave by the clarinets, with the hunting call from the A section. This four-bar interjection, for which all other surrounding musical texture ceased,

is followed by a two-bar echo, before bars 38-41 end the section with a reprise of the music of bars 21-24. From the horn entrance at bar 32, the music's two-bar groupings are contradict the placement of the step.

Example 3.21: Beethoven's Minuet No. 10; trio B section.

Although *aurally* the most striking event of this B section is the horn intrusion at bar 32, *compositionally* I find the repetition of bar 28 as bar 29 the strangest feature. Beethoven could simply have omitted bar 29, and continued from bar 28 into bar 30. He could have kept everything else the same, including the horn interjection, omitting just the single bar 29. This would still allow for the strangeness of the continued dominant through bars 30-31 and the startling interruption of bar 32, but would have maintained the two-bar groupings, allowing the continued straightforward execution of the minuet step. Instead, by inserting the extra bar, Beethoven forcibly upsets the two-bar groupings of the music, thereby dislocating the relationship between the dance step and the musical phrase. Coherence between the two is only resumed following bar 29 in the repeat of the B section, in time for the re-entrance of the horns in bar 32 and the subsequent *da capo*

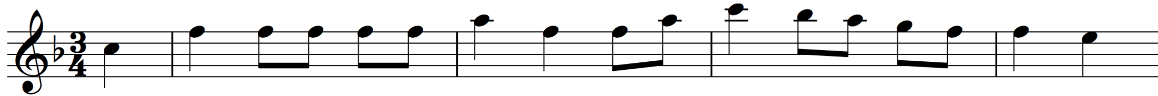
minuet. This is of course not Beethoven's only impatient E*b*-major horn interruption, but it precedes the more famous instance by almost a decade.

Both Eybler and Beethoven were young when they made their contributions to the Gesellschaft's ball—in their twenties. This set of dances was in fact Beethoven's first composition for Vienna since his arrival late in 1792. Given the nature of the event and the likely attendees, both composers probably wanted to make an impression, which they sought to achieve through the boldness of their compositions. These two minuet sets are by far the boldest of the fourteen studied here. Eybler's are littered with canons, and include rather remote (and sometimes strange) modulations. As Beethoven progresses further and further into his set, one can sense him chomping at the bit to push the boundaries of the danced minuet. His later minuets in the set risk sabotaging the dancers' ability to perceive a clear triple-metre pulse: in No. 9, for example, cross-bar slurs and third-beat *sf*s conspire to suggest that the downbeat falls on the third beat of the bar; while no. 11 opens with loud interjected chords of the second beats of bars 1 and 2, which assist neither the dance step nor the perception of a 3/4 metre. In sum, though, the fact that Eybler and Beethoven play so deliberately on these two occasions with the two-bar groupings speaks further to its integral role in the danced minuet.

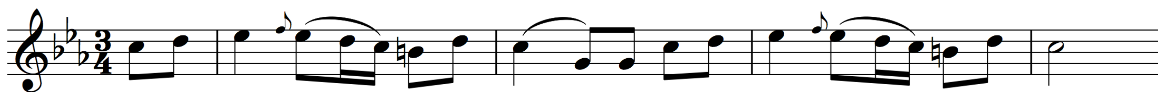
Creativity in composition

Rather than exhibiting any specific 'motto', what seems to define the rhythms of the danced minuets is that they are intended to enable the dancers to enact their step to the music easily and with poise. Allanbrook's motto rhythm of the crotchet followed by four quavers could indeed satisfy this criterion, whether on an odd- or even-numbered bar.

Koželuch's Minuet No. 5, for example, has it initiating the two-bar step in a strident manner (see. Ex. 3.22), while in Süßmayr's Minuet No. 7 it plays a much gentler role, accommodating the end of the step and picking up the melody into its next two-bar grouping (se Ex. 3.23).



Example 3.22: Koželuch's Minuet No. 5; opening.



Example 3.23: Süßmayr's Minuet No. 7; opening.

Surveying the incipits catalogued in the Appendix will demonstrate that Allanbrook's motto rhythm does not occur with any particularly high degree of frequency across this repertoire; in fact, it occurs rather seldom. This makes sense, actually: after all, Allanbrook's idea of the motto rhythm is a very scholarly idea, but it is not a very *composerly* one. Why would a *creative* composer, tasked with writing twelve pieces of the same type, already with strict constraints, decide to use the same rhythm in each? There is no need to signify 'minuet' in these dance sets, because everybody at the ball knows that this is what they are!

Surely a composer facing the task of writing twelve minuets for the Gesellschaft's annual Redoute, attended by many of the city's most noted artists and patrons of art, would pour their creativity into the endeavour. The sets examined here stand testament to this fact. Eybler's and Beethoven's seventeen-bar B sections are extreme examples of the extent to which composers stretch the bounds of the form; far more typical an approach is to stay within the minuet's structural norms, and to compose a set that exhibits an impressive record of melodic inspiration. The Appendix's catalogue of incipits displays

the wide scope for variety in melodic construction, adhering to both the genre's structural rules and its character—as Kirnberger explains, 'the expression must be noble and must give the feeling of charming decorum, although connected with simplicity' (Kirnberger 1787, 316).[36] It shows how a composer might conceive of the overall shape of a minuet set in terms of melodic variety, too, with a declamatory first minuet, marked by dotted rhythms and vigorous upbeats, often followed by a more tender second minuet. The catalogue also gives a sense of the comparative creative capacities of each composer: Beethoven's minuets are undeniably more varied and complex than Koželuch's, for instance. Note that creativity here *does not necessarily mean deviation* from any established patterns. What minuet composition comes down too, rather, at its best, is an *exercise in imagination*.

Beyond sheer variety in melodic construction, the minuet sets also contain certain 'character pieces', demonstrating particular recurring themes. Many sets include a 'Turkish' minuet or trio, for instance, such as the trio of Pichl's No. 5, in which the melody executes characteristic semiquaver turns while a snare drum, a bass drum and cymbals join the texture (see Ex. 3.24). Likewise, as the trio of Seyfried's No. 8 turns towards the relative minor, a tambourine enters and the melody takes on a 'Turkish' flavour, hopping angularly between intervals, with grace notes interposed (see Ex. 3.25).

[36] 'Der Ausdruk muß edel seyn und reizenden Anstand, aber mit Einfalt verbunden, empfinden lassen.'

Example 3.24 Pichl's Minuet No. 5; trio.

Example 3.25: Seyfried's Minuet No. 8: trio.

Canons, too, feature in the minuets. Eybler includes canons in three of his minuets, in fact, even inverting the subject at one point in No. 4 (see Ex. 3.26). Gyrowetz even includes a brief canonic passage at the interval of a minor ninth in his Minuet No. 8 (see Ex. 3.27). As will be discussed in the final chapter, the presence of canons in the danced minuets is important, in the light of scholars' claims of an 'incongruous juxtaposition of techniques' (Wheelock 1992, 64) when canons feature in the symphonic minuets. In fact, it suggests that audiences might have considered the two far less disparate. As discussed earlier, certain sets also include a single minor-mode minuet, as well. This happens sufficiently rarely that it might also be understood as something of a 'character piece' in the minuet set.

Example 3.26: Eybler's Minuet No. 4; minuet A section.

Example 3.27: Gyrowetz's Minuet No. 8: minuet B section.

As we saw earlier, each Redoute was marketed to the public on account of its 'wholly new minuets and *Deutsche Tänze*'. Likewise, Haydn, in an oft-cited objection to Albrechtsberger's opinion that the interval of the fourth should not be permitted in strict composition claimed that he 'would rather someone tried to compose a really *new* minuet' (Griesinger 1810, 114).[37] People attended the Redoute to hear and dance to *new* music. It still had to be functional—they wanted to be able to dance to it, after all, but it also had to be fresh and new, which it attained through melodic invention and character. Rather than seeing the necessary features of the minuet as constraints, we should regard them more as providing a skeletal structure for an entity that can be as creatively charged as any other composition. Engaging with these minuets was a physical, kinaesthetic, bodily activity. In a word, it was a *somatic* activity. 'Minuet', to its late-eighteenth-century Viennese consumers meant at its heart an entity that was experienced

[37] '. . . ich wünschte lieber, daß es einer versuchte, einen wahrhaft *neuen* Menuet zu komponiren'.

somatically, particularly in terms of the steps that were ingrained into their bodies over years of practice. In the following chapters, we will consider further just what this somatic understanding *is*, and what it *does* in our overall musical engagement.

Conclusion

Previously, the study of the danced minuet as a form of musical composition has been remarkably narrow in its focus, drawing almost exclusively on the published minuets of Haydn and Mozart. Expanding the purview of this study, to encompass sets of minuet that have not been published but that featured just as prominently at the Redoute, allows a clearer understanding of the genre. Just as the dancing masters were fully consistent in their advocacy for a four-part minuet step spanning two bars, so are the theorists similarly strict in their stipulation for a two-bar grouping. Indeed, barring the two exceptions by Eybler and Beethoven examined above, all the minuets of the sample maintain the two-bar grouping with utter consistency.

Given the flexibility expressed by the dancing masters regarding the length of each dance figure, the strictness with which the music theorists stipulate the need for eight-bar phrases is striking. Even more striking is the degree to which the compositions exemplify the *achttaktig* structure. Regardless of its relationship with the dance figures, it is a clear reality of the music that the *vast* majority of minuet phrases are eight bars in duration. As we shall see in the following chapter, the fact that a dance figure and musical section do not coincide in their starting and their stopping does not necessarily mean that there is no relationship between the two. Indeed, the relationship can often

become most pronounced precisely at the moments of tension between the different media.

So far, in terms of an actual somatic enquiry the analysis has been very blunt: we have dealt only with the steps as rather mechanical, pointillistic entities. The aim of Chapters 2 and 3, however, was to build (largely from scratch) a solid foundation on which to advance a somatic enquiry. With a clear understanding just what constituted the danced minuet—in terms of both its choreography and its music—we are now in a position to advance a somatic enquiry into the minuet. As will be shown in Chapters 4 and 5, this method of analysis is productive for both danced and undanced minuet composition.

Chapter 4: A Somatic Enquiry into the Minuet

Introduction

Music's propulsive power has been exploited over the ages and across civilisations, from drumbeats in war to processional hymns in church. From singing slaves in the fields to dancing guests at a wedding, music has driven kinaesthetic and emotional activities of utter misery and sheer joy. Music's capacity to put people into motion has long been a topic of fascination. 1896 saw the publication of Karl Bücher's *Arbeit und Rhythmus*, a study of labour songs and their ability to instil rhythm into bodily movement (Bücher 1896). Bücher's hypothesis—that use of music in this way dated from a time when work, play and art were one, and that both the dance and poetry of the people both originated in the rhythms of the labour activities they undertook—rapidly attained notoriety, with his text reprinted in five further editions and translated into various languages over the following three decades. Bücher's work retains a presence even today; Christa Brüstle begins her 2010 discussion of Stravinsky's 'Motor Drive' by referencing it, for instance (Brüstle 2010).

However, despite the allure of questions pertaining to music's ability to impact upon the body, music theory has not done a particularly good job of grappling with them, or indeed with somatic issues in general. There have been calls to action—David Lidov's 1987 pronouncement that 'music is significant only if we identify perceived sonorous motion with somatic experience' springs to mind (Lidov 1987, 70). Yet as a rule theorists have tended to skirt the body, to avoid the issues raised by taking seriously the embodied nature of musical experience. A preoccupation with structural and formal concerns has led us to treat music as a fundamentally non-temporal entity. A tendency to privilege

scores over performances has allowed us to avoid thinking about the specific circumstances in which music is normally heard and thus the ways in which a live rendition can impact upon a body. And a proneness to imbue agency into the music itself, rather than the humans who produce and receive it, has further diluted our sense of music as an embodied act.

The modes of somatic enquiry advanced in this chapter are influenced by three fairly recent music-theoretical attempts to develop bodily-based theories of musical understanding. Schenkerian theorist Alexandra Pierce begins her 2007 *Deepening Musical Performance through Movement* with an explicit recognition of its outlying status. Her introduction contains a plea: ‘I would ask my theory colleagues not to be too quick to dismiss the work as lacking in intellectual rigor because it violates the implicit stylistic canons of theoretical literature’ (Pierce 2007, xiv). This appeal notwithstanding, Pierce’s work has received little subsequent attention, even though it probably has more in common with more mainstream theoretical writings than might initially seem the case. Pierce is chasing an aspect of music that probably drew most professionals to its study in the first place, which she terms its ‘vitality’. She launches her 2007 study with a series of questions:

> What about vitality itself, which is not just an abstract concept but a musical experience? What does vitality sound like and feel like to a performer? How can it be explored more actively? And what about one’s own vitality? (Pierce 2007, 1)

At its heart, Pierce’s book offers a pedagogy of somatics for musical performers. Focusing on works for piano, and incorporating a Schenkerian approach, Pierce teaches players to use physical movement as a means of deepening their connection to and engagement with the music. She starts by asking the reader to perform a physical exercise—to stand normally, then to arch the back, then to return to a normal standing

position. This takes the reader from a position of balance to one of imbalance, and then back to a balanced position. She asks the reader to perform the same exercise but to sing or listen to a folksong 'The Turtle Dove' simultaneously, aligning moments of physical balance with the harmonic tonic and imbalance with the excursion away from the tonic. Gradually, over the course of the book, Pierce introduces free movements of greater complexity, designed to enhance engagement with basic musical features like melodic contour, metre and rhythm, and climax.

Pierce does not dwell on the justification for matching specific movements to music. Regarding physical balance and harmonic tonic, for example, she likens one's earliest hearing of musical tonicity to learning to balance. She goes on to claim:

> Deliberately associating tonic with physical balance and musical elaboration with excursions that take your weight off balance can bring clarity into the perception of harmonic structure. Even more important to performers are the inherent emotion—aesthetic—qualities. Verbal polarities like arrival and departure, juncture and climax, near and far, rest and exertion only point toward a deeper level of musicality that can be evoked directly when tonality is expressed physically. (Pierce 2007, 20)

Beyond these claims themselves, Pierce does not attempt to theorise the relationship further. She never defines or describes the 'clarity' of the new harmonic perception or the 'deeper level of musicality'. In this sense, her study is avowedly phenomenological: the emphasis is on the reader's *felt experience*, as opposed to some kind of deductive reasoning, to carry the argument. After all, perhaps one of the few points that might be agreed on between someone headbanging to heavy metal in a mosh pit, someone tapping their toe to jazz in a bar, or someone swaying gently to a symphony in a concert hall is that movement can heighten, deepen, clarify, enliven or enrich one's engagement with the music. A somatic musical experience can be almost incomparable with a still one—the difference between looking at a picture of a loved one and actually holding that

person close. And sometimes somatic engagement with music is impossible to resist. Yet, despite the fact that this sensation of a heightened connection with music when engaging somatically is so deeply felt by so many, the sensation itself remains almost impossible to describe and to rationalise.

To analyse music in terms of the dance steps that would have been executed in conjunction with it offers a relatively defined means of discussing somatic musical experience. With Pierce's approach, one is encouraged to move to the music howsoever one feels is appropriate: Pierce offers guidance for determining relevant and effective motions, but leaves it up to the practitioner to explore the possibilities creatively and freely. Choreographed dance, on the other hand, entails specific motions. In this respect, this mode of somatic analysis follows the example given by Elisabeth Le Guin in her 2006 book, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology*. Here, choosing the term 'kinesthesia', Le Guin interrogates Boccherini's music in terms of the cellist's physical sensations in playing it. She begins the opening chapter with an excursus on Boccherini's artful manipulation of the left thumb in the Cello Sonata in E*b* (Le Guin 2006, 19-22). While there is no saying that one set of movements is any more *complex* than another—whether playing an E*b*-major arpeggio on the cello, or dancing the first leftwards minuet step of the Z-figure, for example—it seems fair to designate the somatic movements of Le Guin's purview as more *scripted* than those of dancing the group minuet in late-eighteenth-century Vienna. Indeed, Le Guin demonstrates how Boccherini (who was a cellist) goes further than most other composers in making very specific kinaesthetic demands of his player, particularly of his player's thumb. Although there are certain basic features of the minuet dance, such as the Z-figure and the four-part step, there remains

considerable room for variation and improvisation over these patterns, as discussed in Chapter 2. A somatic analytical approach towards the minuet, then, sits somewhere midway between the approaches of Pierce and Le Guin, in terms of how prescribed the relevant motions are.

In playing Boccherini's music, Le Guin claims to establish a 'physically reciprocal relationship' with the dead composer. After all, Boccherini wrote the cello sonatas for himself to play:

> 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. (Le Guin 2006, 24)

In much the same way, while readily acknowledging the manifold ways in which our bodies today differ from eighteenth-century bodies, dancing the minuet allows us to establish something of a historically reciprocal relationship with the music. For all the differences between ourselves and the eighteenth-century Viennese, for all the possible flexibility of the dance patterns, and for all the errors that might persist in our present-day reconstruction of the earlier steps, in trying to dance the minuet we attempt to engage the music with a similar mode of attentiveness to that which its original audiences might have bestowed. Just as for Le Guin the tactile sensations of playing Boccherini's music enable her to inhabit his body, to dance the minuet is a step towards assuming the body of an eighteenth-century listener.

The text that perhaps most inspired and influenced this project is David Sudnow's 1978 *Ways of the Hand: The Organization of Improvised Conduct* (Sudnow 1978 [1999]). Sudnow, an ethnomethodologist-cum-online piano pedagogue, wants to learn to improvise jazz at the piano. Having found standard music theory to be of little help in this task, Sudnow's new goal is 'the acquisition of jazz hands' (Sudnow 1978 [1999], xiii)—

he wants to acquire the hands of a jazz improviser, just as Le Guin seeks to put herself in the body of an eighteenth-century cellist. Sudnow's book is an account of his *learning* to improvise, by training his hands to execute certain motions—to travel over the keyboard in certain ways. His experiences are very akin to those of dance pedagogy: he describes the keyboard as a 'terrain' for the hand to traverse, 'grabbing' the keys (Sudnow 1978 [1999], 9-10), just as learning to dance involves learning to place the feet in certain locations on a floor. As Sudnow's fingers gain greater familiarity with the necessary motions for playing certain melodies, 'pathways' form (Sudnow 1978 [1999], 18), just as in dance one comes to perceive initially disparate movements as an integrated sequence as they become engrained in the body.

Sudnow's text is unabashedly personal—endearingly so, even. He even details some of the ill-fated 'experiments' carried out in pursuit of greater understanding. He recounts:

> One Saturday morning I thoroughly took my fine grand piano totally out of tune, and spent the most frantic weekend I can remember trying, with the few necessary tools and a manual on HOW TO TUNE PIANOS, to put it back into the shape that the tuner accomplished in an hour on Monday morning. (Sudnow 1978 [1999], 42)

Elsewhere, Sudnow describes an experiment whereby he stands in front of a mirror singing different pitches, and chalking the position of his nose for each different pitch. From this, he concludes that 'if several tones are sung . . . the successive pitches of the notes involve an up and down movement of the head in fairly precise correspondence' (Sudnow 1978 [1999], 61). The fact that Sudnow, a noted sociology professor in the University of California system, can relate these anecdotes straight faced, taking his 'findings' at face value, speaks for his willingness to acknowledge the *messiness* of the task of learning a complex skill. Moreover, the enquiry that follows will emulate

Sudnow's readiness to experiment, when playful experimentation might shed light on a facet of experience.

Adopting the somatic perspective of a dancer has implications for our traditional categories of performer and listener, and raises the question of whether the boundaries would previously have been quite so defined. Typically, the purviews of performer and listener are assumed to be quite distinct, and the performer is generally perceived to be more intimately connected with the music than the performer. Abbate, for instance, claims that 'one can more readily depart mentally from hearing music than from performing it, though mulling over the bank balance while your hands continue the sonata by themselves is not unheard of' (Abbate 2004, 511). Steve Larson, in his recent study, *Musical Forces: Motion, Metaphor and Meaning in Music*, presents two metaphorical perspectives on musical landscape—the participant perspective and the observer perspective. His participant perspective arises 'from our experiences of the motion of our own bodies', while the observer perspective comes 'from the experience of seeing other objects move'. He claims, 'whereas the participant perspective seems more natural for the performer, the observer perspective seems more natural for the listener' (Larson 2012, 72). Yet dance is fundamentally participatory. In a danced minuet, the dancer is a performer, even if he/she just executes the steps for his/her own pleasure rather than for the visual delectation of observers: the dancer is an integral part of the overall performance. At the same time, though, the dancer consumes rather than produces the music, in the manner of a listener. The dancer straddles both roles of listener and performer, in his/her engagement with the music.

A central aim of the somatic perspective I present here is to offer a mode of analysis that accounts for the usual realities of musical experience, an experience that is both embodied and temporal. A somatic approach forces us to think in terms both of embodiment and of the temporal: this is bodily movement, and if one thing by its very nature cannot be conceived of or described in frozen terms, it is movement. I hope that this approach here will breathe vitality into the minuet—the vitality of a truly *felt* engagement with the music, such as Pierce describes, and a vitality that exposes the richness of minuet music and dance. By its very nature, a somatic approach has to be deeply personal, and needs, more than most other modes of analysis, to acknowledge its personal nature openly. It is also inherently complicated (and perhaps messy): perhaps the most basic reality of the lived experience of music is that we simply lack the time, knowledge and probably inclination to organise the piece into a structural whole—rather we experience it as it unfolds in time. This point is made even more forcibly in the live context of group dance: the movements might line up coherently with the music, or they might not; whether they do or not is as much up to chance as it is design.

Dance as reflective experience

In the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Dance and Somatic Practices*, in 2009, Martha Eddy writes in the first article that 'even while neuroscience is becoming the rage, getting up (or lying down) to learn through movement is still a rare educational experience' (Eddy 2009, 22). This is precisely the experience that I want to chase for the remainder of this chapter, and indeed have been chasing in the process of research for this dissertation—*to learn through movement*. Specifically, to learn through the defined

movements of the minuet. This endeavour has two main goals, stated in their broadest terms here, and to be refined later. The first educational goal is to reconstruct the minuet itself, as both a musical and a danced entity. The second goal is to start to explore the inherently somatic experience of engaging with music, which has so far proved slippery to capture and elusive of description: my hope is that the pre-defined motions of the dance provide some sort of a scaffolding for an exploration of this issue.

Most bodily experience is pre-reflective: few would argue with this. Engaging in a task typically involves focusing on the task in hand to the exclusion of reflecting on one's bodily experience of the task. When hammering a nail, I am wise to dedicate my attention to hammer and nail. When typing my dissertation, my focus is on the words appearing on the screen and the words in my head (hopefully); I have little awareness of my fingers that are actually typing the words (except when typing this sentence). Dorothée Legrand characterises the body engaged in such tasks as 'transparent'. She explains, 'the body is *transparent* in the sense that one looks *through* it *to the world*' (Legrand 2007a, 504). Quoting from Maurice Merleau-Ponty that 'consciousness is being-towards-the-thing through the intermediary of the body', Legrand characterises the transparent body as one 'projected onto the world' (Legrand 2007a, 505). As a rule, we spend most of our time engaged in tasks performed by the transparent body.

Since most experience is pre-reflective, the discipline of phenomenology is largely geared towards the interrogation of such pre-reflective experience. Crucial to this view is that pre-reflective experience is *not* unconscious: such experience is normally present but unnoticed. Dan Zahavi makes this point clearly:

> We need to avoid the misunderstanding that the pre-reflective experiences are initially unconscious, that they are initially like nothing for us, and that they only enter the realm of phenomenality when subjected to a reflective process that allows us to become aware of them. In

> short, for an experience to be pre-reflective is not for the experience to be unconscious, it is for it to be unnoticed. But it can be unnoticed and still be lived through subjectively. (Zahavi 2011, 9)

There is little dispute among philosophers over the general conceptualisation of pre-reflective self-consciousness; the question, however, is just how pre-reflective bodily awareness becomes reflective. According to Gallagher and Zahavi, reflection entails the objectification of the experience itself: in pre-reflective typing I am objectively aware of the words on the laptop screen, the keyboard under my fingers, the concepts that I am trying to convey, and so on; reflective typing entails the objectification of the experience of typing itself, such that my awareness is split between *typing* (words, keyboard, concepts) and the *experience of typing*. Gallagher and Zahavi describe such reflective experience as an act of 'self-fission', which involves 'a certain kind of inner pluralization', a 'self-division or self-distanciation' (Gallagher and Zahavi 2008, 61). According to this view, then, my decision to make my experience of typing immediately reflective entailed splitting my attention between two objects.

Scholars attempting phenomenological description in the field of dance studies have tended to subscribe to the model of reflection put forward by Gallagher and Zahavi. Susanne Ravn writes that she seeks 'methodological processes in which the phenomenologist finds ways to be relexive about the pre-reflective—and not about finding ways in which the phenomenologist can transform the pre-reflective into a reflective realm' (Ravn 2010, 28). A major reason for this desire seems to be the belief that, since most of our experience of the world and the activities we undertake occurs in the pre-reflective realm of our self-consciousness, a mode of awareness that seeks to interrogate pre-reflective experience will more correspond to this experience and represent it more accurately. Legrand explains:

> Of course, we can direct our attention towards our experiences and thereby take them as objects, but this only occurs the moment we reflect upon them. In everyday life, I rather enjoy a continuous and pre-reflectively first-personal access to myself as the subject of the experiences I undergo. (Legrand 2007b, 586)

Legrand's 'of course' gives the game away. Her first sentence professes a certain ease by which we can objectify our experiences in the process of reflection. Yet it is precisely this notion that has been an area for debate among philosophers. Here, I want to explore whether this process of interrogating pre-reflective experience, which seems possible in theory, is in fact as easily executed in practice. In discussing this, I also want to consider some other types of reflection, which might be more amenable to our specific task here, of developing a means of somatic enquiry into Haydn's minuets.

The problem, I submit, is that dance simply is not pre-reflective. Learning to dance the minuet entails a very strong awareness of the body. I am acutely aware of the position of my feet on the floor; I feel the pressure on them and the weight as it is distributed over their various points; I sense their temperature and humidity; as soon as their muscles start to tire or need stretching, I feel it; I know where I want them to go next, and am actively directing them to that point. My bodily experience of dancing the minuet is markedly different from that of typing. Typing, my bodily awareness only normally becomes a significant part of the experience if pain intervenes, when my wrists start to tingle or my shoulders feel stiff. Dancing, though, I am strongly aware of my body throughout—and need to be.

Most scholars would agree on the point that dance involves an unusually high degree of bodily awareness. Indeed, as Legrand explains, 'in dance, goal and means collapse to some extent, and the experience of the body and its morphocinetic actions

come “at the front”’ (Legrand 2007a, 202).[1] In contrast with the transparent typing body, Legrand notes that the observational attitude a dancer assumes when learning motion brings him/her close to the state of the ‘opaque body’, at the other end of the continuum (Legrand 2007a, 501). As we saw above, though, scholars writing about dance and somatics still want to treat the enquiry as one into pre-reflective experience. This seems to stem, in part, from the discipline’s youth, and the seeming need to align itself with established modes of thought in the more established discipline of Phenomenology. The prose betrays a clear desire—perhaps even an anxiety—to show that one’s work *fits* with the prevailing phenomenological winds. Twice Ravn describes her findings as ‘in accordance with’ one of Merleau-Ponty’s or Gallagher’s claims (Ravn 2010, 22, 28), while Potter writes that the ‘doubleness’ she identifies ‘resonates with a series of pairings offered by other authors’ like Husserl, Merleau-Ponty and Csordas (Potter 2008, 461). Such expressions bespeaks a discipline acting to establish its footing in a prior discourse and debate. This dissertation, however, is not an exercise in, or contribution to, Phenomenology with a capital ‘p’. Primarily, and by disciplinary designation, it is a music-theoretical endeavour. This is liberating: as such, the enquiry only needs to be phenomenological in the sense that in it I *attend to phenomena*. Beyond this, it can be open to other, less conventional theories of awareness.

Claire Petitmengin and Michel Bitbol take issue with the Gallagher-Zahavi model of reflection, which they consider overly geared towards objectivity. They describe it as ‘a deliberate act of objectification, separating and distancing, whose direction is simply the opposite of the usual form of objectification, which is directed towards the outside’

[1] Legrand’s text actually reads ‘at the font’, but I think this is an error.

(Petitmengin and Bitbol 2009, 377). Indeed, Gallagher and Zahavi would agree with this assessment. They state, uncompromisingly, 'some people mistake phenomenology for a subjective account of experience; but a subjective account of experience should be distinguished from an account of subjective experience' (Gallagher and Zahavi 2008, 19). They address objectivity in the same paragraph, drawing parallels between the disciplines of phenomenology and science, writ large:

> In science, objectivity, in the sense of avoiding prejudice or bias, is important. It is one of the reasons that controls are used in experiments, and there are various methodological steps one takes to maintain objectivity. Phenomenology is also concerned to maintain objectivity in this sense. It does so by way of a carefully delineated method. (Gallagher and Zahavi 2008, 19)

Yet it is precisely this process of objectification that Petitmengin and Bitbol call into question. They query whether the resultant distancing from experience, which is a necessary part of this reflective process, is actually a true representation of the process, or even a desirable one. They argue that actual attempts by current practitioners of reflection paint a different picture: these attempts demonstrate that to become reflectively aware of pre-reflective experience should not necessitate distancing from experience in order to view it as an object, but rather coming closer to it, coming into contact with it (Petitmengin and Bitbol 2009, 377-8).

Petitmengin and Bitbol describe such a mode of awareness, emphasising its defining characteristic of openness as opposed to focus:

> This exploration is encouraged by a particular attentional disposition, which is both open and receptive. Unlike focused attention, which is narrow, concentrated on a particular content, this attention is panoramic, peripheral, open on a vast area. (Petitmengin and Bitbol 2009, 378)

This open mode of attention is receptive rather than seeking. There is less of a sense of intentionality here than what would normally be associated with concepts of attention—less probing into specific areas and more waiting. After all, 'attention' seems for more easily tied etymologically to our auditory sense than to any other, with its verb 'to attend'

and the Old French meaning of ‘atendre’—‘to hear’. Associations between attention and focus probably stem to some degree from the primacy of the visual in our general conceptualisation of the world. To bestow visual attention means *watching* something, focusing one’s gaze on it, to the exclusion of its surroundings. Listening, on the other hand, is a far more open enterprise (and hearing even more so). I can listen to the clatter of the keys as I type, but I cannot shut out the surrounding sounds of tweeting birds, road traffic and my laptop’s internal fan. It is this open mode of attention that I believe holds potential for the somatic exploration of dance. One dance scholar who does in fact adopt such an approach is Eddy, who describes it her mode of awareness as ‘listening deeply to the body’ (Eddy 2009, 6). This notion has the sense (for me at least) of sinking sympathetically into one’s being, open to being struck by a facet of experience.

In response to Petitmengin and Bitbol, Zahavi cautions, ‘First of all, and perhaps most fundamentally, I don’t think one should talk as if there is only one type of reflection’ (Zahavi 2011, 10). This is a rather curious opening gambit from Zahavi, because actually Petitmengin and Bitbol seem to be making precisely the same point. Their argument is not that there exists no focused mode of attention, but rather that in certain phenomenological endeavours they would advocate for an open mode of attention, instead of this focused mode. (In fact, again part of the dissonance between the two points of view might come from a discrepancy between the intentional aims of the two articles: whereas Petitmengin and Bitbol seem to be *advocating* a mode of phenomenological enquiry, with specific circumstances in mind like warning signs before a seizure, emergent symptoms of emotional distress and bodily control in Alexander Technique (Petitmengin and Bitbol 2009, 380-1), Zahavi seems to be approaching the

same topic more from the perspective of *describing* ‘everyday’ phenomenological experience. Indeed, it is sometimes the case in polemic texts on phenomenological process that an author’s conceptualisation of the actual circumstances of phenomenological experience can be forgotten or drowned out by the argument being made.)

The mode of reflection advocated by Petitmengin and Bitbol might hold considerable potential for the study of dance. Both learning and performing dance entail such an unusually high degree of bodily awareness that the activity can hardly be considered pre-reflective. Indeed, rather than a pre-reflective/reflective binary in experience, it suggests that we should perhaps consider the two as polar ends of a continuum, on which *some aspects* of *some experiences* are more reflective than others. In any case, since the activity of dance requires a reflective attentional disposition in the first place, a somatic enquiry should take this into account.

This is not to say that there are no complications when it comes to the actual, practical application of the type of reflection that Petitmengin and Bitbol advocate. Crucial to their notion of an open mode of attention, with no split awareness, is the claim that ‘this process does not mean . . . diverting one’s attention from the external objects toward an inner world’ (Petitmengin and Bitbol 2009, 379). However, another article by the same authors in the same issue of the same journal, which special issue Petitmengin edited, contains strikingly similar wording—but to the exact opposite effect. In the article ‘Listening from Within’, which lists Petitmengin and Bitbol at the head of its seven authors, scholars attempt to explore the bodily experience of listening to a sound. Yet when they come to address the experience of ‘felt sound’, they explicitly adopt a

reflectional posture that bifurcates pre-reflective and reflective experience, and a focused rather than open mode of reflection. They state:

> I divert my attention from the source of the sound ('what is this sound'), and from the sound as a sound ('what this sound is like'), to direct it towards the felt sound ('what the experience of this sound is like'). (Petitmengin, Bitbol et al. 2009, 268)

This mode of reflection, with its directed, exclusive focus, seems to be precisely the opposite of that for which Petitmengin and Bitbol advocate elsewhere in the same issue of the journal. It is particularly surprising that the authors seem to be summoning a highly visual mode of attention in the context of a *listening* experience. Perhaps what this shows, more than anything, is the difficult of shaking such deeply rooted conceptualisations of attention.

A further criticism of the reflective practices outlined by Petitmengin and Bitbol is that they may actually disturb—or even create—elements of the pre-reflective experience. Supposing that I try to type *reflectively*, for instance, I observe that my right thumb is dominant over the left in that the right thumb almost always thumps the spacebar while the left merely hovers over it. I have evidence that this is true of my pre-reflective typing, too: the most worn-out key on my old, beaten-up keyboard is the right-hand side of the space bar, while the left-hand side of the space bar appears to have been almost unused. Yet when I observe this during my reflective typing my left thumb always tries to assert itself, to even out the balance. Sometimes this even results in an inadvertent double space, where both thumbs have thumped the key in quick succession. Occasionally, if I simply cannot shift my awareness from this facet of my typing experience, I notice a certain obsessive anxiety developing, whereby the lack of equilibrium between the thumbs comes right to the very forefront of my attention.

Clearly, here the act of reflecting is interfering with my typing experience, even causing new aspects of typing experience to arise.

As Petitmengin and Bitbol note, this fear that reflection distorts the very experiences it seeks to access has a long history, with William James's 1890 observation that 'we walk along a beam all the better if we think less of the position of our feet upon it', and Merleau-Ponty's 1945 concern that 'reflective consciousness hinders the natural flow of spontaneous bodily action which is irreflective, that is non reflectively[2] self-conscious'. They also cite a 2002 cognitive study by J. W. Schooler suggesting that reflective consciousness impacts on the pleasure of an experience (Petitmengin and Bitbol 2009, 366-7). Concerns about the disruptive effects of reflection surely account to some extent for the desire for a mode of attention advocated by Gallagher and Zahavi, objectifying the experience itself, because this way, theoretically, the integrity of the pre-reflective experience can be maintained, separate from the reflection. Practically speaking, though, how can such reflection be carried out? Is it possible to encapsulate pre-reflective experience and preserve it in such a way that reflection leaves it unaltered? The only way to accomplish this, theoretically, it seems, would be somehow to exclude reflection from the experience, to preserve the pre-reflective experience in memory, and to perform all reflection subsequently on that memory. After all, in the field of self-conscious experience, personal memory constitutes the only means of retention. Yet any such method would be fraught with its own difficulties: memory is notoriously selective with what it captures, erratic with what it retains, and temperamental with its recreation of an experience. To rely on the recreation of pre-reflective experience in memory is

[2] 'Non-reflective' and 'pre-reflective' are used fairly interchangeably in the literature.

probably to introduce far more distortions into the object of analysis than would simultaneous reflection itself.

This is by no means to suggest that memory should not be employed in phenomenological reflection. After all, memory informs probably every task that we undertake in life: in typing, I remember where the ‘P’ key is; I remember that the right ring finger normally presses the ‘P’ key; I remember how hard this finger needs to press the ‘P’ key for ‘P’ to appear on the screen in front of me. Moreover, memory affords numerous opportunities for reflective analysis of an experience. It allows me to replay an experience multiple times, over and over. It allows me to manipulate the speed of an experience—to slow down an experience that happens too quickly for me to reflect while it is ongoing, or to speed up an experience that is so drawn out that I cannot perceive the whole. It allows me to step back from the experience to view it from outside the moment in which it absorbs my full attention. The non-intentional memorisation of an experience affords considerable opportunities for subsequent reflection. Productive, rich modes of reflection embrace both real-time experience and subsequent analysis of memorised experience.

To state my position, then, and to start to bring dance and the minuet into the picture: I intend to adopt a fairly *mobile* mode of attention to my experience. I will not attempt to isolate my pre-reflective experience of dancing to analyse objectively either during or after the experience. However desirable such a posture might seem in theory, in practice it seems wholly unattainable and an unrealistic pursuit to try and follow. Rather, I will try to *integrate* reflection into my experience of dancing. This reflection will inevitably alter the experience—this is unavoidable. Yet, rather than seeing such

alterations as contaminating or harming the experience, following Petitmengin and Bitbol I believe that they are better understood as enriching the experience—particularly when we bear in mind the artistic aspirations of dance. Moreover, as I noted earlier, dance, with the 'performative' awareness it encourages and requires, is one of the most reflective activities that bodies undertake. In additional to in-the-moment reflection on experience, I will also embrace the possibilities offered by reflection on memorised experience.

Analysing movement

What, then, will a somatic enquiry into the minuet entail? I choose to characterise the enquiry as 'somatic' here deliberately and carefully, for the choice of terms informs the nature of the enquiry. Although most scholars of this topic might opt to describe the experience in terms of the 'kinaesthetic', I prefer 'somatic'. 'Somatic' has a useful breadth to it: put most basically, it simply means attending to the soma, or the body, in experience.[3] This breadth also allows it to take in and encompass other modes of awareness: being aware somatically can entail both a kinaesthetic and a sonic awareness. There is also a practical consideration here, in that when I need to distinguish a specific awareness, to the deliberate exclusion of others, the more closely defined terms remain available to enable such a distinction. For example, if I want to contrast the experience of dancing a silent minuet to that of dancing with music, I might want to explain how might kinaesthetic awareness of the silent minuet is changed by my sonic awareness of the minuet with music.

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[3] It should be clear by now that any outdated notion of the soma as an entity split from the mind does not apply here. If any such distinction continues to hold any value, it should be in the sense that the body is being explored as a locus of meaning in a way that has not previously been the case.

This somatic enquiry owes much to the theorisation that has gone on around the notion of ‘kinaesthetic’ awareness. In particular, although I do not reuse the term, I draw on Maxine Sheets-Johnstone’s notion of ‘kinetic melody’, which she herself has resuscitated from the work of neuropsychologist Aleksandr Romanovich Luria. Sheets-Johnstone’s kinetic melody is *temporal*, *dynamic*, and *historical* (Sheets-Johnstone 2003). This is to say that she finds phenomenological enquiry in general to have been too focused on the spatial aspects of movement, without due consideration of its temporal expansion. She believes that an overly pointillist conception of movement, casting it as a series of changes in position, has failed to recognise its dynamic nature (Sheets-Johnstone 2003, 87). And she argues that the privileging of the ‘habit body’, which has already mastered the movement(s) in question, over the body that is still learning the particular movement(s) effectively writes out the historical dimension of moving (Sheets-Johnstone 2003, 80). Her principle culprit is none other than Maurice Merleau-Ponty, to whose characterisation of dance as ‘nothing more or other than “a motor habit”’ she particularly objects. She scathingly remarks that on these grounds ‘it would be pointless to cite him as having anything of moment to say about either the phenomenology of movement . . . or the memorization of a dance’ (Sheets-Johnstone 2011, 41). Sheets-Johnstone’s commitments to movement as a temporal, dynamic, non-pointillist, learnt endeavour, and her investment in modes of attention that will develop an awareness of movement sympathetic to these commitments, seem to capture the realities of danced movement, and as such provide a good model for the enquiry here.

Scholars of dance tend to discuss their kinaesthetic experience in terms of ‘proprioceptive’ awareness, emphasising the limbic feedback of position and movement.

They do not go down the neurophysiologist's route of considering the muscle spindles, the Golgi tendon organs and the joint receptors providing the mechanism by which information as to the position of a limb is tracked (Vignemont 2011); rather, they conceive of proprioception more generally, as simply being aware of the position and movement of the body and its parts. Writing in the *Dance Research Journal*, Deidre Sklar invokes proprioception in her discussion of the *danzantes* in the Tortugas fiesta for the Virgin of Guadalupe, as a means of analysing and describing her personal somatic experiences as a participant in this community (Sklar 2000). In other instances, dance practices are dissected empirically for the fuel that emergent somatic awareness might provide for philosophical debates. In an early volume of the *Journal of Dance and Somatic Practices*, Suzanne Ravn considers sensations of weight within the bodies of professional ballet dancers, professional contemporary dancers, and practitioners of Butoh techniques; she concludes that there are two different phenomenological dimensions in which dancers experience weight, one objectifying the body's physical mass and the other responding to pre-reflective, overall sensations (Ravn 2010). In another article, co-authored with philosopher Legrand for the journal *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences*, Ravn tackles the question of whether proprioceptive experience among ballet dancers can be at once experience both of one's physicality and of one's subjectivity (Legrand and Ravn 2009).

However, I steer clear of the term 'proprioception' in this study. In her article on felt bodily movement as a means of socialisation into the London Contemporary Dance School, Caroline Potter avoids writing of a proprioceptive awareness on account of the term's biomedical associations (Potter 2008, 449). My reason, though, for opting not to

use the term lies in its association with a mode of awareness that I do not believe accurately represents one's awareness in the situation of dance. For the most part, proprioceptive awareness is considered to be, as Brian O'Shaughnessy describes it, 'attentively recessive' (O'Shaughnessy 1995, 175). This is to say that during my typical, pre-reflective experience of everyday life I am not actively aware of the proprioceptive processes that are continually informing by bodily activities, or as Michael Polanyi would put it, 'focally' aware (Polanyi and Grene 1969). I can immediately activate a proprioceptive awareness, but I do not as a rule spend much time in a proprioceptive mode of attention; indeed, I do not need to. To use a typical example: I can catch a ball as it passes over my head, without actively monitoring my proprioceptive feedback; indeed, attempting to raise my proprioceptive awareness at this stage would probably distract me from the task at hand. Yet I still catch the ball, positioning my hand at the correct height above my head to achieve this. Unable to see my hand, I must have a proprioceptive awareness of it to know where it is, but I am not actively focusing on this awareness. We describe this type of proprioceptive awareness as being in a 'pre-reflective' realm, to use Merleau-Ponty's term.

Crucial to any somatic enquiry is an awareness of the body both as a whole and in terms of its parts. Sheets-Johnstone extends Luria's idea of kinetic melody to describe the body as a 'felt harmonious whole where particular areas may be tonally dominant' (Sheets-Johnstone 2003, 89), and this characterisation seems apt for our purposes here. Dancing, as with many tasks, involves a heightened awareness of various parts of the body, both in the sense that certain movements require active control of certain body parts, and in the

sense that certain movements stimulate sensations in certain body parts that draw our attention. Yet awareness of these parts is always situated within a whole-body awareness. Facets of this whole-body awareness include a sense of the body's general orientation and disposition—whether my body feels upright or leaning, for example, whether it feels erect or crooked, stretched up or crouched down, facing forward (wherever that may be) or otherwise. Sensations of the body's relationship with gravity might also be taken into account—sensing weight in my body (see Ravn 2010), and whether my body feels balanced or off-balance. Already, many of the sensations mentioned have a 'right' and a 'wrong' feeling: the body feels 'right' when it is upright and balanced, for instance. This feeling of 'rightness' is in part a result of ergonomic alignment of limbs, and in part formed by habit: typically, the sensations that we are accustomed to are what feel 'right'. I might habitually lean backwards or slightly to one side when I stand in what I believe is an upright posture; if this habit is sufficiently engrained in my being, this slightly slanted posture will feel 'right', and indeed upright, while a more truly upright posture will feel less right, until I establish it as a habitual posture.

Even though I have chosen to explore a 'somatic' awareness rather than a 'kinaesthetic' one, this is not to say that the body is not always in motion, to some extent. A whole-body awareness of movement is necessary for a somatic awareness of the body. While individual parts of the body might be moving independently, and not necessarily in the same manner, the body as a whole is in motion. For instance, I might be walking forward, swinging my right arm out violently to the side, patting my head gently with my left hand, and trying to touch my nose with my tongue. All sorts of contrasting movements are at play here, but I would experience my body 'as a whole' as moving

forward. My awareness of the general movement of my whole body covers various aspects. I am aware of the *speed* of this movement, measured according to my own self-perception. This is to say that my whole-body movement might feel fast or slow, or somewhere in between, and these notions of what constitutes fast or slow are formed by my habitual bodily deportment. I would typically describe my sprinting as fast or my dawdling as slow (or some variation of these basic terms for speed); I would describe my dancing the gigue as fast and the sarabande as slow. Expectation also has a role in my sensation of speed: the passepied typically involves the same dance step as the minuet, but executed much faster; my body is more accustomed to performing the step in the slower context of the minuet, so my whole-body movement when dancing the passepied typically feels 'fast'. As well as speed, I am also aware of the *direction* in which my body moves as a whole. Just as I measure speed through self-perception, rather than by an external metric, so is direction largely determined by self-orientation. The sensation of moving 'forward' normally arises if I am travelling in the direction that I am facing, for instance. Yet surroundings may also play a role here: to travel forwards might be to mover towards a particular area of a room; in court dance, for example, everything was addressed to the *présence*, sitting at the head of the room. It is also important to recognise that direction in whole-body movement is three-dimensional; that is, in addition to tracing patterns over a floor, the body also moves up and down. Finally, I am aware of the *quality* or *nature* of my whole-body movement. It might feel flowing or halting, tense or loose, stiff or elastic, simple or complex. It might feel goal-directed or it might have no locational target. (Note that this is not to adopt the pointillist conception of movement that Sheets-Johnstone counsels against: this is to note that the *movement itself* might have

goals, but not to track the movement solely according to those goals.) The shapes and patterns traced by a whole-body movement might denote particular external associations, such as the Z figure of the minuet.

In addition to whole-body awareness, a somatic enquiry into the minuet also entails localised awarenesses of various body parts. As mentioned above, these localised awarenesses arise in part out of the need for active control of certain body parts, and in part because certain body parts will draw attention. For example, in executing a *demi-coupé* forwards I actively have to control the placing of one foot a small distance in front of the other; during the execution of the *demi-coupé* a stretching sensation in my calf might suddenly draw my attention. In other words, different parts of the body can come to be activated (in the sense of being 'given to activity' or 'capable of acting'), during dance. Gallagher writes of a proprioceptive awareness 'in which I "involute" my attention to some particular part of the body' (Gallagher 2003, 55). While this notion of involuting attention—of turning attention inward—to a particular area of the body offers a good starting point, this inwardness must not entail the exclusion of the rest of the body. It is for this reason that I term this awareness 'localised': this term carries fewer connotations of fixity, introversion and exclusion than if we speak of an awareness that is 'focused' or 'directed' onto parts of the body.

Many facets of a whole-body awareness, outlined above, also apply to an awareness that is localised to various parts of the body. Just as my body as a whole feels weighted, with a centre of gravity, so do individual limbs. To move an arm or a leg is to feel and to carry its weight. And just as I am aware of my body moving as a whole so am I aware of the speed, direction and quality of the movement of various parts of my body.

I may be aware of different sensations of movement happening simultaneously in different parts of the body: for example, my feet might be rapidly executing a complex set of very small steps, such that the sensation in my feet is of fast movements while that in my torso is of comparatively slow movement. In this instance, although the localised awareness in my feet feels fast movement, my overall awareness of my body as a whole feels the body travelling slowly. Localised awareness of a body part might also elucidate a more vague whole-body sensation: an overall sensation of a halting movement, for example, might be traced to stiffness in the knees. Furthermore, it is important to recognise that different body parts and their movements are closely interrelated. A particular dance step might require the careful straightening of a bent leg at the knee, and the control required to execute this might result in a localised awareness of the knee. Yet an open attentional disposition might also detect a sensation in the torso or in the arms, which the straightening of the leg is causing to rise. And while in many cases the relationship between different body parts or between a body part and the body as a whole might be complementary, in some cases there may be a sense of antagonism between two entities—an arm extending in the opposite direction to that in which the rest of the body is travelling, for example, might contribute variously to a sense of counterbalancing or to a sense of pulling away.

The main areas of the body that attract an attentional disposition in the minuet might typically be considered to be the feet, the legs, the torso, the arms, the hands and the head. These body parts are mentioned frequently in directions for executing this dance in treatises, at least, and certain movements will require their active control. Awareness of these parts will often require further localised attention within them. Take

the foot, for example. A foot is a foot, but it also divides up, most basically, into toes, sole and heel. It consists of bone, muscle, nerves, flesh, skin, arteries, ligaments, tendons, and so on. Blood flows through it. It arches, and I can feel and adjust the weight of my body across different areas of it. I can feel it touching the inside of my shoes or the floor, and I can feel the tightness of my shoes against it. I can feel its temperature. I can feel different types of pain, depending on whether I tread on a nail or am standing up for three hours. Sometimes it feels awake, lively, itching to move; sometimes it feels tired, wanting to rest and lie still. An awareness of my foot, then, requires a sensitivity to numerous different areas and sensations spread across the region of my foot. I also need to be cognisant of the tricks and games going on in my conceptualisation my foot. To say that my foot 'feels tired' and 'wants to rest', for instance, is to imbue it with desire, to anthropomorphise it. I believe that such a an approach is warranted if it allows me to describe the sensations of my foot as I perceive them, but I need to be aware of the conceptual manipulation that is going on here.

There is one more provision to make, regarding the body parts that have been identified as attracting an attentional disposition in dance. While the feet, legs, torso, arms, hands and head do indeed require active control and manipulation in the minuet, attending to these areas should not exclude attention from the rest of the body. To turn the head, for example, requires more activity in the neck than in the head itself. To be too focused on certain chief areas is somewhat akin to the pointillist approach that Sheets-Johnstone criticises as an awareness of movement, in that it neglects to consider what goes on between these points. Moreover, attending just to the areas required to act as part of the dance risks missing other sensations that are also worthy of note. To identify the

neck's role in turning the head is one thing, because this turn of the head is still likely to be an integral part of the dance, possibly even directed in a choreography. Yet what about sensations that seem to have no direct connection with the activity at hand? An open disposition should be receptive to other sensations that arise, however peripheral their relationship to the dance might be conceived to be—sensations like tensing the jaw, holding the breath, or releasing the shoulders. It is in this sense that the open, receptive mode of awareness of Petitmengin and Bitbol, discussed above, is crucial to the enquiry.

An awareness of movement in dance, whether whole-body movement or movement of body parts, involves sensing *force*. Sensing force complements but also complicates the sense of motion. Directionally, the two are often opposed: I push *down* into the floor with my leg and foot in order to cause my body to rise *up*. Much force in dance is self-created by the body's own muscles. Yet sometimes an external being might act as an agent of force: although there is little likelihood of this in the minuet, in some dances one partner will push or pull the other, setting him/her in motion. The force of gravity is also always acting on the body; all movements interact with this external force in one way or another. The force of momentum needs due consideration: I do not simply step in a direction and stop dead; rather, I want to continue travelling in the same direction, as the momentum propels me onwards. In addition to these very present physical forces, there are other sensations of force that are just as readily perceptible but have received less attention from scholars. In the specific context of dance, music as a propulsive force needs to be taken into account—the potency of sound to set my body in motion. Additionally, there are inter-personal sensations of force, such as the erotic attraction one might feel to one's partner, or of the need to avoid another couple dancing

in close proximity. In short, a somatic awareness of movement in dance needs also to take into account the forces behind the movements in question.

Any somatic awareness has to take into account one's *surroundings*, and this is particularly true in the case of a somatic awareness of dance. To start with, the physical space informs my somatic experience—the texture of the floor as my feet pass over it, the orientation of the room as I align my movements with it, the size of the available space around me as I determine the form of the patterns I will trace. Yet perhaps more critical than the physical space is the presence of other people. Both Potter and Ravn have argued, following Merleau-Ponty, that an awareness in dance is fundamentally 'socially constituted' (Ravn 2010, 31). In the case of the minuet, it is not just a matter of accounting for others in the room: the minuet is at its heart a *couple's* dance, and a somatic enquiry into this dance has to interrogate the complex role of the partner in somatic experience. To dance the minuet well entails the careful coordination of my steps with my partner's, since they need to match in speed, size and timing. This impacts significantly on my somatic awareness: I am not the sole agent over my movements; rather, I share a joint agency with my partner, a *communal* somatic awareness that strengthens over time.[4] In addition to the steps, there are also the specific figures of the minuet, which require the close passing of the bodies, and the holding of hands. The partner's presence, then, can constitute a force—a force of attraction or repulsion. A somatic enquiry into the minuet, then, needs to recognise the erotic and fundamentally gendered nature of the encounter.[5]

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[4] See Potter 2008 for a discussion of kinaesthesia as a means of social integration.
[5] See Yaraman 2002 for a discussion of these topics in relation to the waltz. The subsequent popularity of the waltz is typically attributed to the heightened eroticism of its movements and the engagement between

This somatic enquiry into the minuet needs to be *historically sensitive*. Isabelle Ginot warns that 'behind the insistence on the singularity of each corporeality, most somatic methods have as a backdrop a homogenous, universal, ahistorical, and occidental body' (Ginot 2010, 23). Of course, there are many differences between my body and the body of a dancer in 1790s Vienna—just as there were between all the dancing bodies of 1790s Vienna themselves, and just as there are differences between my own nineteen-year-old and twenty-nine-year-old bodies. In *Boccherini's Body*, Le Guin considers this issue, asserting that pain formed a central aspect of bodily experience in eighteenth-century Europe, in a way that is difficult for us to fathom today (Le Guin 2006, 10-11). Yet, while there are a few ways in which I can attempt to attain a degree of proximity to the body of a dancer in 1790s Vienna—by taking into account the clothes that would have been worn, the food and drink that would have been consumed, or the physical spaces that would have been occupied—any such endeavour will be critically restricted by the fact that I cannot escape my own body. However, dancing the minuet in fact offers one concrete, promising way to experience an eighteenth-century body. To learn the minuet is to inscribe on my twenty-first-century body the very movements (as best as I can reconstruct) that were performed by the eighteenth-century bodies with which I am preoccupied. Ginot draws a parallel with bodies that incorporate prosthetic instrument and the bodily entrainment of somatic movement, arguing that 'somatics itself is a technique of fabricating the body' (Ginot 2010, 24). While I acknowledge, then, the gulf between my body and the bodies that I study, my basic hope is in the potency of the dance to bridge this gap insofar as this is possible.

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partners. The minuet, according to this scheme, tends to be presented as the un-erotic predecessor. A further line of investigation, however, might be to explore the *repressed* eroticism of the minuet.

Specific to this somatic enquiry, and to its endeavour to consider an activity that is long in the past, is the vital role of *imagination*. This enterprise is at its very heart an imaginative one, and this needs to be acknowledged. In a sense, the mechanics of my engagement with the music of the danced minuets is akin to that of a music theorist, sitting at a desk with a score, hearing the music in his/her head. Instead of sitting at my desk, I am more likely to be standing (still somewhere near my desk), executing various movements as I hear the music in my head. (The one recording of Haydn's 1792 minuets has some very slow tempos. And, of course, to use a recording is already to have to make a huge imaginative leap.) As well as imagining the sounds of the minuet, I am also imagining my surroundings—an imagination carefully informed by the historical research presented in the earlier chapters. I know, for example, as move my feet over my wooden floor, that the floor of the Hofburg Redoutensäle would have been covered with sawdust. The highly solitary nature of the act of analysis is heightened in somatic enquiry, by the introversion required of any process of involution. Given this, it becomes even more necessary to imagine (based on prior actual experience) the somatic implications of dancing with a partner and surrounded by other dancers. My music-theoretical attitude, then, is complemented by an historian's approach to reconstructing the specifics of the scene in question. Over the course of the physical undertaking of this somatic enquiry, I still employ all the tricks that the music theorist has in his/her bag. I freely repeat sections over and over, and I know the whole minuet in question before I even start playing it in my head. Repetition of passages and movements enables deeper exploration and allows greater experimentation (in any case, musicians and dancers are accustomed to repetition, during practice sessions). Yet, although I allow myself this

freedom, I take care in my reflection to conceive of dance as a *temporal* experience, and to remember that the dancer lacks the music-theoretical omniscience and omnipresence that a score allows.

My somatic enquiry differs from previous kinaesthetic and proprioceptive discussions of dance in that I incorporate *sound* into the picture.[6] I use the notion put forward by Petitmengin et al of 'bodily felt sound', which seeks to capture something of the sense in which sound *acts* on the body (Petitmengin, Bitbol et al. 2009, 268). Petitmengin et al explore bodily felt sound in terms of 'the zone of the body mobilised' and 'the sensorial qualities of this felt sound', examining statements like 'the music fills me', 'I feel sense of slight tightening which begins at the top of the stomach and spreads upwards' and 'the music penetrates me, penetrates into my head' (Petitmengin, Bitbol et al. 2009, 268, 271). My somatic enquiry, however, is slightly different in that I focus on the ways in which sound is felt as a force that puts my body into motion. I will explore the how certain sounds can buoy certain movements, for example, and conversely how other sounds inhibit movement. I will explore the temporal relationship between sound and bodily motion—how propulsion means that motion continues after the sonic force has been enacted. Moreover, I acknowledge that the type of sound I am dealing with here is not 'neutral': rather, it is *musical* sound, with its own inherent forces and motions. Discussion of the somatic experience of music as felt in dance is one of the most important parts of this dissertation.

[6] Although the nascent discipline of 'choreomusicology' has indeed explored relationships between choreographed dance and musical sounds (see Jordan 1993, Smith 2005 and Damsholt 2006), I do not draw on this literature. While writers in this field do indeed draw compelling parallels between choreography and music, they rarely actually consider the body in the centre of this process, and thus have little relevance to a phenomenological enquiry.

Finally, my somatic enquiry into the minuet will resist the paralysis that can ensue from the fear that somatic knowledge cannot be expressed verbally—'the problem of translating somatic knowledge into words' (Sklar 2000, 71), or 'a tenacious *doxa* that physical sensations must irrevocably elude language' (Ginot 2010, 13), as others have expressed it (see also Eddy 2009, 23-25). Following Giovanna Colombetti, who in her 2009 article 'What Language Does to Feelings' outlines how language can 'constitute, clarify, and enhance [our feelings], as well as induce novel and often surprising experiences' (Colombetti 2009, 4), I simply embrace the transformative potential that language harbours for somatic understanding. If you make something that was silent make a noise, you have changed that thing, by definition. Writing about music, dance or the body is fundamentally a complex enterprise. To acknowledge this state of affairs, and to recognise it as a goad for a mode of analysis that is imaginative, free and bold—far from being stifling, this offers a *liberating* stimulus to the enquiry that follows.

Analysing Haydn's Minuet No. 1

Suppose that I was there on 25th November 1792, at the Hofburg Redoutensäle, and with my partner among the first couples to arrive, eager to dance—we are lined up with the first set of dancers, and the first minuet begins. This scenario is historically likely, in that some couples must have arrived first, and that the orchestra, which was going to be playing for several hours and whose director answered to the dancing master, is unlikely to have started the first minuet until some couples were assembled and ready to dance. Here, I undertake a somatic enquiry into a passage from Haydn's first minuet for that evening (given in Ex. 4.1). I construct a reflective awareness of the experience of dancing

the Z-figure at the beginning of the minuet, using the version of the minuet step and the Z-figure described by Feldtenstein (see Chapter 2). Feldtenstein's minuet step consists of a *demi coupé* over the first bar, followed by a *pas de bourée* over the second (the *pas de bourée* consisting of a *demi coupé* plus two *élevés*).[7] His Z-figure (shown in Fig. 2.9) consists of six minuet steps in total—two to the left, two winding around the diagonal, and two to the right. With each minuet step occupying two bars of music, it would take twelve bars make the six minuet steps across to the other end of the Z. It would then take a further twelve bars for the dancers to retrace their steps and to return back where they started. In total, then, we are considering twenty-four bars. Supposing that I executed the two bows over the initial playing of bars 1-8, I would then start the Z-figure at the repeat of bars 1-8, and complete it over bars 9-24.

[7] As I discuss in Chapter 2, although we speak of the *demi coupé* and *pas de bourée* neatly occupying one bar each, the preliminary bend for both of these steps in fact begins on the prior beat.

Example 4.1: Haydn's Minuet No. 1; minuet.

A brief glance at the music is enough to see how readily it divides into contrasting four-bar units (see Ex. 4.1).[8] This is apt, since each 'line' of the Z-figure also takes four bars of music to complete. Table 4.1 shows how the Z-figure would be executed across the music, assuming that no pauses are inserted anywhere.

[8] I start this discussion with something of a bird's-eye view over bars 1-24, gradually focusing in on particular moments. This is of course not how a dancer would experience the music: for a dancer the music unfolds in time, from one beat to the next; no such overview is possible. Because I believe that some omniscience is helpful to the reader, I write from the bird's-eye perspective here; however, the observations I make are consciously formed from the temporal perspective of a dancer.

Example 4.1 cont'd.

Bars	Figure	Part of Z-figure
1-8	Bows	N/A
1-4	First Z-figure	Leftwards steps
4-8		Diagonal steps
9-12		Rightwards steps
13-16	Second Z-figure	Leftwards steps
17-20		Diagonal steps
20-24		Rightwards steps

Table 4.1: Executing the Z-figure to Haydn's Minuet No. 1.

17

ossia

[*f*]

[*f*]

f

f

f

f

Vc. e Bs.

p

f

Example 4.1 cont'd.

Example 4.1 cont'd.

At first, the sections of music and dance do not seem quite aligned: the start of the second section of the music (at bar 9) comes *during* the first Z-figure, instead of coinciding with the start of the second Z-figure, as we might expect. Yet a somatic enquiry into the experience of dancing to this music demonstrates actually demonstrates a remarkably strong structural cohesion between music and dance in this particular instance. In fact, I

believe that the interplay between musical sounds and dance steps in this passage accounts significantly for the sheer pleasure of dancing to it.

Dancing reflectively, I become aware of various facets of my somatic experience. In the prose that follows, I will identify aspects of my experience that seem significant, and interrogate them, one by one.

I have already mentioned my initial impression of strong structural cohesion between the music and the dance figures here. Of course, while I am in the act of dancing, the thought of 'strong structural cohesion' is unlikely to strike me. Rather, the *feeling* I have is something along the lines of: *the music is carrying my body through these different dance figures*. Later, I will consider in detail some of the factors that I believe give rise to this experience; here, I want to identify some of the more superficial (but still significant) ways in which my musical and dancing experiences cohere across this passage. Bars 1-4 provide a solid foundation on which to plant the first stage of the Z-figure—the leftward sidesteps. The clearly articulated crotchets establish a dependable pulse, with which my step can easily slot right in time. The move to the dominant at bar 3 happens concurrently with the start of my second minuet step; indeed, the slow rate of harmonic change over bars 1-4 befits a stately but unadventurous motion along a single straight line. Yet this all changes with bar 5. Over bars 5-8, as I weave my way across the diagonal of the Z-figure, around my partner who approaches in the other direction, new music supports this very different type of motion. The chromatic contour and legato lilt of the melodic line encourage the liquid quality of my winding path across the middle of the floor. Moreover, now we have a harmonic *progression* to a D-major cadence,

precisely at the point when I *pro-gress* (or 'walk forward') to the other side of the space; this harmonic motion (with its increased rate of harmonic change) imbues my moving body with a sense of *travelling*, in a way that the music of bars 1-4 did not. Next in the dance, with the music of bars 9-12, comes a sharp, fast 225-degree turn anti-clockwise, followed by the rightward sidesteps to finish the first iteration of the Z-figure. The thrill of the fast (but graceful) turn is heightened by the sudden B-minor chord of bar 9, marked by the quavers in the bass. The same motivic cell that supported my leftward sidesteps over bars 1-4 has returned for the rightward sidesteps over bars 9-12, with a new harmonisation.

For my return journey through the Z-figure, over bars 13-24, the music continues to carry my body in ways that are highly conducive to the particular motions in question. For me, the first part of the return Z-figure, the leftward sidestep back along the line that I traced immediately prior with a rightward sidestep for the end of the previous Z-figure, has a quality of 'rewinding' to it, and feels the least venturesome part of my whole dance over bars 1-24. This is true also of the music here, which simply prolongs an A-major harmony throughout bars 13-16, in an effort to secure the dominant as the local tonic prior to the perfect authentic cadence in the following phrase. Next, just as bars 5-8 carried my winding, travelling motion over the diagonal with a legato phrase and a harmonic progression leading to a conclusive perfect authentic cadence, bars 17-20 support my return motion over the diagonal in just the same way, the cadence now affirming A major as the local tonic. Then, just as my sharp turn into the rightward sidestep coincided with a sudden B-minor chord at bar 9, bar 21 greets this parallel moment in the return journey with a sudden, *forte* D-minor interjection, energised by the

semiquaver ascending scale in the previous bar. Finally, at the very moment when I arrive back where I started in bar 1, so does the music: bars 25-32 offer a literal repeat of the opening bars 1-8.

I describe the above as a *superficial* analysis of the coherence between music and dance over bars 1-24, because while it highlights some of the details that account for my somatic awareness of this cohesion it does not really delve into the reasons for this experience. To attempt to explore this more fully, I will focus on various, specific aspects of my overall experience of dancing to this music, asking some directed questions of them. While I try to preserve the body as the phenomenological locus where sonic and kinaesthetic experiences meet and combine, there remains a tendency to drift (in the manner of the choreomusicological texts mentioned previously) towards a perspective that inadvertently divorces sounds and movements from my body, representing them as external entities. After all, this is how we normally talk about these things! I acknowledge that, and attempt to compensate for it in the sections that follow.

First, I want to explore in more detail one of my first experiences with this passage—that bars 5-8 support a fundamentally different type of motion to that of bars 1-4. Of course, when I claim that bars 1-4 just happen to support the motion I wish to enact to them remarkably well, and that bars 5-8 then support my new motion just as well, the question immediately arises: does the music just seem to support the particular motions because I want it to? Is my reflecting on this experience altering the experience itself? Would any music in triple metre with a clear pulse and the right tempo support my dance steps, and would I be able to perceive anywhere and everywhere specific instances of cohesion between harmony and step direction, or melodic contour and the shape of a

movement, simply out of a predilection for doing so? No. I know this not to be the case. To prove it for myself, I have attempt to reverse the combination of music and dance steps: I have tried to dance the second part of the Z-figure to bars 1-4, and the first part of it to bars 5-8. The relationship between my sonic and kinaesthetic experiences is simply nowhere near as congruent in this latter combination as it was when I previously danced to this music. As I mentioned earlier, the high level of congruence I experienced then, when I danced with the prior combination of steps and music, was remarkable and unusual. I will now theorise some of the possible reasons for this somatic experience.

I assert that dancing the minuet step during bars 1-2 of this music *feels fundamentally different* from dancing the minuet step during bars 5-6. I attribute this feeling not just to the change of motion in the Z-figure itself, but also to the changed musical sounds. In other words, my *felt experience of the sounds* at bars 5-6 differs from my felt experience of bars 1-2, and this impacts upon my kinaesthetic experience of dancing the minuet. *Why, then, does the minuet step of bars 5-6 feel so different to that of bars 1-2?*

Kinaesthetically alone, before even considering the music, enacting the minuet step in the second part of the Z-figure, winding over the diagonal, feels radically different from enacting the minuet step in the first part of the figure.[9] Stepping sideways while the body remains oriented forwards feels far less natural than does dancing through the curved diagonal, when the body rotates to follow the direction of the step. This is not just because my body is more accustomed to walking in the direction that it is facing, but also because executing the minuet step leftward requires passing through fifth position,

[9] Attempting to dance the minuet while not thinking of any music is difficult, particularly if one has specifically set oneself that task! If as an exercise I need to remove the music from my mental conception as I practise the Z-figure, I typically sing a drone in my head, which is more successful.

planting the toes of my right foot carefully behind the heel of my left, in a series of small, intricate steps.

A more pronounced disparity between the experiences, however, arises from differences between the feeling of destination in each. Dancing the leftward sidestep, I have a sense of where I will arrive by the end of the second minuet step (in bar 4). It should be directly across from the position from which my partner started her execution of her own leftward sidestep. I set out on the leftwards journey aware of my partner's own leftwards journey, and we expect to cross sightlines around the middle of the two-step passage, as the first step flows into the second. Beyond this, however, there is little sense of goal orientation to this part of the figure—I arrive where I do at the end of it more out of inevitability than anything else. Dancing across the diagonal, on the other hand, is a vastly more goal-oriented enterprise. As I set off on this second part (at bar 5), I visually note the point from which my partner is leaving. This is necessary: she will no longer be there as a target when I arrive, so I need to aim for it now. Moreover, in order to execute well shaped, symmetrical curves across the diagonal (see Fig. 2.9) I need to calculate them according to my arrival point. Finally, it simply feels more natural and easier to move towards a goal when moving forwards with the body than when stepping sideways. In short, the second part of the Z-figure, traversing the diagonal over bars 5-8, simply *flows* better than the first. My body moves more readily and more smoothly when that motion is directed towards a goal, when the positions through which the feet will pass are comfortable and straightforward, and when my body is oriented in the direction that it is travelling.

The music contains some significant differences between bars 1-4 and bars 5-8, even before its consideration with the danced Z-figure. The music of bars 1-8 espouses a sentential structure. Bars 1-2 present the basic idea in the tonic, which is then repeated in the dominant over bars 3-4; bars 5-6 constitute the fragmentation, and the cadential idea comes in bars 7-8. (I adopt William Caplin's popular terminology here (Caplin 1998, 10).) Listening, seated to the music, my gut reaction is that bars 1-4 *feel* much more stationary than bars 5-8, which give rise to a real sense of 'travel' in my body. This is in no small part a result of the harmony. Bars 1-4 consist solely of a move from I to V^6, each chord leisurely spanning two bars. Bars 5-8, on the other hand, constitute a faster I^6-ii^6-V^7-I progression, with the harmony changing each bar. It is not just the accelerated rate of harmonic change that gives bars 5-8 a greater sense of travel than bars 1-4, but also the harmonic destination of each. While bars 1-4 open out onto the dominant, bars 5-8 return conclusively to the tonic. Moreover, this tonic return engenders a sensation of goal-directedness considerably before the tonic's actual arrival in bar 8: I feel it from the start of bar 5, in precisely the same way that I set out on the corresponding part of the Z-figure aiming for its final destination. In conjunction with this greater sense of harmonic flow over bars 5-8, the melody of the later bars is considerably less angular in contour and more legato in articulation. The chunky, block chords of the brass and tympani in bars 1-4 drop out suddenly in bar 5. Moreover, the bass line loses entirely its heavy downbeat. All these factors contribute to the greater sense of flow that I hear in the music of bars 5-8, compared with bars 1-4.

Yet there is a further factor that causes my somatic experience of the minuet step in bars 5-6 to feel different from that of bars 1-2. It arises here out of the interaction

between my sonic and kinaesthetic experiences. To explore this further, I invoke Christopher Hasty's theory of metre as process, and refer to Eugene Montague's work in relating this theory to the realm of dance. Drawing on Hasty's work to account in greater phenomenological depth for the somatic experience of bars 1-8 seems apt, in fact, since in *Meter as Rhythm* he makes the case for a kinaesthetic interpretation of a musical sentence, describing a sentential scheme that 'acquires some "kinetic energy" at its end' (Hasty 1997, 113). To dance the minuet to Haydn's sentence is to feel precisely that kinetic energy, and indeed to liberate it from the quotation marks in which Hasty carefully encapsulates it.

Central to Hasty's thesis is his notion of metre as *projection*, which he introduces with its etymological root of 'throwing forth'. With the visual aid of a diagram (see Fig. 4.1), Hasty explains that events A and A′ create duration C, which itself *projects* duration C′ (Hasty 1997, 84).

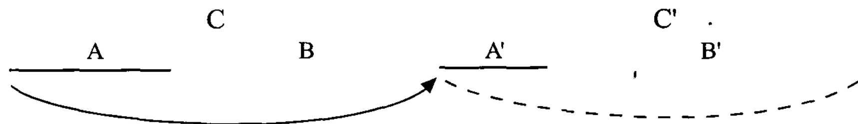

Figure 4.1: Hasty's diagram showing projection from the standpoint of durational products C and C′.

Eugene Montague invokes this theory of projection in his notion of the 'repeating', which aims to tie projection in with actual physical movement. Montague posits that 'a repeating occurs when two non-simultaneous musical events create a projective duration for a listener who listens in order to move, thereby offering that listener a definite future time when movement might take place' (Montague 2001, 48). Montague's diagram alone shows the natural extension of his theory from Hasty's (see Fig. 4.2). He explains that repeatings A and B establish duration x, such that over projective duration y he can

prepare to tap his fingertip on repeating C (Montague 2001, 53). This set of principles extends readily from finger tapping to foot stepping, and Montague explores its application to dance in relation to a sarabande by Guillaume DuManoir (Montague 2001-106). Yet there is a significant link waiting to be made between dance and Hasty's notion of projection, which Montague never explicitly draws: 'throwing forth' is precisely what the body does, physically, in dance. Dancing itself is to throw *the body* forth. Music and body pro-ject together, in dance.

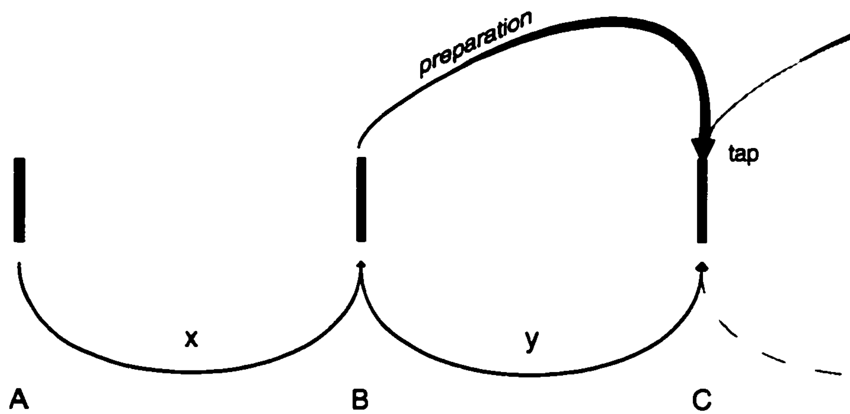

Figure 4.2: Montague's diagram showing projection in repeating (a).

First, I want to consider bars 1-8 in terms of each minuet step. Montague's notion of 'preparation' is not crucial to us here in a physical sense, since at this point in the dance I have already been moving to the music for some time. The sense in which it is useful to us, though, is in terms of how our somatic *expectations* are prepared. Fig. 4.3 shows how bars 1-5 can be parsed in terms of Montague's repeatings and preparation. (I reincorporate Hasty's horizontal lines into the diagram here, to emphasise repeatings A and B as events with their own temporal duration. In this instance, they occupy an entire bar, to show how bars 1^1-2^1 and 3^1-4^1 carry each initial *demi coupé* of the minuet step.)

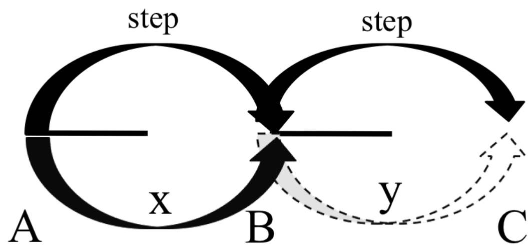

Figure 4.3: somatic expectations of the minuet step over bars 1-5.

Just as in Montague's earlier figure, repeatings A and B establish duration x, which creates the projective duration y, whose potential may be realised by repeating C. As we saw in Chapter 2, it is the initial impulse of the first *demi coupé* of the minuet step that provides the propulsion for the rest of the step (the remaining three component parts)—everything follows from this first impulse. The music of bars 1^1-2^1 and 3^1-4^1 fully supports and indeed bolsters the muscular effort required of this step. I feel inflated, not just in my calves but also in my torso, particularly by the bass line of these bars. It is this process that causes my jarring somatic experience at bar 5^1, and the following sensation of instability. At bar 4^3 I BEND into the coming *demi coupé*, expecting the bass line at bar 5^1 to constitute something similar to that of bar 1^1 and bar 3^1 to propel my RISE. I pro-ject my body into this RISE, but the music fails me at this point. It gives me nothing of the ballast that the *demi coupés* of bars 1^1-2^1 and 3^1-4^1 enjoyed, and which they had set me up to expect, with the bass not even coming in until bar 5^2 and the brass and tympani dropping out altogether. The projected repeating C of bar 5^1, for which I was preparing over duration y, is fundamentally different from that which I had been expecting. This unfulfilled expectation, on which I had acted by way of physical preparation, strengthens the impact of this somatic shock.

The instability caused when the musical rug is pulled out from under me at bar 5^1 is not limited just to that one moment: its effects are felt for the entirety of the minuet step of bars 5-6, and even beyond. Without the heavy crotchets and slow harmonic pace anchoring my step, my body acquires a new forward intent and a lightness, motivated by a desire for a return to stability. As such, it latches readily onto the goal-oriented harmonic progression of the music, with its promise of a destination. I throw my body forth *onto the music* to carry me in this way. Not only has my kinaesthetic experience of the minuet step changed, between bars 1-2 and bars 5-6; I have also become aware of the dynamic relationship between my kinaesthetic and sonic experiences. It might be coincidence that at the moment of the harmonic progression of bars 5-8 the body, too, leaves its sidesteps and *pro-gresses*, or 'walks forward' (to return to the late Middle English root of the word, 'progredi'). Yet this is what instils the somatic experience with its feeling of wholeness here, with sound and movement coming together in my body.

Having asserted the potency of the music of bars 1-2 to support the minuet step as a whole, I now want to explore this relationship in more detail, considering the four component parts of the minuet step (and the inestimable number of movements that each component part comprises). *How, then, does the music of bars 1-2 (including the upbeat of bar* 0^3*) support the minuet step in its component parts?*

I have always found it easier to dance minuets whose phrases have an upbeat easier than those whose phrases start on the downbeat. In part, this is likely a result of the simple fact that hearing the upbeat aids my enactment of the BEND and PLACE components of the *demi coupé* that occur during this beat. Yet it goes far beyond practical

considerations like these: even when I know precisely when the upbeat is coming, and can thus perfectly time the BEND and PLACE of the *demi coupé*, the motion is somehow different—easier, more fluid—when the upbeat is audibly present. Dancing to a phrase that starts on the downbeat, the *demi coupé* feels jerkier and more abrupt. Whether or not this measurably true, I *feel* more of a 'down-up' sensation through the BEND—PLACE—RISE stages of the downbeat *demi coupé* than in an upbeat *demi coupé*. Upbeat *demi coupés* tend to feel more connected to the overall direction (forwards, sideways, and so on) in which I am travelling for the figure I am executing at the time. Put another way, I am more aware of the vertical aspect of the *demi coupé* when the phrase starts on the downbeat, and more aware of its horizontal orientation across the dance floor when it starts on an upbeat. As a result of this, for me an upbeat *demi coupé* usually feels more connected to the rest of the minuet step than a downbeat *demi coupé*, which seems to arrest or at least retard the overall directional intention of the minuet step.

These sensations are true of the particular *demi coupé* step in question, over bars 0^3-1^3. I can easily compare the same phrase with and without an upbeat, keeping all other variables the same: with the upbeat, I can count in my head '1, 2, 3, 4, 5', then hearing the music with upbeat, as written; without the upbeat I can count '1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6', then hear the music from the downbeat of bar 1. (Needless to say, whether the passage in question is being heard for the first time or on the repeat would alter my prior perception of pulse. I am not concerning myself with this distinction at this stage.)[10] To state simple

[10] Montague explicitly addresses this matter, arguing that 'real potential for movement' is only attained after the first repeating: in the case of the sarabande by Guillaume DuManoir that he discusses, which begins with three crotchets, the duration of the first to the second crotchet establishes the potential for movement from the second to the third crotchet. In fact, the actual notation of dance steps (in the Feuillet pamphlets, for example) shows consistently that the dance would start with the very first note. The first couple of steps can feel a little sluggish when this happens, as one adjusts to the tempo of the music, but this is not particularly problematic. Moreover, in a time prior to the sacred silence that surrounds a piece of

matters first: there is a ready analogue between the ascending perfect 4th of the melody's A-D motion and my own kinaesthetic rising motion through the stages of BEND—PLACE—RISE. Yet the sonic-kinaesthetic correlation goes much further. To BEND in the *demi coupé* is to introduce the need to RISE—to introduce an elastic tension that needs to be released. This process of tension-release that occurs over the course of BEND and RISE is matched by the tension-release of dominant to tonic with the A-D melody. Not only does the sonic dominant-tonic motion coincide with the kinaesthetic motion of my BEND and RISE; the energy of the dominant, willing its move to the tonic, seems to infuse my body's physical motion with a like energy, lifting my RISE out of the BEND.

If the dominant upbeat provides the charge for the initial rise into the minuet step, though, the real ballast for the step's motion comes from the entrance of the other parts on the downbeat of bar 1. To feel the impact exerted on my movement by the bass line and the inner parts requires just a simple exercise, whereby I first dance to bars 1-8 hearing just the melody, and then dance again hearing all the parts. While the melody alone suffices for my enactment of the minuet step, this experiment illustrates the extent to which it is the accompaniment that *buoys* my movement. Perhaps this goes some way to accounting for the emphasis placed on the bass line in the eighteenth-century music theorists' discussions of the minuet. We saw in Chapter 3 Kirnberger's requirement that a minuet bass line should move predominantly in crotchets, to allow the dancers to fit their steps with the music. Indeed, the practical importance attached to this in 1790s Vienna is intimated by the fact that extant sets of instrumental parts from the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler's balls in the 1790s normally contain two of each bassoon part, suggesting that

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music today, when directing an ensemble could easily involve a certain amount of verbal direction and when dancing masters often dictated the tempo themselves from the dance floor, there could have been plenty of help for the dancers to feel the pulse prior to the music's starting.

these parts were doubled.[11] The rhythm of the bass line defines the rhythmic shape of bars 1-2 (and those that follow) overall. All the inner parts also carry the same rhythm, and the melody only differs from it by way of a light upbeat, some grace notes at bar 2^1, and an additional crotchet at bar 2^2, elided onto the previous crotchet by a slur.[12] The weighty accompaniment grounds the melody, in the same way that in the RISE I assume the weight of my body.

The rhythm of the bass line complements that of the dance steps remarkably well, with the crotchets interlocking neatly across the two domains (see Fig. 4.4).

Bass rhythm

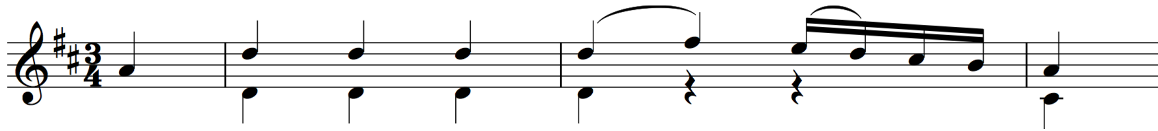
Step rhythm

Figure 4.4: bass rhythm and step rhythm.

In a pragmatic sense, the bass line's crotchets in bar 1 set up the crotchet steps of the *pas de bourée* in bar 2: the music of bar 1 establishes a clear triple-metre crotchet pulse to which I will enact the three steps of the *pas de bourée* in bar 2. Yet this is by no means a purely mechanical exercise, in the sense that the music's crotchets merely 'set the tempo' for the dance steps. Rather, the music's crotchets in bar 1 *inflate* the RISE of my *demi coupé* in that bar, and *propel* the three crotchet steps of the *pas de bourée* that follows. To describe the RISE as being 'inflated', I refer to my bodily sensation, primarily around my torso, of feeling lighter as I come up out of the BEND, as if filled with air. Surely this is in part a result of the ascending crotchet arpeggio in the bass line, with its own concomitant feeling of weight loss. Again, a straightforward exercise will illustrate this: if I dance a

[11] Sometimes, as is the case with Haydn's 1792 parts, the second set of bassoon parts is in a different ink; this might suggest that the second pair of bassoons was added at a later date. This is not always the case: all of Süssmayr's 1795 parts are written in the same ink.
[12] W. Dean Sutcliffe would term this F# a 'consonant skip'.

demi coupé and instead of D-F#-A-D in the bass line I hear repeated D-D-D-D, or a descending arpeggio D-A-F#-D, for example (see Ex. 4.2), my RISE feels less inflated than it does with the real bass line.



Example 4.2: Haydn's Minuet No. 1; bars 1-3 with recomposed bass.

Moreover, a musical performance of this melodic cell would hopefully be imbued with a dynamic shape whereby the first crotchet of bar 1 is strong, and the next three progressively lighter—or at least I would advocate that players perform this cell with such a shape.[13] While this might seem self evident, it is worth attempting a couple of exercises similar to those above to experience just how effectively the three crotchets of bar 1 set the body to feel the three crotchet steps of the *pas de bourée* in bar 2. Simply dancing the minuet step with the rhythm of bar 1 altered, as shown in Ex. 4.3, illustrates just how the actual rhythm of bar 1 induces the body to expect the three crotchet steps of the *pas de bourée*.

Example 4.3: Haydn's Minuet No. 1; bars 1-4 with altered rhythm.

The BEND of the *demi coupé* that begins this *pas de bourée* step, at bar 1^3, indeed functions as an anacrusis to the step in bar 2, as the three melodic crotchets of bar 1 had their own upbeat at bar 0^3. Finally, the fact that bars 1-2 (and then bars 3-4) consist of a

[13] Haydn uses 'dagger' staccato marks simply to show *separation* between these notes (indeed, he does not place one over the crotchets of bar 2^1, these being followed by a rest). I do not believe that he intends to convey a sharpness of attack or heaviness, as they might be interpreted today. In his handwritten manuscripts, he often seems to use staccato 'daggers' interchangeably with staccato 'dots', and seems not to be concerned with differentiating between the two.

single chord imbues my kinaesthetic sensation of the step with continuity. The entire minuet step *feels* like one, single entity. Again, this can be tested through exercises where I dance the same minuet step to the same musical rhythm, but change the harmony (see Ex. 4.4). In short, my sonic experience of the music over bars 1-2 fundamentally influences my kinaesthetic experience of dancing the minuet step during this passage.

Example 4.4: Haydn's Minuet No. 1; bars 1-4 reharmonised.

The above interrogation of my somatic experience of bars 1-2 allows us to draw some initial observations relevant to the somatic experience of music in general. First, certain bodily movements are more conducive to the vital (in Pierce's sense of the word) experience of certain sounds than others.[14] Dancing a *demi coupé* to the A-D of bars 0^3-1^1 causes a heightened somatic engagement with the music: to BEND with A allows my body to live out kinaesthetically the dominant potency and charge of this moment; to RISE with D releases the tension of the previous moment kinaesthetically, in a manner sympathetic to the dominant-tonic discharge of the music. Moreover, the kinaesthetic continuity of the motion from the BEND to the RISE encourages a perception of the move from dominant to tonic as one ongoing process rather than as two distinct points. Of course, performing a *demi coupé* is not the only means to engage somatically with bars 0^3-1^1. Suppose that I clench my fist in bar 0^3, and then unclench my fingers such that they splay into bar 1^1: this set of movements likewise allows me to live out in kinaesthetic experience many

[14] In this discussion I try to resist conceptualising movement in pointillistic terms of bodily positions, heeding Sheets-Johnstone's warning. In fact, we seem somewhat lacking in linguistic equipment to capture and convey movement in ways that do not freeze it. Yet my hope is that the reader will attempt to enact personally some of the movements described, thereby experiencing their dynamic nature.

sonic aspects of the music. Or suppose that I stand on my tiptoes then flop into an armchair over bars 0^3-1^1: these movements similarly enhance my somatic engagement with the music, although my landing position in the armchair does not necessarily leave me well placed to continue this engagement if the music continues. On the other hand, some movements are less conducive to my vital experience of the music. Suppose I 'reverse' the *demi coupé*, and over bars 0^3-1^1 with some kind of 'SINK' arrive in the BEND with which I previously began the *demi coupé*. Although these movements in many ways are readily applicable to the music—with a suitable tempo, a flowing nature, and with a spatial configuration from high to low that enacts the arrival of the bass line at bar 1^1—in some ways they feel less suited to the music than would a real *demi coupé*. In the 'reverse' version of the step I move from a point of lesser tension to one of greater tension, from bodily freedom to bodily constraint (particularly in terms of where the body can travel next). The 'reverse' *demi coupé* does not allow me to live out the music as readily as does the real *demi coupé*. This said, everything is on a scale: it still allows far closer engagement with the music than does, say brushing my teeth during bars 0^3-1^1, or putting out a garden deckchair.[15]

Perhaps more compellingly, the somatic account of bars 1-2 demonstrates the extent to which sonic experience can influence kinaesthetic experience. My sonic awareness does not just *organise* my perception of my body's movements, as the single harmony of bars 1-2 contributes to my feeling of the two *demi coupés* and two *élevés* that I will perform during this time as a single entity in the minuet step, or as the three crotchets in the music of bar 1 set me up to perceive the triple time of the crotchet step in

[15] Tomie Hahn made us brush our teeth during her keynote lecture in the 2010 graduate student conference at Harvard.

bar 2. Rather, and more forcibly, my sonic experience *establishes the very nature* of my simultaneous kinaesthetic experience. The A-D, dominant-tonic upbeat figure of bars 0^3-1^1 causes my *demi coupé* here to feel natural and full of ease, and the rising D-F#-A-D contributes to my perception of weight in the RISE of *demi coupé*, for example. This relationship also works in the opposite direction: kinaesthetic experience influences my sonic experience. The above exercises have mostly involved making musical changes, but a very straightforward experiment can illustrate the role of kinaesthetic experience in my perception of sound. If I raise one hand up, hear (or sing) the A-D of bars 0^3-1^1, and drop my hand down on the D of bar 1^1, I hear A as an upbeat, and D as a downbeat. If, however, I drop my hand on the A of bar 0^3 instead of on the D that follows, it becomes very difficult to hear A as anything other than the downbeat of this figure.[16] Even if I make a concerted effort to hear D louder than A, it remains extremely difficult to combat the force of a personal physical movement that asserts A over D. This latter relationship—the influence of kinaesthetic experience over sonic experience—will be explored in greater depth later, when I consider cases where physical movements and musical sounds do not match as coherently as in this current version of the minuet.

Finally, this somatic enquiry into bars 1-2 illustrates just how significantly movement can enrich musical experience. The fact that just two bars of music—all on one chord—can occasion several pages of prose, when considered somatically, itself stands testament to this state of affairs. It allows us a means of conceptualising music as an agent that acts on the body, and a means of conceptualising listening as a form of bodily engagement.

[16] The third movement of Beethoven's Symphony IV comes to mind, here.

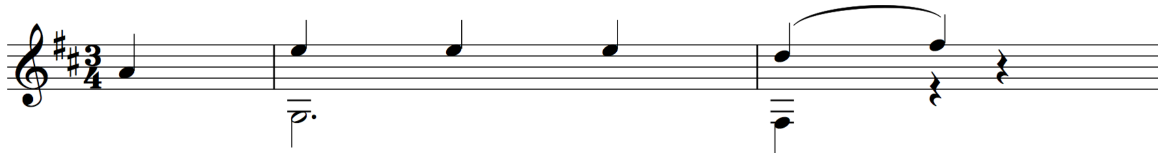
Moving on from bars 1-8, I now want to consider in more detail the somatic experience of dancing a fast turn at bar 9. Earlier, I briefly mentioned the 'thrill' of this experience, where the rapid turn coincides with a sudden shift to B minor. This being one of the most intense emotional sensations that I have while dancing during bars 1-24, I want to interrogate it further: *What constitutes the thrill at bar 9, and what causes it?*

The turn here arises out of a practical necessity. As bar 8 ends, I am arriving in the upper-right corner of the Z-figure, my body pointing north-west (for the sake of the argument). At the start of bar 9, I have to turn about 225 degrees anti-clockwise, such that my body will be pointing south for the rightward sidestep along the top of the Z-figure. Over the upbeat to bar 9, then, I BEND with my body still facing north-west, and the turnout of my feet is such that the toes of my left foot are pointing due north. Next, when I PLACE my right foot for the start of the next minuet step, I cross it over (or around) the left foot and start to turn the body, the toes of my right foot now pointing south-west. Then, on the downbeat of bar 9 I RISE into the minuet step; my right foot retains its orientation, with the toes pointing south-west, while the rest of my body continues its anti-clockwise turn until I am facing south. If I PLACE my right foot well, just prior to bar 9^1, the RISE should just entail re-orienting the rest of the body according to the position of the foot: if I have placed the foot with the toes pointing south-west, the body will nature RISE facing south, this being the appropriate orientation of the torso with the foot turned out at around 45 degrees. The point of greatest tension, then, in this turning *demi coupé*, comes around the moment when I PLACE the foot; the RISE that follows feels like an unravelling of the body, releasing this tension. As I turn and RISE, I see my partner, who has done the same in the diagonally opposite corner of the Z.

This fast turn gives rise to distinct sensations in several different areas of my body. Although the aim throughout the minuet is always to keep the movement contained within the bounds of gracefulness, this is surely the most vigorous moment in the Z-figure itself. For me, the most pleasurable sensation of this movement in fact comes at the very end of the motion, in the feeling of momentum that the initial impetus of the turn causes, and which follows the body into the rightward sidesteps that follow. I feel this in my eyes, whose glance wants to continue in the anti-clockwise motion, out to the left. Perhaps related to this, the left side of my neck feels very free, as if my head could continue the turn. My left arm has been slightly thrown out to the side by the turn, and takes the entire duration of bar 9 to fall back in towards my body; I feel its weight particularly in the palm of my left hand, which faces up, and which I lifted slightly during the RISE of the *demi coupé*. I also feel strongly aware of the base of my spine, carrying the weight of my upper body as the front of my torso reorients its openness to the space in front of it. This overall bodily momentum imbues a strong sense of flow into this particular minuet step: *demi coupé* onto the left foot, which takes us into bar 10, feels as if it catches the body, still in motion from the thrust of bar 9.

As before, these kinaesthetic sensations are formed in part by my sonic experience. When the B-minor chord first arrives in bar 9, it is the boldest harmonic move of the piece to that point. Moreover, the new harmony roots itself, for a whole two bars: an F#-major chord in bar 11 could conceivably come after bars 9-10, instead of the circle of fifths that actually follows. The sudden B-minor chord acts like a charge on my body. It sends a surge into my RISE out of the *demi coupé*, which carries into much of the body. Yet, while I feel this sensation very strongly in my body, it is somehow harder to

rationalise than the previous experiences that I have discussed. Comparing Haydn's music with some hypothetical recompositions can be illuminating. If for instance we imagine that instead of going onto bar 9 the music repeats back to bar 1, this to me imbues the *demi coupé* at this point more with a feeling of returning to something past—the sidestep part of the Z-figure, for instance—than of invigorating the turn itself. If we replace the B-minor harmony at bar 9 with a 4/2 over G, as Haydn might conventionally have done (see Ex. 4.5), then again I find my attention drawn away from the turn itself, and onto the remainder of the minuet step as bar 9 looks forward for resolution. In short, there is something both bold and alien about the B-minor here, such that I feel its impact upon my body and in my movement. Indeed, we might readily describe this harmony here as 'striking', which term recognises the potential for this device as an agent of force.



Example 4.5: Haydn's Minuet No. 1; alternative start of B section.

Describing the sensation of performing a turning *demi coupé* at bar 9 as a 'thrill' may have initially seemed too glib a summary of the experience, but one aspect that it does successfully capture is the emotional nature of the fast turn. Moving the body is not merely a functional, mechanical exercise; it is also an emotional activity. Movement has the capacity to cause us considerable pleasure, as well as pain. Jonathan Cole and Barbara Montero have coined the term 'affective proprioception', in their discussion of movement as a means of causing pleasure (Cole and Montero 2007). They consider dancers, musicians and sports players as practitioners who gain pleasure from the movement associated with their tasks, regardless of whether the movement itself is typically seen as

the means to an end, such as the swing to hit a golf ball into a hole, or whether the movement is the end in itself, as in a dancer's step. The focus of their enquiry is on 'the ineffable pleasure of, and of being in, action' (Cole and Montero 2007, 303). Over the course of the article Cole and Montero make a number of compelling observations, commenting on the sedentary style of today's workplace, the 'privatisation' of movement into leisure activities, and hypothesising that much of the pleasure of moving arises from the successful execution of an intended action. Yet they do not really account for affective proprioception in the sense of explaining just *why* bodily movement gives such pleasure. After all, this question has no easy answers.

While the reasons for the connection between bodily movement and pleasure might be little known, this is surely a factor that needs to be acknowledged in any somatic enquiry into the minuet—that dancing the minuet is typically an intensely pleasurable experience. All kinds of pleasure can arise out of the act of dancing the minuet, be it the satisfaction of executing the steps well, the erotic desire of dancing with a partner, or the egocentric delight in parading one's body. But the specific kind of pleasure that is of interest here is that which arises out of movement itself—the plain, basic joy of kinaesthetic activity. The thrill I feel at bar 9 is by no means my first emotional experience in the minuet. Indeed, every RISE out of any *demi coupé* up to this point has felt good in my body, feeling the stretch in my calves and then the poise on the ball of my foot as it assumes the body's weight. The simple sensation of moving my body forward over the diagonal of the Z-figure, of setting a destination across the floor and then travelling easily and smoothly towards it, feels good. And feeling the magnetic pull towards my partner, as we wind around each other in the middle of the Z, feels good. I

express this pleasure in such simple terms of ‘feeling good’, because that is what it is: the kinaesthetic activity of dancing the minuet *just feels good* in my body.

Conclusion

It is not kinaesthetic activity alone, however, that gives me this pleasure; dancing the minuet feels particularly pleasurable because it gives me a ready means of bodily engagement with the music that I am hearing. As I have shown, in the particular instance of the D-major minuet the movements of the Z-figure just happen to line up with musical features with remarkable coherence. The music not only supports and propels the movements of the dance but it also intensifies them. To feel my body lifted and carried by the music in this way is a deeply pleasurable sensation, especially when the coherence between the sounds and the movements that I am enacting to these sounds is close. To dance a minuet, then, is simply a pleasurable enterprise in and of itself. As musicologists, we need to recognise this fact. The minuet does not need ‘meaning’ beyond this pleasure, nor does it need rhythmic deviations that, while worthy of analytical investigation, disrupt the flow of my movement.

To dance the minuet is to *invest the body* into the listening experience—to engage with the music through the medium of the body. Precisely because dancing is an inherently *reflective* activity, I am highly aware of my body’s investment in this task. The question this raises is whether, when I am just listening and not dancing, my body is similarly inserted into the listening experience, and I am simply less aware of its role. Moreover, if it turns out that the body is already inserted into the listening experience, far more than I am aware, this raises the question of what potential might be harboured by

active and *knowing* bodily investment in this activity—if my largely pre-reflective act of listening becomes reflective. This will be the chief issue pursued in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: A Somatic Enquiry into the 'Undanced' Minuets

Prior somatic considerations of Haydn's minuets

This dissertation is not the first time that someone has advocated a somatic approach to Haydn's minuets. Haydn scholars Gretchen Wheelock and Danuta Mirka have both argued that a somatic understanding of the minuet heightens one's engagement with the genre. The entire minuet genre, they hold, was defined by the danced minuet, such that 'patterns of steps and gestures guided expectations of eighteenth-century listeners not only in danced but also in heard minuets' (Mirka 2009, 297). Wheelock identifies certain musical features necessitated by the practicalities of the dance:

> [W]here the music must serve the dancers, regular articulation of an even quarter-note pulse in two-measure units is normative, as is the symmetry of balanced phrases within each eight-bar period. Upbeat figures are common, serving to locate the first beat of the measure, and harmonies are simple. (Wheelock 1992, 61)

Wheelock argues that the frequency with which these features occur over the minuet repertoire establishes them as a set of expectations, which the quartet and symphonic minuets thwart to dramatic effect. She identifies fermatas, hemiolas and shifts of accent that disrupt metric patterns and patterns of phrasing in Haydn's symphonic minuets (Wheelock 1992, 76-85). Similarly, Mirka explores pauses and syncopations in Haydn's quartet minuets (Mirka 2009, 296-8). Both writers assert the power of engrained somatic knowledge to heighten one's musical interpretation. Wheelock asserts that 'when expectations are grounded as habits and tendencies in patterned motions and gestures, discontinuities of motion and disturbances in metric and phrase structures can have a visceral impact' (Wheelock 1992, 89). Mirka suggests some such kinaesthetic examples, claiming that 'a missing beat in a minuet feels like stepping into a hole', while 'a

surprisingly strong event falling on a weak beat feels like stumbling against a stone' (Mirka 2009, 297).

To assess the undanced minuet according to the norms set up by the danced minuet seems wholly fair, and indeed historically sensitive: as we saw in Chapter 2, the two types of minuet were frequently presented in the music-theoretical literature precisely along such lines. Moreover, Wheelock quotes a passage from Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler's 1778 *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule* that shows the theorist doing just this. Vogler is discussing a keyboard minuet with 'a rhythm of five bars, within which the regular movement of the feet cannot settle into their prescribed steps' (Vogler 1778, 380; quoted in Wheelock 1992, 56). Wheelock quotes Vogler's claim:

> That such a contradictory rhythmic number as 5 can creep in here without distracting the listener's attention—much less shocking him—is owing to the particularly artful shift . . . [in measure 4 that] fuses an idea of four bars into three. (Vogler 1778, 380-1; quoted in Wheelock 1992, 56 (quoted here as edited by Wheelock))

Wheelock immediately seizes on Vogler's term of an 'artful shift' (künstliche Verlegung), identifying examples of rhythmic deviation in Haydn's symphonic minuets. She focuses on the canon minuets in Symphony Nos. 3, 23, 44 and 47, these providing ready instances of rhythmic disruption (Wheelock 1992, 64-69).

Although I do not agree with Wheelock's assertion that 'the incongruities of canonic procedure in a dance-related movement are immediately obvious' (Wheelock 1992, 64), given the frequency with which canons do in fact occur in the danced minuets (as discussed in Chapter 3), her approach as a whole offers considerable potential for the study of undanced minuets. In fact, this chapter will argue that certain aspects of minuet construction are being deliberately and boldly manipulated in the undanced minuet. Furthermore, regardless even of their relationship with any patterns of the danced minuet,

the musical passages to which Wheelock and then Mirka are drawn often constitute the most aurally striking moments in the minuet, and in their strangeness readily invite analytical interpretation. Yet there are some problems with this approach, not least with the binarism it sets between the types of minuets. Wheelock writes of Haydn's danced minuets that 'these provide a measure of the functional against which to judge the "dysfunctional" deviations that distinguish the artful minuet from its danced counterpart' (Wheelock 1992, 57). Repeatedly, Wheelock equates 'deviations' with 'artfulness' in the undanced minuet, set in contradistinction to the merely 'functional' danced minuet: she writes of the minuet 'engaging a double awareness—of the dance as a basis for physical expectations and of artfulness in departures from them' (Wheelock 1992, 56).

The danced minuet does indeed have a functional, practical purpose—to keep the dancers in motion. However, the differentiation between the danced and the undanced types of minuet as 'functional' and 'artful' respectively needs further interrogation. Wheelock seems to be operating under the assumption that functionality precludes artfulness. In this particular case, the musical regularity necessary for the steps of the danced minuet prohibits the 'artful devices' or 'deviations' integral to the 'artful', undanced minuet. The danced minuet is relegated to a lower rung than the undanced minuet: its 'functional' designation leads to its portrayal as a mere repository of standard patterns, whose primary value lies in the expectations it establishes for the 'artful' undanced minuet. The concession that 'artful traces are observable in Haydn's dance minuets' (Wheelock 1992, 62) only reinforces this depiction of the danced minuet as the undanced minuet's poor relation.

In fact, this starts immediately upon Wheelock's corralling of Vogler's 'artful shift' term. Every sentence in the paragraph following the quotation contains the word 'artful' or 'artfulness', starting with the notion of 'artful devices' in the first sentence. In the third sentence, describing minuet movements 'engaging a double awareness—of the dance as a basis for physical expectations and of artfulness in departures from them', artfulness is explicitly invoked in connection with deviation. Yet perhaps Wheelock has performed something of her own artful shift here. Wheelock's ellipsis obscures Vogler's own description of the 'artful shift'. The section in full reads:

> That such a contradictory rhythmic number as 5 can creep in here without distracting the listener's attention—much less shocking him—is owing to the particularly artful shift. The fourth bar 1) serves in two capacities: it serves the third [bar] 3) [*sic*] as the *Epitasis Nachsatz* and the fifth [bar] 2) [*sic*] as *Protasis Vordersatz*, or the former as the second, and the latter as the first bar, and so fuses an idea of four bars into three. (Vogler 1778, 380-1)[1]

What Vogler considers 'artful' about the shift, then, is not the rhythmic anomaly itself, but rather that bar 4's bifunctionality allows it to cause as *little* disruption as possible. Wheelock's appropriation of artfulness in connection with deviation seems somewhat at odds with Vogler's initial use of the term.

On a broader level, Wheelock's identification of the subversion of expectation with artfulness is fully understandable. It stems from entrenched modes of thinking about music that prize originality and locate creativity in a composer's *not* following a given model or patterns. Moreover, with *explanation* a primary function of musical analysis, theorists are habitually drawn precisely to the moments in music that subvert expectation, since these are inevitably the passages that invite explanation and interpretation. (Sonata

[1] 'Daß sich hier ein so widersprechende rithmische Zahl von 5 einschleiche, ohne daß fast das Gehör es wahrnehme, vielweniger beleidiget werde, ist die besonders künstliche Verlegung schuld. Der vierte Schlag 1) vertritt zwei Stellen, er dient dem dritten 3) [*sic*] als Epitasis Nachsatz und dem Fünften 2) [*sic*] als Protasis Vordersatz, oder dem vorhergehenden als zweiter, und dem folgenden als erster Schlag, und so schmelzt eine Idee von vier Schlägen in drei zusammen.' The numerals in Vogler's text correspond to annotations in his musical example. (In his text, the positions of '3' and '2' should be reversed.)

deformation theory offers a recent example of such a mode of analysis.) Yet the problem in this particular instance concerns the resultant portrayal of the danced minuet. In a section headed 'The Novelty of Artful Display', Wheelock supposes that 'one might imagine [Haydn's] taking a certain pleasure in displaying his own ingenuity in patently artful devices that challenged and transformed the prototype' (Wheelock 1992, 64). The 'prototype' here, for Wheelock, is the danced minuet. She describes the prototypical features of the danced minuet in a single paragraph, citing a clearly articulated crotchet pulse, two-bar units, symmetrical, balanced phrases, eight-bar periods, upbeat figures, simple harmonies, and major keys. She goes on to observe these attributes in a minuet from Haydn's 1784 *Raccolta de menuetti ballabili* (Wheelock 1992, 61). Beyond these two short paragraphs, Wheelock says little about the danced minuet—in comparison to some twenty-five pages devoted to the undanced minuet (Wheelock 1992, 64-89). This discrepancy alone speaks to Wheelock's estimation of the danced minuet as musically basic: if for this genre 'the composer's chief responsibility was to maintain a steady quarter-note pulse in music that clearly articulated a two-measure unit for each step pattern of the dance' (Wheelock 1992, 60), it is hardly surprising that she finds so little to say about it. In every way, Wheelock deems the music of danced minuet fundamentally simple: historically, she interprets its primary function as a vehicle for one repeated step pattern, and within her conceptual scheme its role is to set up the norms against which the undanced minuets can be assessed.

Wheelock is by no means alone in presenting a conceptual framework whereby the undanced minuet is measured against the carefully proportioned danced minuet, the former released from the steps that constrained the latter. In *Revolving Embrace: The*

Waltz as Sex, Steps and Sound Sevin Yaraman presents the concert waltzes of Chopin, Brahms and Tchaikovsky as 'liberated from the steps' (Yaraman 2002, 71-90). Of course, detaching the music from the steps does remove the practical necessity for it to accommodate their patterns. However, I question whether the reductive view of the danced minuet that results is just. The notion that the danced minuet is less artful than the undanced minuet only follows if we insist on equating artfulness solely with deviation. If (following Vogler), we recognise other manifestations of artfulness in the music, the functional/artful distinction between the danced and undanced minuets no longer stands. Indeed, it seems that the danced minuets were prized precisely for their artfulness. The sheer variety alone within Haydn's minuet sets suggests that, faced with the task of writing twelve minuets all with similar dance-defined parameters, Haydn went out of his way to make the compositions as original and artful as his creativity allowed. And his danced minuets were marketed along these lines: advertisements for the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler's annual balls proclaimed 'wholly new' minuets as a selling point.

Yet it is not just the music of the danced minuet that suffers in Wheelock's conceptual framework: more problematic is how it renders the dancer. The notion of the 'functional' danced minuet is intrinsically tied to a perception of the dancer's body as a mere repository of entrained movements, reliant on the music for their successful execution. According to this view, the value of the steps lies only in their eventual disruption in the undanced minuets. This approach, however, fundamentally fails to recognise the artfulness of dance *itself*. Wheelock quotes a later passage from Vogler, describing 'the adroit turns of all limbs of a lithe form' in the minuet dance (Vogler 1778, 382; quoted in Wheelock 1992, 56). Wheelock's choice of the word 'adroit' in her

translation is telling: in fact, the word in Vogler's original is 'künstlichen'—precisely the word that she translated as 'artful' earlier in the very same paragraph.[2] This discrepancy pointedly highlights how artfulness is systematically written out of Wheelock's conception of the dance. The notion of the dancer that results is worryingly close to an automaton, almost robotically executing a set of motions. Surely, though, the point of dancing is not just to execute a collection of kinaesthetic patterns, but to perform them *artfully*. Just as there is an artistic product that makes playing the piano more about the movement of the fingers and feet, so there is more to dancing the minuet than its basic step patterns. In short, the functional/artful distinction between the types of minuet ends up portraying both the music of the danced minuet and the dancer him/herself somewhat unrealistically and unjustly.

In a sense, Wheelock's and Mirka's approach does not actually equip them to deal with the minuet in any great depth. Indeed, their focus on rhythmic devices that disrupt the musical patterns necessary for the dance steps draws them to some of the most aurally striking moments in the music, and grants them a means of interpreting these passages. Yet these moments are relatively rare in a minuet, and many minuets feature no such devices. Wheelock and Mirka might be able to explain one strange bar in a minuet, then, but still have no account of the other hundred bars. When it does receive some attention, the vast remainder of the minuet is likely to be interpreted only insofar as it sets up the moment of interest. Moreover, the analytical insights that they do draw about these moments tend to be somewhat blunt. Mirka's claims that 'a missing beat in a minuet feels like stepping into a hole' and that 'a surprisingly strong event falling on a week beat feels

[2] While 'künstlich' has since come to mean 'artificial', in the eighteenth century it was used primarily in the sense of 'artful'. I thank Steffi Probst for her help in matters of translation.

like stumbling against a stone' exemplify the problem (Mirka 2009, 297): beyond the broad acknowledgement that a somatic understanding can enhance the vividness of our engagement with the music, these analogies do little to further any musical understanding.

Investing the body in the listening experience

Dancing the minuet, I am highly aware of my body's engagement with the music. Indeed, as discussed in the previous chapter, there are few activities that entail greater bodily awareness than dancing. I contend that the body is similarly involved in the experience of listening—I am just less aware of its role. Like hammering a nail, listening to music is generally more pre-reflective an activity than it is reflective. Yet it can become reflective, if I make a more committed, conscious attempt to *invest my body* in this endeavour than I would normally. This is essentially what a somatic enquiry does: it inserts the body, the soma, into the listening experience. As chapter will demonstrate, this mode of engagement holds considerable potential for the listening experience. Crucially, it gives the experience greater *vitality*, which in turn imbues the body with a greater vitality. Second, it reveals certain facets of minuet composition that have hitherto lain hidden. This latter benefit, while coming closer than the first to music theory's usual remit, is of less significance than the first.

I believe that one can invest the body into the experience of listening to a minuet by *feeling the minuet step*. This does not entail any greater degree of movement than one would normally and reasonably execute, sitting in a concert! Nor does it mean thinking 'right, left, right, left' or '6, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5' as a minuet movement is playing, any more than one attends a concert simply to count along with the pulse of the music—

nothing could be less musical! Quite simply, I know what it *feels like* in my body to hammer a nail, eat chocolate or play the piano. I can sit in an armchair and imagine my body undertaking these tasks. As I imagine playing the piano, I might gently drum my fingers on my leg, as if playing a particular passage. Alternatively, if I did not want to move my fingers visibly, I might rest them on my leg and gently apply pressure with each finger, as that finger is required in the imaginary playing of a passage. Another alternative, with still less movement, would be to rest my fingers on my leg and 'feel' each one in turn as required to play the imaginary passage. It is the same with dancing the minuet: I can sit in a chair and *feel* my body—particularly my legs and feet—enacting the motions of the step. Indeed, after two years of learning to dance the minuet this feeling comes fairly easily, when listening to a minuet. If I had been trained to dance the minuet since childhood, as would have been the case for some members of the audience in 1790s Vienna, it would come far more naturally still. This chapter, then, will illustrate the process of listening to Haydn's minuet movements from the 'London' Symphonies, by *feeling the step*.

As Lowe reminds us, a piece of music carries as many different possible meanings as there are audience members listening to it. The meanings that listeners construct 'depend . . . on each individual listener's social situation, political orientation, cultural preferences, personal experiences, and myriad other and unknowable circumstances' (Lowe 2007, 131). This holds true, too, of listening to minuet movements with or without somatic knowledge of the minuet step. Of course, one can listen a minuet movement with no knowledge of the minuet dance; indeed, this is how most individuals listen today. Such an experience can be wholly meaningful, without any reference to the

dance steps. Knowing the dance steps, and incorporating them into one's musical engagement, simply provides another way of experiencing the minuet meaningfully. Vogler's assessment of the undanced minuet in which the feet 'cannot settle into their prescribed steps' acts as a warrant for an enquiry along these lines, in that it shows that historically this was a way in which individuals readily engaged with the music. Moreover, as will be explored later, the music in question enables—nay, invites—a mode of engagement that incorporates the dance steps: its affinity with that of the danced minuet is so pronounced that one who knows the danced minuet cannot easily disassociate the two. Still, to incorporate the danced minuet into one's experience and understanding of the undanced minuet remains but one of many ways of finding meaning in the genre.

To some extent, a dancer of the minuet has no choice as to whether he/she engages somatically with an undanced minuet. The engrained somatic knowledge of dancing the minuet cannot be un-remembered; hearing music that holds strong associations with the activity of dancing the minuet is likely to stimulate the sensations relevant to this task. In this sense, the music holds some degree of agency over its listeners' bodies. However, at the same time, really engaging somatically with the music requires an active will to do so—after the music has triggered associations with the danced minuet in my body, it remains my decision as to whether I wish to pursue the somatic enquiry as a mode of engagement, just as when I hear minuet music in a dance hall I can decide whether to dance to it or not. With actions that we have learnt, we can maintain a *feeling* of that action separate to its actual execution. I can sit on a chair and know what it *feels* like to hit a tennis ball, taste a lemon or smell roses, without actually

performing any of these actions. They are sufficiently embedded in my memory (indeed, in my somatic memory) that my imagination is capable of the mental reconstruction of these tasks. Any reconstruction of these actions is not a purely mental enterprise, but one in which I am likely to feel concomitant sensations in my body. As I sit imagining myself hitting a tennis ball, I feel the muscles in the upper part of my right arm contract, and my right hand tense as it would to grip the racket; thinking of the experience of tasting a lemon, I start to feel saliva gather on my tongue; and remembering the last time I smelt a rose, I realise that my breaths have become longer and deeper, and entirely through my nose. Likewise, when I sit (or stand), thinking through the minuet step, I can feel in my feet, legs and torso the somatic sensations that arise out of this step—the RISE of the *demi coupés*, the alternating feet and the rhythm of the component steps' distribution.

Investing the body in Haydn's Symphony No. 102, iii

Remembering both that multiple listeners construct multiple meanings and that somatic engagement with the music entails an active commitment on the part of the listener, I want to follow Lowe's example, and consider the minuet of Haydn's Symphony No. 102 from a variety of different individual perspectives.[3] Each of these descriptions will focus on the same passage in the movement, at bars 13-15.[4] Regardless of their background, I believe that this moment would have aurally struck all of these hypothetical listeners—so arresting is its effect. Yet the music would have struck each of these listeners in noticeably different ways, and very different features of the music would draw their

[3] Although musical examples are given throughout this chapter, a full score will need to be sought for this movement.
[4] To reflect the fact that certain pieces of information, necessary for the discussion here, are available to a reader with a score but not readily so to the hypothetical listener without, such information will be given in square brackets.

attention. Indeed, reading these descriptions apart from the music, one could almost be reading about five different pieces of music.

1. First, I put myself in the position of a lower-class Londoner, listening to the symphony at its Opera Concert premiere on 2nd February 1795.[5] He has heard several of Haydn's symphonies so far, including some performed during the composer's previous 1791-92 visit. This listener has never danced a minuet. The minuet starts, and he finds himself pleasantly feeling the lilt of the 3/4 metre, and enjoying the full sound of the orchestra. The first phrase ends and the second starts. Suddenly, though, three loud, repeated notes interrupt the music's flow [bars 14^3-15^2]. Several members of the audience chuckle; most smile. A few seconds later, it happens again [bars 17^3-18^2]. This keeps happening [as bars 1-20 repeat], until the repeated three notes seem to shake off the pleasant melody that the movement started with, and become the music's main focus [starting at bar 20^3]. Eventually, the main melody from the beginning reasserts itself; the three-note outbursts keep returning [bars 51-54], but now seem a more integral part of the music—it now sounds as if different instrumental sections are in dialogue with each other.

2. Next, I adopt the perspective of a reasonably wealthy member of Viennese bourgeoisie, attending one of the symphony's earliest performances in Vienna, at the very end of the century. This audience member can dance the minuet; indeed, she has danced frequently at the public balls in the Hofburg Redoutensäle, for which Haydn sometimes composes the music. This being the third movement of a symphony, in which genre she is well versed, our audience member is expecting a minuet here. Although the orchestra is

[5] It was this concert at which a chandelier allegedly fell to the ground, but did not hurt anyone, subsequently (and possibly erroneously) earning Symphony No. 96, which may also have been played, in the programme, its 'Miracle' nickname.

playing this movement somewhat faster than she could confidently dance a minuet with real grace, this does not prevent her from gently feeling her preferred '1 - - 2 3 4' *cadance* of the step throb through the soles of her feet from the moment the music starts. The first of every six beats [downbeats of bars 1, 3, 5 and 7] has such a lift to it that, even in her seat, she feels buoyed by the step. In fact, as the phrase goes on [bars 5-8] she feels the music carrying the first *demi coupé* of each minuet step [bars 5 and 7] so effortlessly into the continuation of each step that she can feel the music's momentum start to pick up in her body. When the opening phrase [bars 1-8] begins its repeat [bar 9], this is just what she expects from the conventions of the danced minuet.

Yet suddenly the music stutters, shattering the comfortable kinaesthetic relationship that she has established with the sounds [bars 13^3-15^2]. It happens almost too rapidly for her to track it. First, weight is suddenly sapped from the body of the orchestra's sound [at bar 12^3 a *piano* dynamic is assumed, and the orchestration reduced to upper strings and wind]. Next, her sensation of the repeating minuet step, which had previously been so easily felt, falters, midway through a step [bars 13^3-14^2, which cell is a repeat of bars 12^3-13^2]. Worse, though, this is followed by three loud thumps [bars 14^3-15^2], which dislocate the music irreparably from the mode of kinaesthetic engagement, the minuet dance step. The previous sensation of being carried by the music is destroyed. This same musical gesture seems to repeat itself [bars 15^3-18^2], and this audience member experiences it inert, unable to resume the same somatic engagement that had previously afforded her such pleasure. The music subsequently resumes everything that first invited her association with the minuet step [repeat of bars 1-20], but she is unable to trust it now: when the same thing happens again, she expects it, and has not allowed

herself to involve herself so closely with the music, this time around. Although some of her neighbours in the audience laugh almost every time the three loud notes recur, over the course of the movement, for this audience member they are hardly a reason for amusement. She derived her initial pleasure at the music precisely from its readiness for light kinaesthetic engagement; the blow this three-note interjection dealt to her kinaesthetic engagement was thus also a blow to her enjoyment.

3. The second oboist at the same performance, on the other hand, is enjoying himself. He is in on the joke. At the rehearsal of the movement, earlier, he had been confused, as was the orchestra's concertmaster, leading without a score. The first oboist plays three *piano* crotchet Cs [bars 12^3-13^2], then our second oboist plays three *piano* crotchet Cs [bars 13^3-14^2], then all the wind and string players except for him play three low, *forte* crotchet Cs [bars 14^3-15^2]. Following this, a similar thing happens again: the first oboist has three crotchet Cs [bars 15^3-16^2], then the second oboist has three [bars 16^3-17^2], then he joins the wind and strings for three unison crotchets, this time on D [bars 17^3-18^2]. The result seems odd, arresting the motion of the music that previously flowed so effortlessly. His first three-C interjection [bars 13^3-14^2] seems mistimed, stuck between that of the first oboist and the one for wind and strings. He checks the parts, though, and finds it to be correct: where the first oboist has three crotchet Cs followed by three crotchet rests, he has the reverse. On reflection, and as it becomes clear that it is not a mistake, the second oboist comes to relish his three Cs. As he sees it, they are the reason for the metric comedy that ensues at this point in the movement. He hears the first oboist play three Cs, and simply copies him with three of his own; however, this causes the repetition of a phrase that should not repeat, this inserted bar upsetting the music's

metric organisation. The rest of the orchestra responds, *forte*, suddenly highlighting the very motivic cell that previously lay buried in the middle of the texture, and in so doing creating a three-bar phrase that upsets the two-bar grouping that the music previously exhibited. Our oboist amuses himself by singing 'Was war das?' to himself over these three *forte* crotchets. Or 'Wer war das?'—part of the appeal of this joke appeals from its privacy: it is unlikely that anyone other than the oboists would know that they have each projected the three-crotchet cell that is about to halt the music's momentum in the following bar.

4. Our next hypothetical 'listener' is Beethoven, studying with Haydn in 1794, until Haydn departs for his second London trip. (Next year, in 1795, Beethoven will write the minuets and *Deutsche Tänze* for the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler's ball at the Hofburg Redoutensäle.) This scenario is purely hypothetical: although Haydn did begin composing the second set of London symphonies while he was still in Vienna (see Wyn Jones and Otto 2002, 410), during which time Beethoven was studying with him, I do not mean to suggest that this incident actually occurred.[6] But suppose Haydn showed Beethoven the minuet movement, complete only until bar 13^2, and instructs Beethoven to complete the final bars of the section. Beethoven (who in his 1795 danced minuets shows a predilection for eight-bar phrases) fulfils the task, and his completion is shown as Ex. 5.1.

Example 5.1: recomposed A-section ending for Haydn's Symphony No. 102, iii.

[6] Nor do I mean to suggest that I can compose like Beethoven!

Bars 8^3-12^2 constitute a literal repeat of bars 0^3-4^2. The first change comes at bar 4^3. The cell of bars 12^3-13^2 clearly references that of bars 4^3-5^2, this time in inversion. There are further differences: the dynamic is now *piano* for the first time in the movement, the texture is sparser, and the articulation staccato. Yet the chief difference is in that E-natural has been introduced, in the flute and violin parts, pushing the music harmonically towards its dominant key of F major. The B*b*-major harmony of bar 14 in the recomposed version no longer possesses tonic function, instead pushing the music into F-major the perfect authentic cadence over bars 15-16. The music retains the two-bar organisation that has been established over the prior twelve bars, with no rhythmic or metric interruptions. In other words, this is a well-behaved, 'textbook' undanced minuet first section: the first eight bars arrive at a half cadence in the tonic key, while the second eight-bar phrase modulates to the dominant key.

5. Finally, we come to my own perspective as a listener, sitting at a desk with the score, and all the information and room for reflection that this situation affords. The opening eight-bar phrase immediately entices me to listen with a feeling for the minuet step over every two bars. In terms of practical considerations, a clear 3/4 metre is asserted from the outset. More significantly, over the course of the phrase, our sense of two-bar groupings becomes ever stronger: both rhythmically and harmonically, the odd-numbered bars bind themselves to the even-numbered bars that follow them. Bars 3, 5 and 7 all contain quavers that create a sense of momentum into bars 4, 6 and 8 respectively. Harmonically, bars 5 and 7 flow into bars 6 and 8 by way of the latter bars' local dominants. Even sitting at my desk, reading the score, I can *feel* the minuet step. Chasing Pierce's aforementioned *vitality* of musical experience (see Chapter 4), I first play the

music through in my mind while deliberately fixing my body down to its seat, inert; next, I think through the first phrase again, this time freeing my body to feel the step. In this latter attempt, my body feels lighter and the music acquires a sense of flow. Bars 1-4, which sit over a single tonic harmony, come to life in the second attempt. The contrast is somewhat akin to that between a computer-generated, MIDI file of a piece versus a recording of human musicians.

What happens at bars 12^3-15^2 is best assessed when compared with the parallel moment in the previous phrase. Engaging somatically, I feel the quaver rhythm, the harmonic progression and the melodic descent of bars 4^3-5^3 propel me onto the downbeat of bar 6. If this music were supporting an actual minuet step, the *demi coupé* of bar 5 would feel forcibly drawn into the *pas de bourée* of bar 6. In contrast, bar 14 does not follow bar 13 with anything like the seamless join of bars 5-6. To borrow from the language of the second hypothetical listener above, the music 'stutters' at this point, for the first time in the movement. Whereas the former cell saw a complete melodic descent down the scale from G to C over bars 4^3-6^1, an attempted parallel ascent in the latter phrase is interrupted. As the re-composition in Ex. 5.1 showed, I expect the E-F-G ascent over bars 12^3-13^2 to continue to A-B*b* over bars 13^3-14^1, to coincide with a harmonic arrival on B*b* major on the downbeat of bar 14. (At bar 13^3, A in the melody with F in the second-violin 'bass' would resolve the diminished fifth between E and B*b* on the previous beat, and complete the characteristic $\hat{4}$-$\hat{3}$-$\hat{7}$-$\hat{8}$ line, of which only the first three notes are given in the second-violin part (see Gjerdingen 1988 for a detailed discussion of this phrase type).) Instead of this continuation, however, the cell of bars 12^3-13^2 is just repeated, note for note, over bars 13^3-14^2. As a result, I feel a jolt in the music: I can still

continue feeling the remainder of the minuet step, over the second of the two bars, but no longer does it flow so easily from the first half of the step.

The events of bars 12^3-14^2 shake my somatic engagement with the music: my bodily experience of the music, which had previously flowed so easily, is disrupted. This disruption, however, is a mere warning of what awaits, with the three *forte* crotchets at bars 14^3-15^2. Sonically alone, this jars with the immediately previous passage, with an abrupt shift in dynamics, register, instrumentation and melodic profile. Prior to any consideration of the minuet step, this moment is likely to strike the ears of any listener as it did those of the first hypothetical listener, as disruptive to the music's flow, an unwelcome interruption. Listeners also do not need to know the minuet step to latch on to the two- or even four-bar hypermetre, which the three-crotchet interjection also destroys. Even if a listener has managed to sustain the feeling of two-bar grouping over bars 13-14, it cannot be maintained further. If the impact of the three crotchets does not itself break the two-bar feel, the starting up of the new phrase at bar 15^3 does.[7] However bars 12^3-15^2 have been felt—as a collective of three bars, as 2+1 or as 1+1+1—the two-bar grouping is lost, and any attempt to renew it is thwarted by the similar figure of bars 15^3-18^2. Feeling the minuet step through this passage intensifies the jarring sensation of the experience. It is of lesser concern that the music is playing havoc with my felt step—the feeling of 'stepping into a hole', to return to Mirka's suggestion. What is more disturbing is that my whole means of engagement with the music, which was until this point so coherent and readily felt, has gone. The music continues, but I am left out in the cold. I

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[7] By the end of the three-crotchet interjection, the only way some sort of two-bar grouping could still be salvaged would be, say, to proceed C-F over bars 15^3-16^1.

can try to re-engage in the same manner, from bars 15^3, but immediately come off the horse again.

Although I earlier questioned Wheelock's association of deviation with 'artfulness', this is not to say that this moment is devoid of compositional artfulness. What I find truly artful about this passage is Haydn's hiding of the three-crotchet cell in the oboe parts in the two bars immediately prior. There is no practical need to switch off between the two oboists in terms of breath capacity, and at no other point in the movement does Haydn alternate between two instruments in this way. Moreover, he chooses the timbre of the oboe to pick out this cell, amid just flutes and violins. For the oboe players themselves, it provides a little game, knowing that their harmonic filler will in fact be the main outburst of the movement. Even when the harmony changes for the second iteration of the figure, at bars 15^3-17^2, the oboists sit staunchly on the same C, until the other players outwit them, shunting the three-crotchet interjection up a tone to D at bars 17^3-18^2. For a moment that is so brazen in actual sound, it is worth noting the finesse of its construction.

Bars 12^3-15^2 play an integral role in the overall structure (and story) of the minuet. As discussed earlier, bars 9-12 set up an expectation for a literal repetition of the bars 1-8. This expectation summons an association with the danced minuet, which as we saw in Chapter 3 consistently begins with a repeat of the opening eight-bar phrase.[8] Yet bars 12^3-15^2, characterised particularly by the three-crotchet figure, derail this repetition, midway through. Not only do they lengthen the second 'phrase', but they also change the course of the its harmonic progression: while bars 1-8 culminated in a half cadence in the

[8] An *undanced* minuet with an opening section longer than eight bars would typically have different material at bar 9: it would not necessarily repeat bar 1 here. This further strengthens the association of this particular minuet with patterns of the *danced* minuet.

key of B*b* major, bars 9-20 modulate to the dominant key, arriving with a perfect authentic cadence in F major. The very three-crotchet figure that caused the disruption of the minuet's first section is then taken up as the primary motif at the start of the second section, bounced between different members of the string section over bars 20^3-23^2 before most of the orchestra bursts in with it at 23^3, combining it now with the quavers moving in thirds, as it was initially presented at bars 12^3-13^2.[9] While the three-crotchet figure dominates bars 21-25, bars 26-30 clearly draw their motivic identity from the opening bars 1-4. Harmonically, the C-minor tonality suggested by the diminished chord outlined over bars 21-25 becomes rooted at bar 26. The ensuing phrase sets us up to expect an authentic cadence landing on C minor at bar 30; instead, however, the E*b* has been 'naturalised', and a B*b* added, such that instead we land on a first-inversion chord functioning as the dominant of F major. Bar 31 offers another 'instead' gesture, as the expected F-major chord has its own E*b* seventh added, this time in the bass, starting to push us back, over bars 31-34, to the home key of B*b* major. Now, the very opening cell of the movement alternates with the three-crotchet cell, the latter now tamed so that it fits easily into a two-bar metric grouping. Once again, the C pitch is distributed between two players of the same instrument—the second and first flautists.

From bar 34^3 the reprise begins, the opening phrase of bars 1-8 repeated with slight alterations. The melody of the original phrase is still fully intact, over precisely the

[9] Sometimes I find my metric perception challenged from bars 20^3 ff., with the perceived downbeat falling on the third beat of each bar, with the start of each three-crotchet figure. This not a done deal, however: there are two factors that play a role in where I perceive the downbeat. First, the performance can influence this: if the performers noticeably stress a particular beat of the bar, my perception is likely to align with their stresses. Second, supposing the performers play each of the three crotchets equally (as I would hope, and as Haydn's articulation might suggest), allowing me to form my own metric judgements, I become aware of the role my somatic engagement plays in this process: if, say, I tap my hand on my desk on one of the three crotchets and not on the other two, I very quickly perceive the beat coinciding with the kinaesthetic movement of my tapping to constitute the music's downbeat.

same harmony, but now a new figure has been added in the flute, bassoon and horn parts over bars 35-38 and again over bars 43-46. Particularly in the flute and horn parts, which can assert themselves as a registral and timbral presence respectively in the texture, this added motif seems to hark back to the three-crotchet figure, this time featuring in easy combination with the rest of the music. At bar 42^3 we begin the repetition of the opening phrase, just as this started at bar 8^3 in the first section. This time, though, there is no such disruption as that of bars 12^3-15^2. Rather, bars 46^3-48^2 continue the direct repetition of bars 38^3-40^2, while bars 48^3-50^2 provide a perfect authentic cadence back in the tonic key of B*b* major. In the coda, the positions of the three-crotchet and quaver-thirds figures have now been reversed, over bars 50^3-54^2 and bars 56^3-60^2, such that they cooperate well rhythmically, the quavers now playing off the forceful impetus of the crotchets. From bar 35, for the entirety of the reprise and coda, I can feel the minuet step in easy concordance with the music. Indeed, perhaps the repositioning of the three-crotchet figure now affords it greater accord with my feeling of the step than any other musical figure has: the *fortissimo* interjections that begin the coda at bar 50^3 give such lift to my first felt *demi coupé* of the step that it feels carried note just into the following *pas de bourée* but beyond, into the next minuet step itself—I feel true momentum here. The final three-crotchet outburst of the minuet exemplifies humour typical to Haydn: the sudden B-natural startles us, but before it can do any real damage, pushing all the way up to the C that caused the initial harm, the brass enters in bar 61, putting the lid on with three perfect authentic cadences in B*b* major.

In short, then, the minuet sets out as if it will follow the strictest patterns of the genre, with clear two-bar groupings, and an eight-bar opening phrase. The repetition of

the opening phrase, starting at bar 9, as would occur in a danced minuet, further reinforces this commitment to a standard minuet model until the events of bars 13-15 disrupt both the two-bar groupings and the eight-bar phrase. Following this pronounced disruption, the first section of the minuet closes with a perfect authentic cadence in the dominant key. This entire first section is then repeated. Following the repeat, the second section begins with the very motivic figure that caused the disruption in the previous section. As the section progresses, this figure is combined with other motifs from the first section, as harmonically the music moves towards a prolonged dominant-seventh chord in the tonic key. The first eight-bar phrase of the minuet then reprises in the tonic key, over bars 35-42, with slight alterations. At bar 43 a repetition of the phrase then begins, as was the case in the A section (at bar 9). This time, though, no disruptive figure is inserted (as it was at bars 13-15); instead, the music moves without incident to a perfect authentic cadence over bars 49-50. This ‘corrected’ version of the repetition gives another eight-bar phrase, which now functions as a consequent to the antecedent of bars 35-42, giving a sixteen-bar period. A coda follows. The entire second section is repeated.

Manipulation of the A section in undanced minuets

The sixteen-bar period over bars 35-50 in No. 102 allows us to make more sense of the minuet’s opening, and indeed of the openings of several minuets in this set. In describing bars 43-50 earlier as a ‘corrected’ version of the repetition, I refer primarily to the fact that the metric disruptions of this latter phrase’s earlier iteration over bars 9-20 have now been removed, allowing the phrase to assume its *achttaktig* ideal length, constructed of two-bar groupings that are conducive to the feeling of the minuet step. This is not, of

course, to say that it is now a direct repetition of its preceding phrase: while bars 35-42 proceed to a half cadence in the tonic key (as did bars 1-8), bars 43-50 are completed with a perfect authentic cadence in the tonic. Yet the sixteen-bar period over bars 35-50 casts bars 1-20 in a new light. It suggests that they might be understood as a *disrupted* sixteen-bar period, the disruption caused at the very moment the music makes its turn towards the dominant key. As I suggested with my recomposition in Ex. 5.1, bars 1-8 set up an expectation for an eight-bar consequent phrase. In the parlance of Caplin, the first phrase '*acquires an antecedent function* by closing with a weak cadence', in this case a half cadence in the tonic (Caplin 1998, 65). My earlier recomposition included bars 12^3-13^2 from the Haydn's original, committing it to the modulation; to answer the antecedent even more convincingly, the consequent would ideally stay in the tonic. In the event, though, not only does it modulate, but with the modulation comes metric disruption.

What makes this interpretation of the A section as a disrupted sixteen-bar period more convincing is the fact that several other minuets of the 'London' symphonies also espouse this pattern. The minuet of Symphony No. 101 (see Ex. 5.2) opens similarly to that of No. 102, with an eight-bar phrase leading to a half cadence in the tonic key.

Example 5.2 Haydn's Symphony No. 101, iii, minuet A section.

Again, this opening readily supports the feeling of the minuet step, the music grouping naturally into two-bar units. (Indeed, the slurred octave leaps over the barlines of bars 5 and 6 perhaps offer a sonic analogue of the RISE motion of the *demi coupé* that would occur over them, were this music actually danced.) As in the minuet of Symphony No. 102, a repetition of this opening eight-bar phrase then begins at bar 9. It sets out as a literal repetition, with an identical restatement of the sentence's initial basic idea. Yet at the end of bar 11, the repetition of the basic idea suddenly takes a different turn, with the introduction of G# in a 6/3 harmony over the bass B, diverting the music towards the dominant key. Again as in No. 102, the very moment of this alteration is marked with the breaking of the two-bar metric grouping, with the cell of bar 11 repeated sequentially in bars 12 and 13. This metric disturbance is not necessary for the modulation, which could easily (and often does) happen within the eight-bar framework of the phrase (see Ex. 5.3 for an example of how this might be achieved). The device seems gestural: as the phrase stretches upwards to the dominant, so it stretches the metre.

Example 5.3: recomposed A-section ending for Haydn's Symphony No. 101, iii.

This movement sets up the feeling of the minuet step in a similar manner to the first minuet of Haydn's 1792 set for the Hofburg Redoutensäle, examined in the previous chapter. As Fig. 4.4 showed, the music of this minuet sets up a clear reciprocal relation with the step, the three crotchet beats of the odd-numbered bars providing the basis for the three crotchet steps of the even-numbered bars. The music's agency extends far beyond merely setting a pulse: it puts the step into motion, *carrying* the body over the remainder of the two-bar unit. The music of No. 101 here, which espouses much the same rhythm, works in the same way for the feeling of the step, giving the initial impulse in bars 1 and 3, then falling away in bars 2 and 4 while the body executes remainder of the step. It is this relationship that becomes distorted over bars 9-20. Bars 9-10 continue to sustain a feeling of the step that bars 1-8 established. Bar 11 gives the initial impulse conducive to the beginning of a step. Bar 12, however, instead of *carrying* the step, which bar 11 has propelled, gives another impulse. Bar 13 gives yet another impulse. Rather than allowing the step simply to fold out over bars 11-12, the music keeps nudging it, pushing, bar by bar. Unlike the disruption of No. 102, which halts the music's momentum, disabling the step, it remains entirely possible to continue feeling the minuet step throughout bars 11-20. The music just does not buoy it in the stable manner that it did up to this point. Far from nullifying the somatic mode of experience here, the effect can be exhilarating: over bars 11-18, one is left hanging, free to keep feeling the step but with no sense of when the music will 'land'.

The openings of two other symphonies from this set follow an almost identical trajectory. Symphony No. 96's minuet movement (see Ex. 5.4), also in D major, begins with an eight-bar phrase leading to a half cadence in the tonic key, too. It also follows this opening phrase with what starts out as a repetition of bars 1-8, at bar 9, but which veers away in a new direction at bar 11, also causing a modulation to the dominant.

Example 5.4: Haydn's Symphony No. 96, iii, minuet A section.

Just as with the two previous examples, this leads to a second phrase of twelve bars in length, spanning bars 9-20. This time, though, it is split into two halves of six bars each, separated by a perfect authentic cadence in the new key. This cadence, over bars 13-14, comes somewhat too hastily, abruptly curtailing what sounds as if it should be an eight-bar phrase and causing something of a tumbling sensation, as we arrive too soon. Symphony No. 95's minuet (see Ex. 5.5) likewise starts with an eight-bar phrase, followed by a phrase that starts out as a repetition of the initial phrase but is subsequently altered.

Example 5.5: Haydn's Symphony No. 95, iii, minuet A section.

Like Nos. 96 and 101, the alteration starts in bar 11. This being the only minor-mode minuet of the set, the first phrase does not end with a half cadence, as do the previous three minuets, but rather with an imperfect authentic cadence in the tonic key.[10] The modulation is to the relative major. Whereas the minuet of No. 96 seemed to rush to confirm its new key, with a hasty authentic cadence over bars 13-14, the minuet of No. 95 does the opposite: upon its arrival in E*b* major, it opens out into a more flowing melody than we had before, delaying the authentic cadence until bars 17-18.[11]

This notion of the disrupted sixteen-bar period as a model for undanced minuet composition can be assessed against the prevailing soundscape of the time, one defined, as I have argued, by the patterns of the danced minuet. As we saw in Chapter 2, a repeated eight-bar phrase at the start of the minuet is a fundamental norm of the genre,

[10] In his definition of the sixteen-bar period, Caplin states that an imperfect authentic cadence can also provide antecedent function (Caplin 1998, 65).

[11] So far, the minuets examined that have this pattern in common are Nos. 95, 96, 101 and 102. Although this may be happenstance, it is worth noting that the 'London' Symphonies were written in two batches—Nos. 93-98 and Nos. 99-104, meaning that the symphonies exhibiting this particular pattern form the middle two in both sets. The minuet of No. 99 also follows this pattern, with the eight-bar opening phrase followed by an altered repetition. Where this differs from the previous examples is that the alteration comes so early in the repetition—at bar 9—that it is debatable whether it would likely be heard initially as a repetition in the way that the previous four minuets would. Yet in other aspects the first section of this minuet follows the same pattern as they others, modulating to the dominant in a manner that forcibly disrupts the metre.

one both advocated by the theorists and realised by the composers. Regardless of there being no specific coordination between musical structure and dance figures, this norm is basic enough that I believe most dancers would have been attuned to it—they would likely have enough musical wherewithal to recognise that the opening theme is played twice. In fact, whether or not concert listeners who also danced the minuet would have been attuned to this norm enough for it to form an expectation in their listening, it should suffice to recognise that it clearly constituted a compositional model, both in the theoretical treatises and in the actual compositions.

Indeed, of the *undanced*, symphonic minuets in the 'London' set that do not begin with a disrupted sixteen-bar period, several follow the model of the repeated eight-bar phrase. The minuet of No. 97 (see Ex. 5.6) begins with an eight-bar phrase that culminates with a perfect authentic cadence in the dominant key; this is then repeated over bars 9-16, the melody and harmony entirely the same, with varied orchestration, articulation and dynamics. (In fact, varied repetition forms a feature of this movement, with the exact same theme coming back, repeated literally but clothed in a number of different orchestrations.) Likewise, No. 100 (see Ex. 5.7) also begins with an eight-bar phrase—this time an eight-bar period arriving on a perfect authentic cadence in the tonic. This phrase is then repeated over bars 9-16, with similar textural adjustments made.

Example 5.6: Haydn's Symphony No. 97, iii, minuet A section.

Example 5.7: Haydn's Symphony No. 100, iii, minuet A section.

And No. 104 (see Ex. 5.8) also begins with an eight-bar phrase and its repetition, again with both arriving on a tonic perfect authentic cadence and with just textural changes between the initial phrase and its repetition. All three of these examples follow a somewhat similar scheme, whereby the first phrase is *forte* and somewhat rambunctious, and its repetition softer and milder mannered.

Example 5.8: Haydn's Symphony No. 104, iii, minuet A section.

No. 103 (see Ex. 5.9) also begins with an eight-bar phrase. This phrase is repeated, directly this time with no adjustment. The only caveat to note here is that the two-bar tag that is appended to the opening phrase, at bars 9-10, and which the following section seizes as its opening theme, is also repeated, giving a ten-bar repeated phrase. The insertion over bars 9-10, though, is so flagrant that it is easy to hear bars 1-8 as separate from it.

Example 5.9: Haydn's Symphony No. 103, iii, minuet A section.

To sum up: when an undanced minuet begins with an eight-bar phrase, there is a high likelihood that bar 9 will constitute the start of this phrase's repetition. In one scheme, bars 1-8 might be repeated in their entirety, following the same melodic and harmonic outline, albeit with textural alterations (orchestration, dynamics, articulation, for example). Alternatively, if bars 1-8 have established an antecedent function, usually by way of a half cadence, the 'repetition' will likely assert a consequent function; in such cases, the latter phrase is likely to begin as a literal repetition of the former, but then altered midway through, such that it will conclude with a perfect authentic cadence, giving rise to an overall periodic structure, albeit normally distorted by metrical manipulations. In the first scheme, both phrases typically end with a perfect authentic cadence, in either the tonic or the dominant key; the exception here is No. 103, but this can be explained on account of the fact that this phrase that is extended by two bars, whose motivic content provides the principal cell taken up at the beginning of the B section—it is deliberately peculiar. In the second scheme, the first phrase ends with a half cadence or an imperfect authentic cadence, and the second phrase ends with a perfect authentic cadence in the dominant or relative-major key.

Manipulation of the minuet's *Achttaktigkeit*

We saw in Chapter 2 the extent to which the *achttaktig* phrase constitutes a defining feature of the minuet—both in the compositions and in the theoretical treatises. What all examples presented so far have in common is an opening eight-bar phrase that moves, fairly conventionally, to a cadence. While many of these examples' second phrases contain quite striking moments of disruption, their first phrases have remained, throughout, something of a sacred entity, relatively stable and unblemished with metric manipulation. Indeed, in the cases of disrupted second phrases, it is precisely the regularity of the opening eight-bar phrase that establishes the expectations that will then be subverted. Yet there are exceptions: in two minuets of the 'London' set, the first phrase does not deliver its expected length. The minuet movements of Symphonies No. 93 and No. 98 both begin with non-eight-bar phrases. For neither of these phrases is it the case that they simply happen to be longer or shorter than eight bars; rather, each contains a *deliberate gesture* of disruption. This is to be expected, in the light of the rarity of this feature, across both the danced and undanced repertoire: starting a minuet with a phrase of any length other than eight bars is almost akin to writing a minuet with a 4/4 time signature—breaking the eight-bar model is not a casual compositional deed, so the disruption is likely to be gesturally marked in some way.

Although the opening of Symphony No. 93's minuet is given in Ex. 5.10, I strongly advise listening to a recording of this before studying the printed example. Not only does the effect of this disruption to the eight-bar structure depend on the experience of its unfolding in time, but the gesture is far more arresting sonically than the visual impression of the score lets on.

Example 5.10: Haydn's Symphony No. 93, iii, minuet A section.

Nothing is particularly unusual about bars 1-4, structurally: the crotchet cell of bar 1 is repeated sequentially at bar 2, before a contrasting quaver idea brings us to an authentic cadence in the tonic, punctuated by the brass and tympani. Indeed, the prominence of $\hat{3}$ in bar 4, both in the brass parts and on beat 2 of the melody, might point to the classification of the authentic cadence over bars 3-4 as imperfect rather than perfect, and thus to the designation of bars 1-4 as the antecedent phrase of a period. Moreover, bars 5-6 set out precisely as the consequent phrase of a period, with an altered repetition of basic idea of bars 1-2, now harmonised and heading for a modulation to the dominant. Ex. 5.11 suggests one possible anticipated ending for the phrase at bars 7-8.

Example 5.11: recomposed ending for A section of Haydn's Symphony No. 101, iii, minuet.

Yet the expected authentic cadence at bars 7-8 does not materialise. First, the harmony is wrong: instead of a dominant chord in A major at bar 7 moving to the tonic at bar 8, the reverse happens, with the local tonic reiterated at bar 7, moving to a dominant

seventh at bar 8. More jarring is the stylistic mismatch between the music starting in bar 7 and that preceding it. Light quavers now permeate the texture, in the accompanying strings and bassoons, with interjections from the brass marking the chord changes. The harmonic pace relaxes at bar 7, too: while bar 5 set the rate of harmonic change at the crotchet, bars 7-10 contain just one chord per bar.[12] Listening to this passage, I am initially startled by the disjunction of the join here. What subsequently transpires, though, as bars 7-8 continue into bars 9-10, is that the music starting at bar 7 is the beginning of a new phrase. It caused such a sense of disjunction because it subverted my functional expectations, asserting music with a *starting* function at precisely the point when I am expecting *ending* function. Indeed, suppose we took the passage that Haydn starts at bar 7 and instead appended it after bar 8 in my recomposed example (given earlier as Ex. 5.11), the join between the two passages flows much more smoothly. It is not so much the contrasting natures of the two passages that causes the jolt at bar 7, but rather the timing with which the latter passage is presented, as an *interruption* of the former. Indeed, when the material of bars 7-14 returns at the end of the minuet, in D major, this time prepared and set up properly by the preceding perfect authentic cadence, it has nothing of the previous confusion about it.

The other distorted opening eight-bar phrase, in the minuet of Symphony No. 98, works somewhat different. Again, it is advisable to listen to this before reading it in Ex. 5.12.

[12] I am deliberately skirting the question of whether the bars 1-6 and bars 7-14 might invoke different dance types here, because I will take this complicated topic up in full later in this chapter.

Example 5.12: Haydn's Symphony No. 98, iii, minuet A section.

With the minuet of No. 93, although the initial aural impression is chaotic, the structure of bars 1-14 can fairly be deduced, subsequently, as 6+8 bars, the former chunk constituting a curtailed eight-bar phrase. With No. 98, however, no such clear breakdown is possible. Listening to this movement's opening, my expectations are repeatedly defied; every time the phrase sounds as if it will land, it lurches forward into motion yet again. Bars 1-4 open the movement conventionally, outlining a straightforward I-IV-V-I harmonic progression.[13] Yet from the upbeat to bar 5 things start to go awry. Instead of following on into the second half of an eight-bar phrase, over bars 5-6 wind and brass reiterate the cadence from the previous two bars. To repeat bars 3-4 of a piece's opening is an extremely unusual gesture, and one marked as such by its orchestration with just wind and brass. It stalls the motion of the phrase. The strings rejoin the texture on the upbeat to bar 7, and try to pick up the phrase where they left it, in bar 4. After the plodding harmonic pace of bars 3-6, though, the attempt to launch the phrase back into motion over bars 7-8 by abruptly increasing the rate of harmonic change feels too

[13] It is somewhat unusual to have a perfect authentic cadence as early as bars 3-4, as Caplin mentions (Caplin 1998, 223), but the prominent D in the first horn and first trumpet parts mitigate this, to an extent.

hurried. This sensation is compounded by the grace notes, returning from bars 1-2, which rapidly propel the melody higher, peaking on the downbeat of bar 9. Then, at bar 9, having rushed towards the pre-dominant that should enact the cadence over this bar and the next, the harmonic pace slows again, expanding the perfect authentic cadence in the dominant key over four bars. The moment this cadence concludes, a new, meandering motif springs up in the violins, delaying the end of the phrase yet further. And following the cadence of this passage into bar 18 the grace-note figure from the very opening returns, the music springing up yet again, like a jack-in-a-box.

Ex. 5.13 suggests a possible re-working of bars 1-12 into an eight-bar phrase. This is not to imply that Haydn would ever have composed an eight-bar phrase identical to this, or that this reworking is somehow an 'ideal' version, but rather just to show how the material might fit together minus interpolations and extensions.

Example 5.13: recomposed A section of Haydn's Symphony No. 98, iii, minuet.

There remain some slight irregularities: in the context of an actual eight-bar phrase the perfect authentic cadence of bars 3-4 seems too early, and the rise of the melody over bars 5-6 too steep. Yet what this re-composition does offer is a sense of the clumsiness engendered by the features highlighted above, in the original. The rhythm alone of the two versions illustrates this: Ex. 5.13's bars 1-8, when just tapped, sound like a conventional phrase; conversely, the rhythm of Ex. 5.12's bars 1-12 lacks this sense—it

moves in fits and starts. The repeated disturbances of this A section make its somatic experience an uncomfortable one.

Manipulation of the recapitulation

The recapitulation of a minuet can restore a regular structure to a disrupted eight-bar phrase, as we observed earlier in that of Symphony No. 102. But this is not always the case. Several recapitulations in minuets of the 'London' set also involve disruptions, in fact. These disruptions occur in a markedly different manner from the exposition disruptions. Whereas an exposition might include several disruptions, and can close without any clear resolution, in the recapitulation there is normally only one instance of disruption, extrovert but short lived. We can return to No. 98 for a case in point. When the theme of the A section returns, it goes awry at the same point as in the exposition, with the cell of bar 43 repeated at bar 45. The expected B*b*-major chord at bar 46, though, has acquired an A*b* in its bass, sparking a new progression towards E*b* major. Over bars 46-49 the outer voices pull away from each other rapidly (A*b*-G-F-E*b* in the lower voice; F-G-A*b*-B*b* in the upper), while a hemiola figure over bars 46-47 adds to the disorder. Before the music can run away with itself, however, a *fortissimo* diminished seventh intervenes, steering it back into a B*b*-major cadence. *Fortissimo* is rarely found across both the danced and undanced minuet repertoires,[14] the dynamic presumably exceeding the bounds of the minuet's genteel disposition. A *fortissimo* gesture in a minuet will, then, be marked, and this is precisely the point: whereas in the exposition disruption is *allowed* to pervade the phrase, in the recapitulation it is gesturally and emphatically extinquished.

[14] Beethoven's minuets are the exception to this rule!

A similar example occurs in No. 99. The recapitulation gets underway at bar 45 (see Ex. 5.14), repeating the opening phrase of the A section almost in its entirety.

Example 5.14: Haydn's Symphony No. 99, iii, minuet recapitulation.

With just two notes to go, though, at bar 51^3, instead of F-E*b* in the melody and a perfect authentic cadence, the whole cell of bars 50^3-51^2 is reiterated, sequentially, up a third. Over bars 52-55 the sequence continues to rise, now reduced to a two-note cell. *Sforzando* markings on what should be the upbeat of each cell further exacerbate the disruption, creating something of a duple metre over bars 53-56. Suddenly, though, the chaos is halted by a fermata at bar 56. Next, a contrasting *pianissimo* melody graceful enacts the cadence that was previously disturbed. This disruption, like that of No. 98, is quickly and effectively dispatched.

A similarly last-minute disruption occurs in the minuet of No. 103. This time it is the final chord of an expected perfect authentic cadence that is subverted. The opening eight-bar phrase has been presented again, at the start of the recapitulation, over bars 32-38 (see Ex. 5.15). However, instead of an E*b*-major chord on the downbeat of bar 39, a

C-E*b*-A chord asserts itself, *fortissimo* (again, this two-bar outburst constitutes the only *fortissimo* moment in the movement).

Example 5.15: Haydn's Symphony No. 98, iii, minuet recapitulation.

In comparison with the previous recapitulation disruptions, this one differs in that no prior metric breakdown precedes it. In this sense it seems somewhat uncalled for. Yet there is one aspect about the phrase starting at bar 32 that is just not quite right. Bars 32-39 offer a faithful repetition of the opening phrase until the final chord, except that the odd-numbered bars fall where the even-numbered should, and vice versa. That is to say that the phrase should start in bar 31, or bar 33, for instance. Although most classical movements occupy an even number of bars, this is beside the point, here. This is where the listening experience of someone who dances the minuet might differ critically from someone who does not. The dancer is likely to know, from the outset of the recapitulation at bar 32, that something is wrong, because the phrase starts *in the middle of the felt minuet step*. Unlike many other B sections in the 'London' set, that of No. 103 exhibits a very safe structural construction, as indeed did the exposition, examined earlier. A listener feeling the step of the minuet can sustain this sensation well into the B section

with no real difficulty—the music continues in two-bar groupings that nourish this mode of engagement. Conflict only arises at bars 19-20, when the lower strings offset the theme of the first violin and flute by just one bar. They set up a conflicting set of two-bar groupings, challenging the former. By bars 24-25 it is hard to resist this new distribution of the two-bar grouping, from even- to odd-number bars, with the Italian sixths on the even-numbered bars exerting a strong impulse. Listening, then, I can either adjust my felt step with the new distribution, or I can resist the music and keep on with the original distribution. Either way, I know that when the recapitulation starts it does so on the wrong bar. The *sforzando* markings on the second bar of each cell over bars 32-35 acquire a new significance, as if they are trying to kick against the incorrect metre. The interruption at bar 39, then, saves the music at the last possible moment, allowing the step to right itself before the movement ends.

The challenge of Haydn's Symphony No. 97, iii

While the foregoing discussion has illustrated various ways in which a somatic enquiry can inform our understanding of the symphonic minuet, it still succumbs to a limitation that I criticised earlier in Wheelock's and Mirka's work. Measuring the minuet against the expectations generated by a somatic awareness of its danced form will inevitably lead the enquiry to focus on the moments of deviation from the established patterns. This is simply a given of any methodological approach that assesses its object against a prior model. Indeed, this is particularly true of a somatic enquiry, where the deviations hold the capacity to generate an impact on the body: moments of thwarted expectation are *striking* here in the literal sense of the word. Yet, while I believe the results of this analysis are

compelling, and perhaps better grounded in their evidential basis than some prior claims that have been made about the undanced minuet, the simple problem is that this approach has little benefit for the rest of the minuet. The focus is skewed towards the moments of disruption—understandably, but also disproportionately in the sense that these moments only comprise a very small portion of the compositions in question. Indeed, some minuets contain no such pronounced deviations.

A greater test of the modes of somatic enquiry that I advocate, then, will be in how well they equip us to engage with a minuet that contains no such deviations. The minuet in its danced form, after all, is supposed to enable the *pleasure* of movement—not of attentive listening fraught with subverted expectations. While there is indeed much to be said about the ways in which undanced minuets play with the established patterns of minuet construction, we should also be able to account for a listening experience that is somewhat closer to that of dancing the minuet—the experience of simply following music as it unfolds, without any disturbances to arrest the flow or surprises to seize one's attention. The minuet movement of Haydn's Symphony No. 97 (see Ex. 5.17) provides an ideal test case. In fact, this minuet follows the patterns of the *danced* minuet more closely than many of Haydn's minuets actually written for dancing do. The minuet opens with an eight-bar A section, followed by a sixteen-bar B section plus a ten-bar coda. The trio is entirely regular in its construction, with an eight-bar A section followed by a sixteen-bar B section. Perhaps the most marked way in which the minuet differs from most danced minuets is that the repeats are all written out, and each repetition is varied texturally. For example, bars 1-8 comprise a *tutti* orchestration, *legato* articulation and *forte* dynamic; the repetition of this phrase over bars 9-16, while remaining melodically

and harmonically identical to its previous iteration, is played just by the strings, *piano* and *staccato*.

The regularity of this minuet comes not just from its *Achttaktigkeit*. It parses readily into the two-bar groupings necessary for minuet step, throughout. Indeed, the only rhythmic disruption anywhere in the movement is very slight and comes in the coda section of the minuet. The two-bar groupings are preserved, but an eight-bar phrase is extended to ten bars, when the melodic cell of bars 37^{3}-38^{2} is repeated, passed between the instruments, at bars 38^{3}-39^{2} and again at bars 39^{3}-40^{2}. The same happens on the written-out repeat of this section at bars 64^{3}-65^{2} (the sole alteration being that the bassoons do not play at bars 64^{3}-65^{2} in the repetition). There is a wittiness to this interpolation: the first four bars of this phrase (bars 33-36 in the first instantiation) have consisted of a simple three-note cell initiated by the violinists and then passed leisurely between the oboists, flautists and bassoonists over a tonic pedal, until the tympanist loses patience at bar 36 and with a *forte* ‘solo’ attempts to put an end to it; at bars 38^{3}-39^{2} the wind and brass sneak in one further, cheeky iteration of a very similar cell, before the rest of the orchestra responds at bars 39^{3}-40^{2}, then closing the phrase over bars 41-42.

In addition to their rhythmic regularity, both minuet and trio follow a very straightforward harmonic scheme. The minuet’s eight-bar A section constitutes a period that modulates to the dominant. The first eight-bar phrase of the B section immediately re-asserts the tonic key by the addition of the seventh to the dominant chord, before a sequence over bars 21-24 hints briefly at the parallel minor. The second eight-bar phrase of the B section recapitulates the A section’s opening period, this time closing in the tonic, which the coda section reaffirms over a tonic pedal. The trio is very basic in its

harmonic construction, containing just three different chords in total. In fact, the only exceptions to the root-position tonic and dominant chords are the passing secondary dominants that occur fleetingly on the third beats of bars 88-91 and again over bars 104-107. In fact, this movement is remarkable in its simplicity. Listening to it is a *pleasing* experience, with no subverted expectations or sudden deviations, either rhythmically or harmonically. Its most striking aspect is the varied textures of each repetition. If one minuet can test the potential for a somatic analytical approach to address music beyond the ways in which it deviates from a pattern, this movement should be able to.

Before tackling this movement, though, I want to recognise what might be the most significant lesson of this dissertation. When I dance to music, I am highly conscious of the fact that I am inserting my body into my engagement with the sounds. I am *actively and knowingly* listening with my body. As we saw in Chapter 4, phenomenological enquiry into dance recognises this aspect of the activity—that dancing requires an unusually high level of body consciousness (see Legrand 2007a). Phenomenological enquiry into the act of general listening to music, on the other hand, tends to characterise bodily engagement with the sound in a very different way. It characterises the process of listening as one whereby sound *acts upon the body*, in which the body is fundamentally in a mode of *receiving*. Petitmengin et al, for example, characterise their 'taking an interest in felt sound' as asking '"what it does to me" when the sound is listened to' (Petitmengin, Bitbol et al. 2009). In this conceptualisation of the act of listening, the body is presented as a passive, receiving agent, on which the sound acts. What this fails to acknowledge is the high degree of active, personal investment of the body into the act of listening. Dance

is not the only form of listening that requires actively inserting the body into the situation: we are simply *more conscious* of the body's role in this context.

Listening to music is an activity fraught with bodily involvement, whether I am dancing to it or studying a score at my desk. Even that most silent and still of activities, 'hearing a melody in my head', involves complete bodily participation. 'Hearing a melody in my head' actually requires *singing* a melody 'silently' in my head. Although the sonic output of this activity may be silent, this silence is not reflected with stillness in the body. On the contrary: the many parts of the body that need to be engaged in the act of singing are activated as I hear the music in my head. I am most aware of this in my throat, where the vocal folds are engaged just as they would if I were actually singing out loud. As the pitch of the melody rises, the muscles in my throat tighten. I normally exhale over the course of a melody, as I would when singing it. My tongue is also heavily involved in this process. Just as when I type a sentence I find my tongue making the necessary motions to speak the words out loud, so my tongue often taps behind my front teeth, marking the rhythm of the melody in question. At points of high musical tension, much of the body becomes involved—my stomach tightens, my eyebrows draw closer together, and my hands grip the score more closely. Most strikingly of all, though, the melody I am hearing in my head is in fact filtered through my own voice. So integrated is the bodily activity that has been producing the heard melody in my head, that, even if I know the melody is played by violins or a bassoon, I cannot escape my own voice in my hearing of it.[15]

In short, the activity of listening to music always requires bodily investment. Just as in Chapter 4's example of hammering a nail, the body is often so *transparently*

[15] For a cognitive-scientific take on this subject, see Kleber et al. 2007.

invested in the task of listening that one is almost unaware of its role in the activity. Yet becoming aware of this bodily investment in the listening experience allows one to utilise it to enhance engagement with the music. This bodily investment can be made in an organised, specific fashion, such as through the feeling of the minuet step while listening to a minuet movement. But it can also be made in a looser manner: in the case of a minuet movement, for example, one can listen to the music while feeling a general forward-travelling motion, without needing to specify a particular type of step. Even just deciding to sit as still as possible, not feeling any motion, while listening to a piece of music is to invest the body into the listening situation in a particular way.

What does it mean, then, to invest my body into the minuet of Haydn's Symphony No. 97? Feeling the minuet step in time with this music is but one way of inserting the body into the listening situation; yet this way offers a defined, organised means of entering my body into a reciprocal relationship with the music. Listening in this way, I feel the potency of timbral change to effect changes on my feeling of the step, which in turn cause changes in my body's overall state. Over the opening theme of bars 1-8, feeling the step comes naturally and easily; the full *tutti* sonority and *legato* articulation imbue the felt step with a ready sense of flow. The music's textural fullness and smooth flow allow me to invest my body into it with total commitment; even sitting, listening and feeling the step, I can feel the music carry the whole weight of my body. This changes at bars 9-12, with the sparser repetition of the theme, with strings only, *staccato* and *piano*. No longer can I engage the music with the same feeling of bodily weight. Rather, my feeling of the step takes on something of a 'tiptoe' character, with not just a lighter tread but also a

more ‘pointy’ feeling of hopping from note to note. This changed sensation of the felt step brings its own concomitant changes in my overall bodily state; not only do my legs feel more poised, but also my chest tighter and my breathing more held. When the *legato* nature is re-asserted for the consequent phrase, over bars 13-16, the tension generated by this new sensation subsides, and my bodily state returns to that in which it started the movement.

Further change comes with the reprise of the A section’s opening phrase at bars 25-32. The repetition of the material of bars 1-4 over bars 25-28 again exhibits varied scoring. This time the string parts are marked ‘fz’ on every note that they play, and the beginning of the phrase is played *forte* by the full orchestra. This change to the theme is even bolder than that of bars 9-12. While the *piano* repetition in the A section gave a *forte*-*piano* echo effect overall, the unusual repeated ‘fz’s of bars 25-28 bear no resemblance to anything that has gone before and are out of place in relation to the minuet genre’s general character. The new sonority of this phrase again affects my sensation of the minuet step. The music is less conducive to a natural, flowing minuet step than it was at the initial iteration of the phrase at bars 1-4. The violent ‘fz’ strokes do not allow the fluent feeling of motion that the *legato* of bars 1-4 enabled, but rather a more jerky sensation. Instead of the feeling of gliding through the component steps, such that the component steps effortlessly combine into complete minuet steps, I feel the component steps as individual, disjointed entities. Indeed, I am more aware of the felt component steps than of the minuet step as a whole. Again, this change in my feeling of the minuet step causes an adjustment in my overall somatic being: my body becomes heavier and more rigid. In both repetitions, resumption of the full, *legato* texture with the

consequent phrase means that together with harmonic closure comes a return to the natural disposition of the minuet step and the elevated somatic being that this entails.

Of course, feeling the minuet step is not the only means of investing the body kinaesthetically into the listening experience. Various musical passages lend themselves readily to other means of somatic interpretation, not least the pedal tones that occur in both minuet and trio. Bars 85-92 of the trio's B section contain a long dominant pedal that features a fourfold repetition of a single melodic cell, over bars 88-91. (The repetitions of this cell are identical; the only variation is in bar 91, when the melody's D minim is recast into two crotchets and the bass crotchet is repeated insistently.) This passage is compositionally strange, with its repetition of the same single unit four times over and over. It jars with what has gone before: the melody previously flowed easily and tunefully; the cell that replaces it is nothing more than a facile outline of the D-major triad. Engaging with this passage somatically, however, enables an interpretation of its strangeness. Bars 85-87 contain a melodic ascent, with B prolonged through bar 85, then raised sequentially to C at bar 86, and then D-E-F outlined (with their respective thirds) as the pace accelerates over bar 87. Listening to this passage, I do not just observe this climb as something happening 'over there' in the music. Because of music's potency to influence my somatic state, I kinaesthetically experience the feeling of climbing, over bars 85-87. With this feeling of climbing also comes the expectation of arrival: I expect the melody to complete its ascent by arriving on G at bar 88, and I invest my body into the climb with this expectation. The sudden dip down to D at bar 88, then, comes as a surprise not just conceptually but also somatically—I *feel* the subverted expectations of my climb. Following these events, the repeated D-F#-A cells of bars 88-91 make somatic

sense: I feel them as melodic attempts to reach up for G, which is finally attained after the fourth try, at bar 92. With each repetition of the cell, I feel the kinaesthetic sensation of reaching up to a goal that is almost unattainable; each time I fall back, until the fourth attempt when my reach is successful. Not only does this mode of kinaesthetic engagement provide a means of understanding music that compositionally makes little sense; it also strengthens my connection with the music, enhancing the music's own vitality.

Although tension is normally generated over a dominant pedal by way of increasing dissonance, this is not the case over bars 88-91, when a single cell is repeated, harmonised identically, over the pedal. Yet tension does build here—a tension that is very readily felt in the body. The repeated, futile attempts to reach up to the goal of G, felt kinaesthetically in the body, give rise to a strong sensation of frustration, building with each thwarted try until the arrival of G in bar 92. Somatic *stasis*, when the music wants to move forward but is prevented from doing so, causes the growing of tension over the dominant pedal. A similar somatic impatience also builds during the tonic pedal in the minuet, over bars 32-36. Here, in the coda of the minuet's B section, wind players casually pass a three-crotchet cell between each other, *piano*. As was the case with the trio's dominant pedal, the pedal's stasis is heightened by the fact that the previous passage flowed so easily. This is interrupted rudely by the tympanist, *forte* and marked 'solo' by Haydn, with six C quavers. This interruption puts the music back into motion, allowing the phrase to complete its perfect authentic cadence. Again, relating to the music somatically, *feeling* it lurch between movement and stasis, not only allows us to account for its strangest features but also heightens my engagement with its sounds.

Simply put, investing my body into the listening experience of this movement makes me more alive to the music, more recipient to the impact of its various features. With a somatic relationship established with the music, the *sforzando* markings in the minuet's A section do not merely serve to highlight certain notes or chords; rather, they *propel* my felt motion onwards. This is particularly evident at the end of the phrase. In the first iteration of the A section's eight-bar phrase the perfect authentic cadence of bars 7-8 is preceding by a *sforzando* chord on the third beat of bar 6; in this phrase's repetition over bars 9-16, the *sforzando* recurs at bar 14^{3}, but is then followed by a new feature, a *subito piano* on the downbeat of bar 15. Listening to these passages with my body invested with the feeling of motion, I feel the ground come away from underneath me in bar 15, a sensation that is heightened by the fact that the previous *sforzando* propelled me into the *piano*. In short, the music is playing with my body's feeling of motion—pushing and pulling it in various directions. The sensation is in fact not entirely removed from that of being on a roller coaster.

A somatic understanding of the music entails becoming aware of its effect on my body. For instance, I become aware that even though the downbeat of bars 4 and 8 both constitute a G-major chord in root position, I *feel* different at the two different moments, when listening to the music. Although any actual changes to my physical position might be imperceptible, I still *feel* different when I hear the G-major chord as a dominant in a half cadence, as opposed to the tonic in a perfect authentic cadence. In the former, my breath may be more held, my stomach more gripped, my fists slightly clenched; in the latter, everything relaxes. I also become more susceptible to the general feeling engendered by the music's motion: I feel pressed by bars 21-24 of the minuet, for

example, and then at leisure over bars 69-76 of the trio. The connection with the music that my bodily investment provides enables the music, very rapidly and with quick changes, to instil such sensations in my body.

The above examples illustrate ways in which the perceived sounds of the minuet act upon the body—how, to return to the construct considered in Chapter 4, the music sets the body in motion. But music does not just carry the body; the body also carries the music: my bodily investment in the listening experience also affects the perceived sounds themselves. This is noticeable in the join between the antecedent and consequent phrases of the opening period. If I listen to bars 1-8 with no effort to inject any feeling of motion into the body, the consequent phrase of bars 5-8 becomes disconnected from the antecedent phrase of bars 1-4. The music stops between the two phrases, after all, and without any felt motion there is nothing to carry one phrase into the next. If I invest felt motion into my hearing of bars 1-8, however—and particularly the feeling of the minuet step, with its activity on each even-numbered bar—I hear them as one complete unit. I believe that it is this potency for felt motion to carry the minuet that allows it to be played slower when the step is taken into account. When I listen to a minuet movement and make no attempt to feel the step, at a certain tempo it can start to feel too slow, and 'stuck'. If I listen with the felt step, though, the music at the same tempo can feel comfortably in motion. The activity of the felt bodily motion carries the music, allowing for its slower tempo.

Conclusion

Listening with an invested body, then, is a fundamentally *participatory* activity. Just as the scoring of No. 97's trio models musical participation, with more and more players joining its light-hearted melody until Salomon's entrance for the final phrase, up an octave, in his violin solo, so is a somatic mode of listening a way of *participating* in the musical texture. Today, if we want to become acquainted with the 'London' symphonies, we would buy a recording and listen to this electronic version of the music, perhaps with headphones—a rather de-somatised process. Then, anyone who wanted to know this music better would buy one of Salomon's popular arrangements of it for chamber ensemble, and either play it or listen to friends playing in close quarters. Positioned with the human music making up-front, these earlier modes of musical transmission and listening lend themselves far more readily to participatory listening.

Music-theoretically, investing the body in one's engagement with the music makes for an enquiry more into what music *does* than into what it *is*. To invest one's body into the listening experience is to open oneself to music's potency to impact physically upon the soma. This act breathes life not only into the music, but into one's own person. It calls us to reconsider our understanding of movement itself, and of its remit. Movement is more than a merely functional activity, a means of accomplishing tasks. It is more than a locomotive effort to move from A to B. Rather, movement is emotional: it has the capacity to alter one's affective state, and thereby one's very being. And movement is musical. To move is to be alive.

Appendix A: Minuets composed for the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler, 1792-1804

Incipits

Haydn 1792

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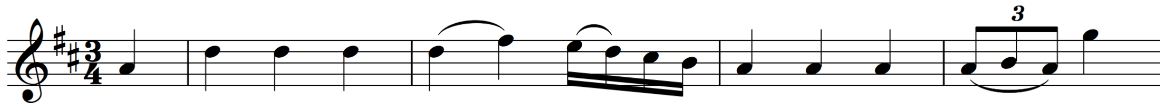

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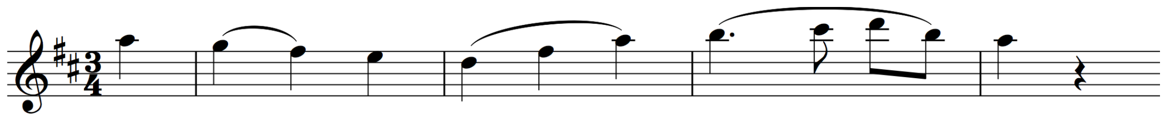
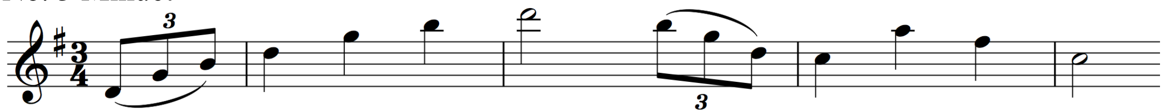


No. 2 Minuet

No. 2 Trio

No. 3 Minuet



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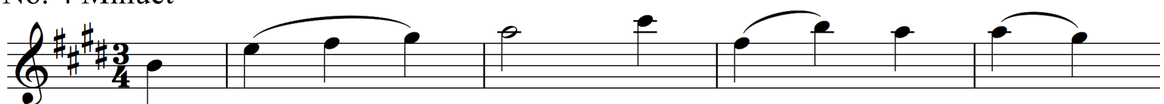
No. 4 Minuet



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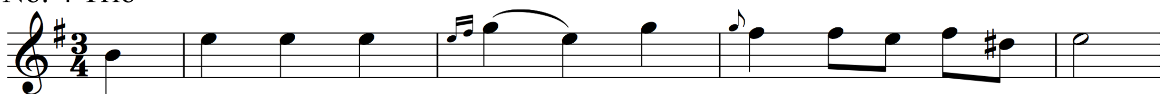

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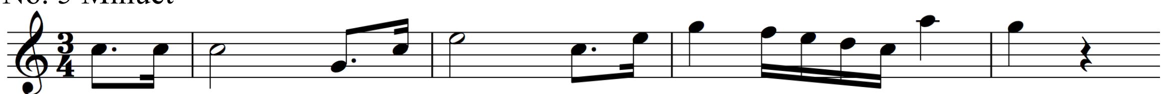

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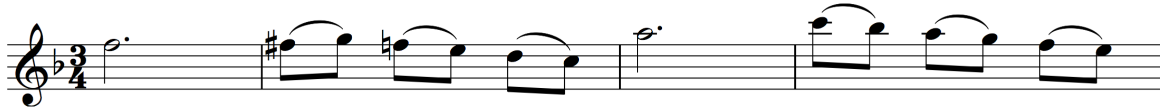
No. 6 Minuet



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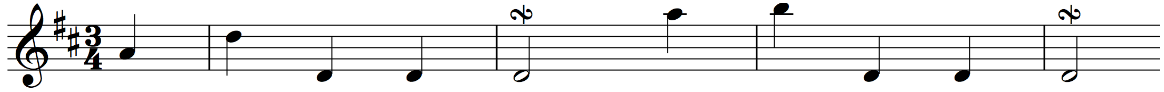
No. 7 Minuet



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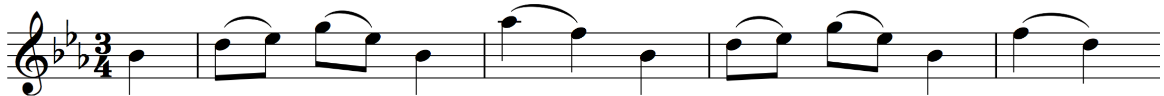
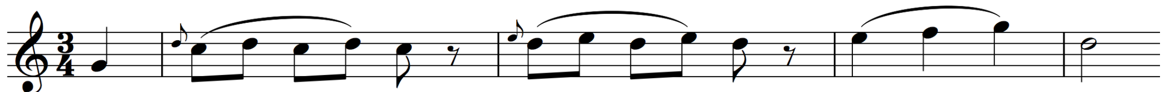


No. 8 Trio

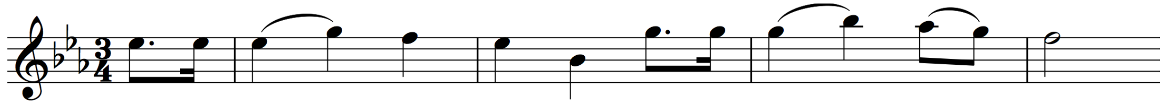
No. 9 Minuet

No. 9 Trio



No. 10 Minuet

No. 11 Minuet



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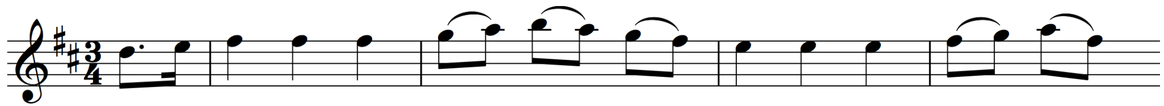
No. 12 Minuet

No. 12 Trio



Koželuch 1793

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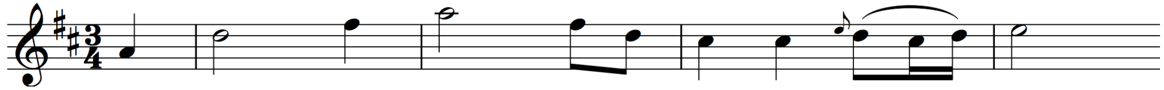

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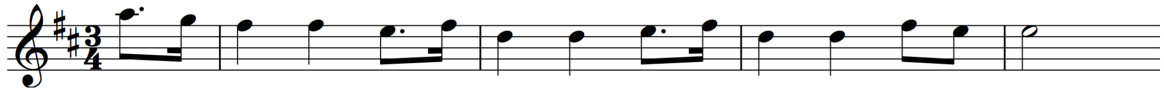

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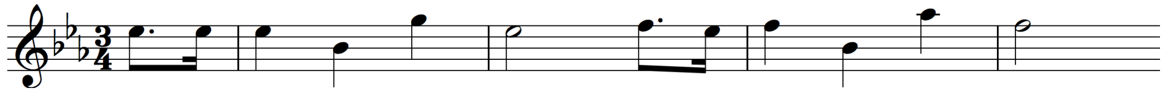

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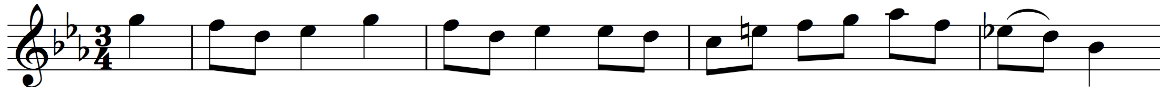

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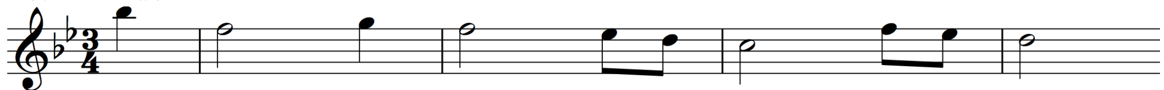

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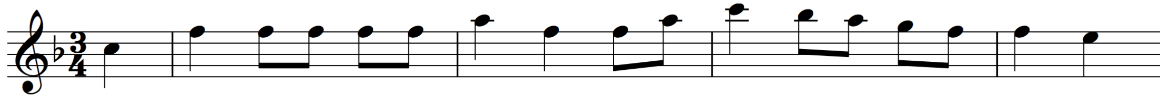

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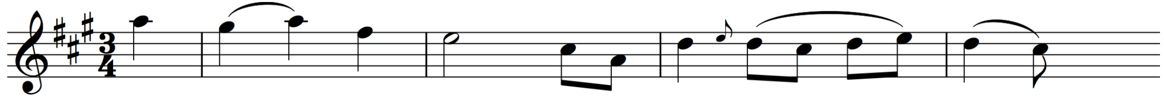

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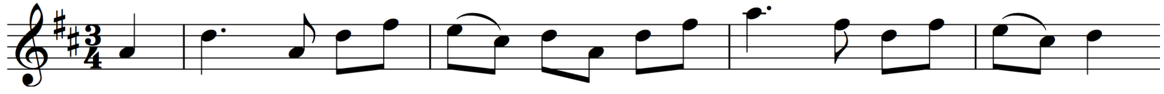

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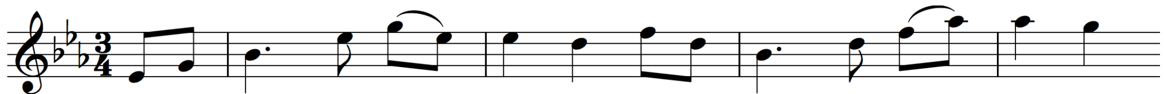
No. 8 Minuet

No. 9 Minuet

No. 10 Minuet



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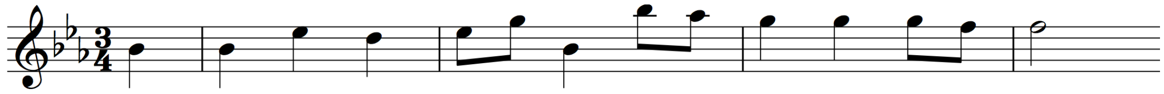

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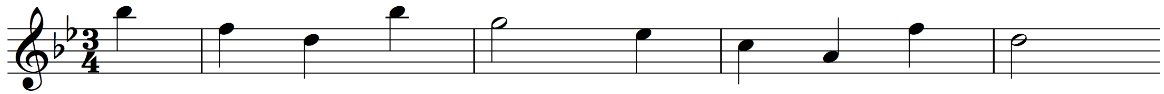

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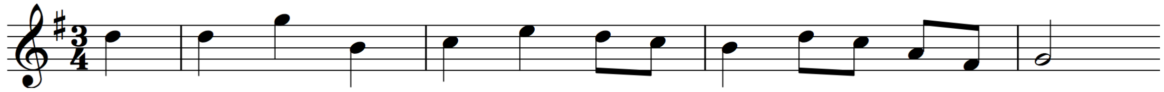
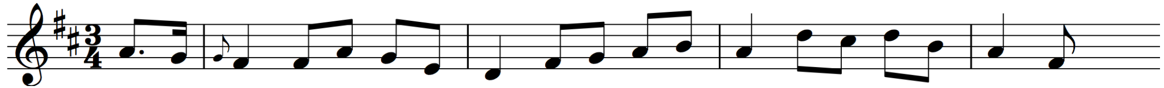


No. 12 Trio

Eybler 1794

No. 1 Minuet

No. 1 Trio



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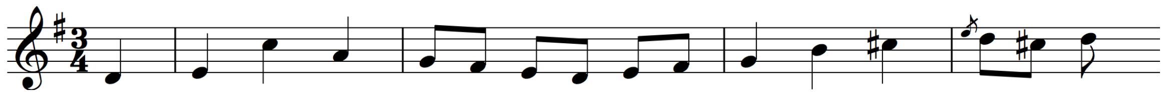

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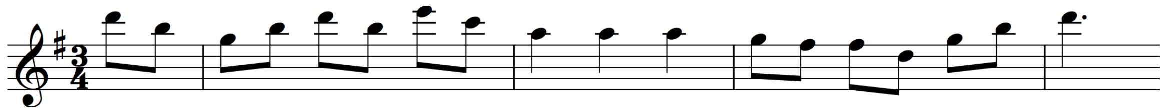

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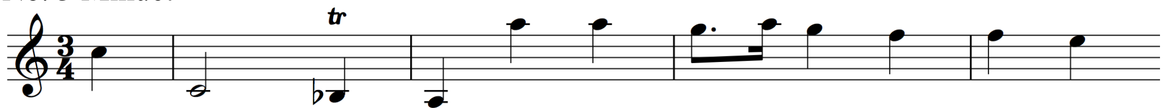

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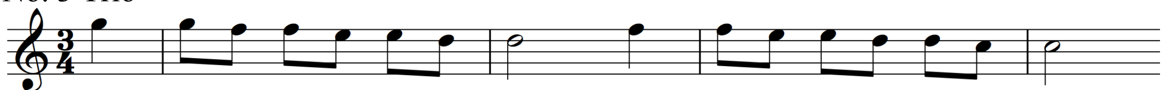

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No. 4 Trio

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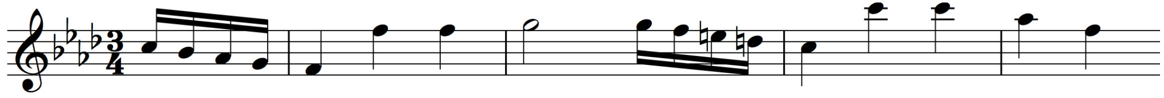

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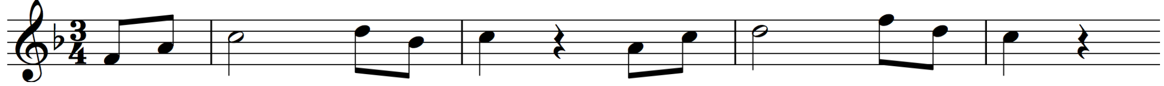

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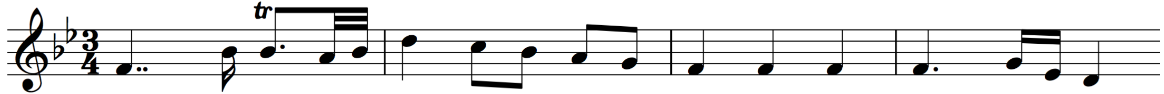

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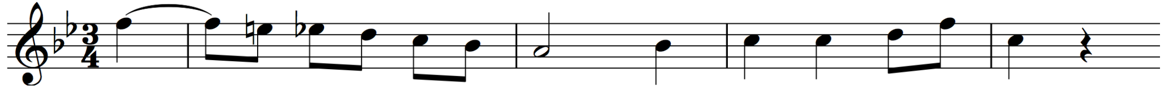

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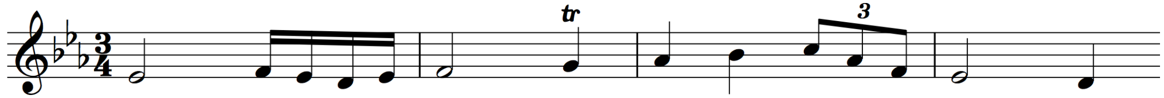

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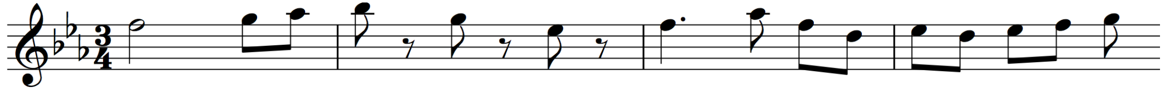

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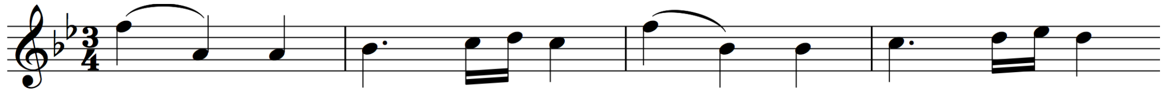

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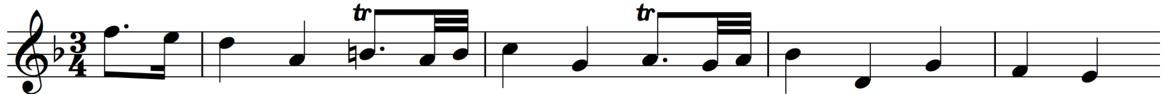

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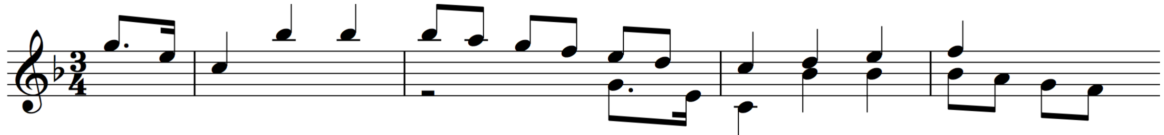

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No. 10 Trio

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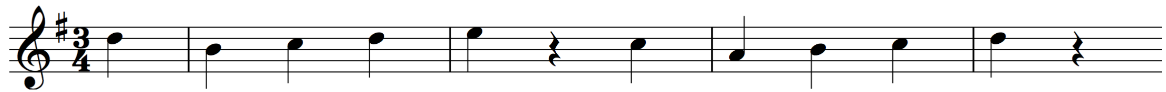

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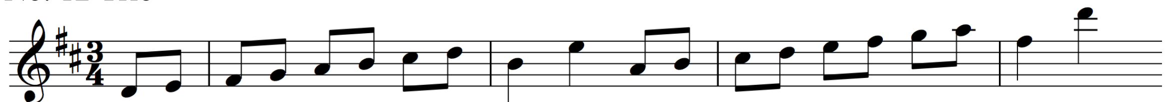

Süßmayr 1795

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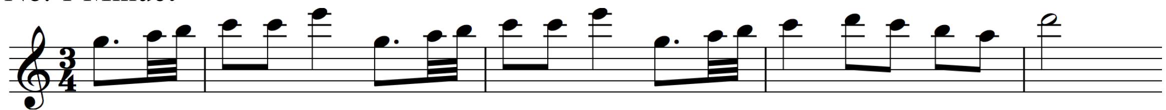

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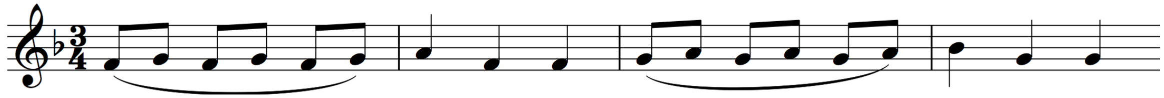

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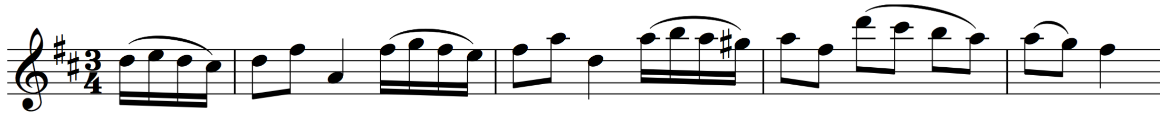

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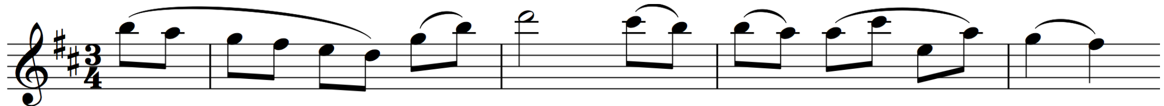

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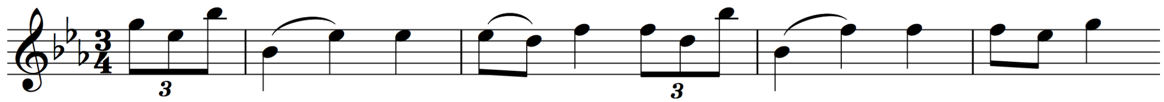

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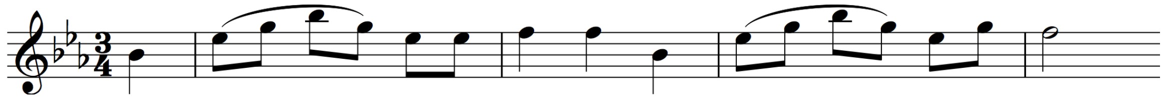

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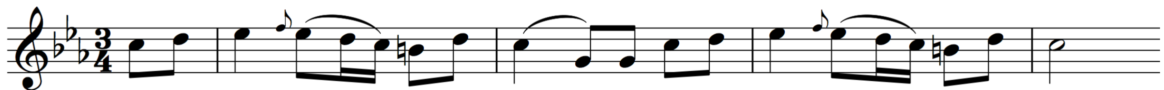

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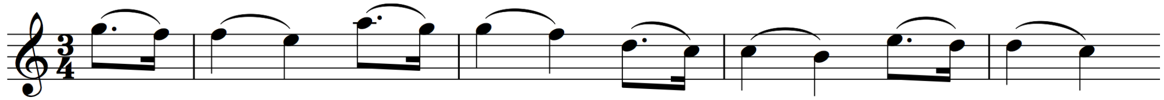


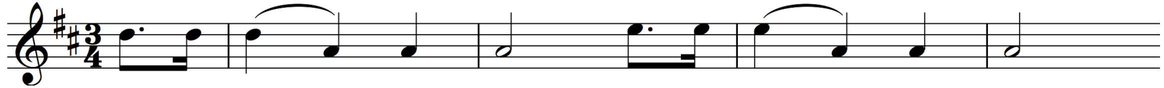
No. 8 Minuet

No. 8 Trio

No. 9 Minuet

No. 9 Trio

No. 10 Minuet



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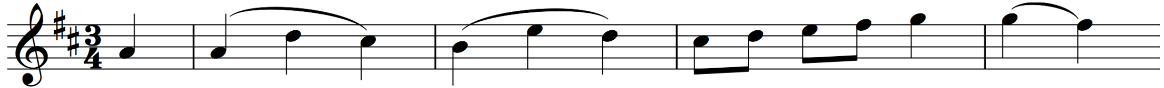

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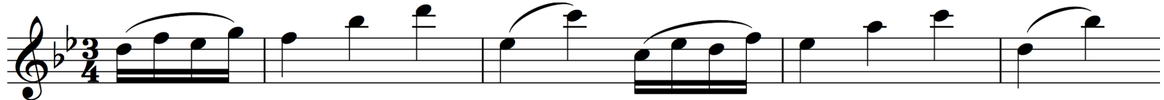

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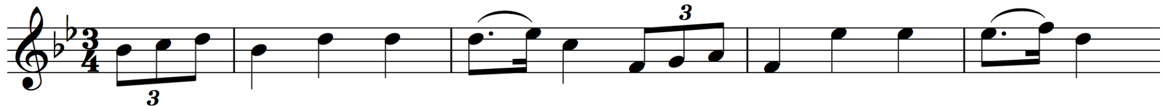

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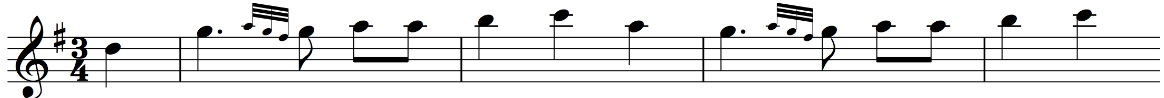

No. 12 Trio

Beethoven 1795

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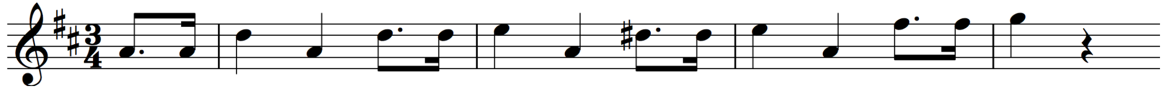

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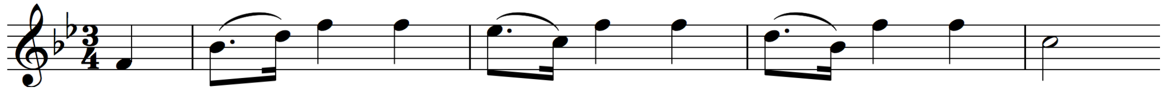

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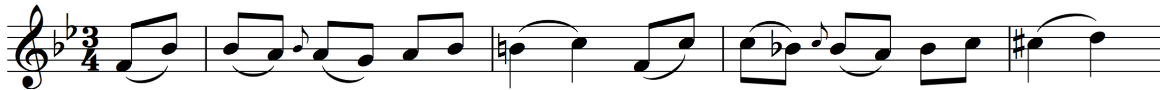


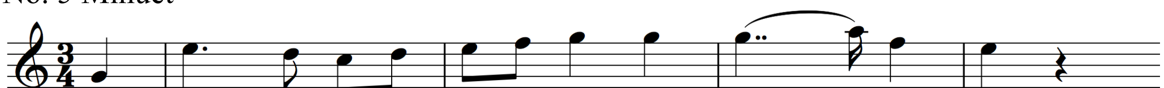
No. 3 Minuet

No. 3 Trio

No. 4 Minuet

No. 4 Trio

No. 5 Minuet



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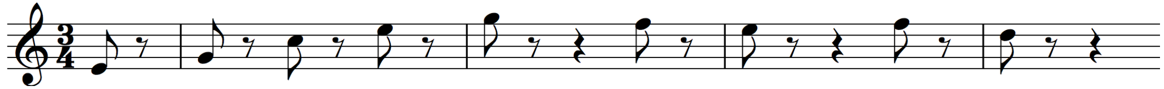

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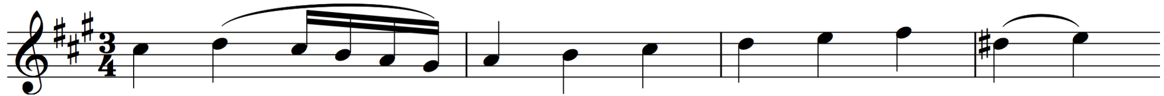

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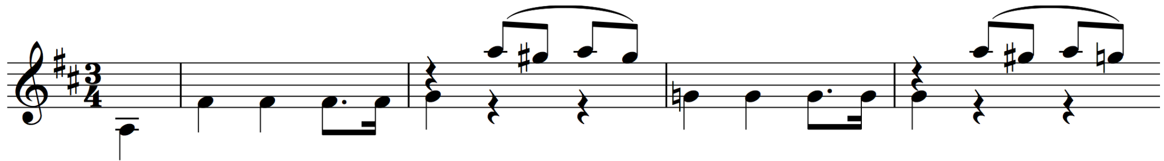
No. 7 Minuet

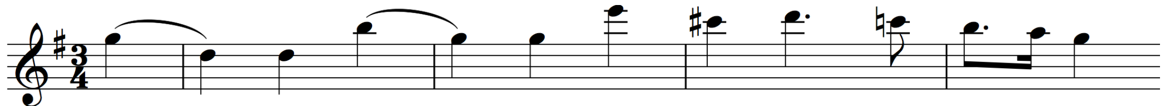
No. 7 Trio



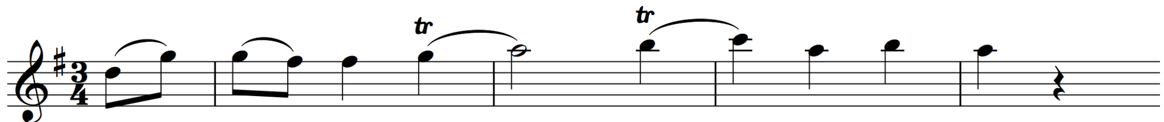
No. 8 Minuet

No. 8 Trio

No. 9 Minuet



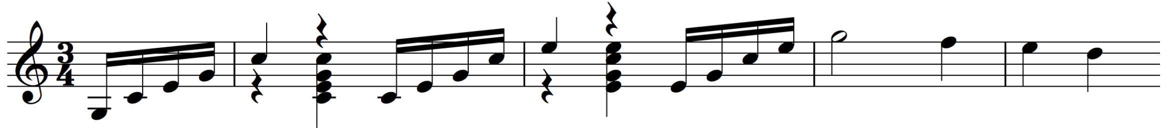
No. 9 Trio



No. 10 Minuet

No. 10 Trio

No. 11 Minuet



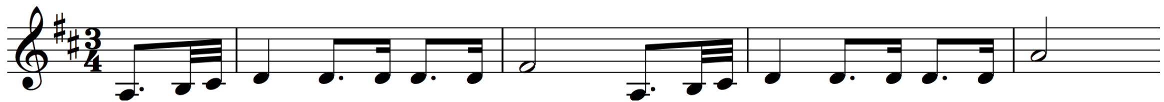
No. 11 Trio

No. 12 Minuet

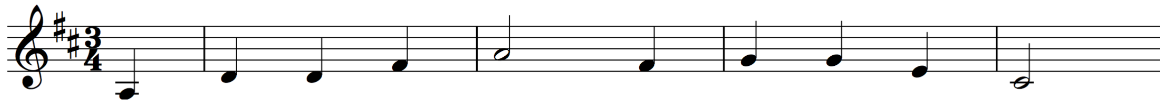
No. 12 Trio

Teyber 1796

No. 1 Minuet

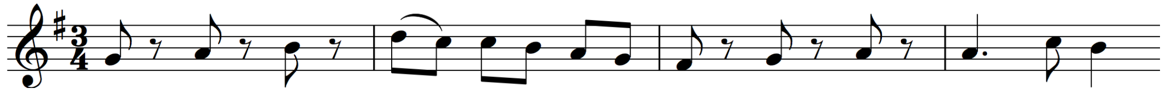


No. 1 Trio



No. 2 Minuet

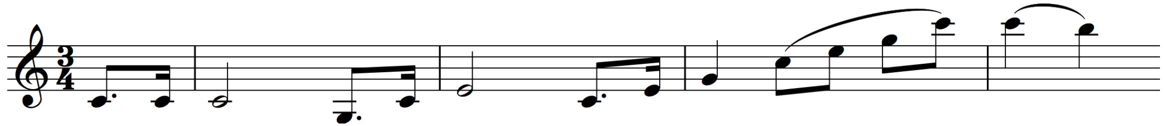
No. 3 Minuet



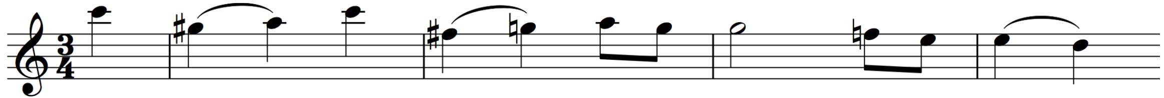
No. 3 Trio

No. 4 Minuet

No. 5 Minuet

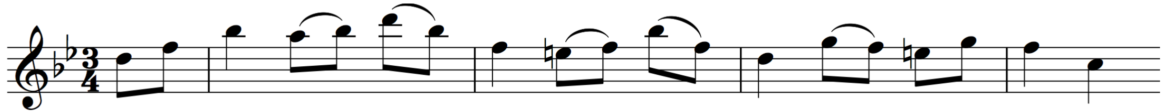


No. 5 Trio

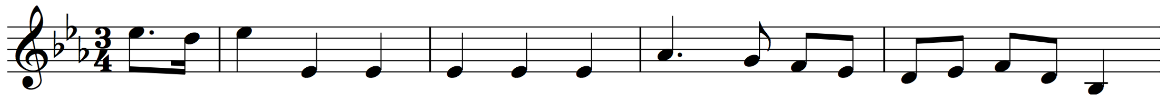


No. 6 Minuet

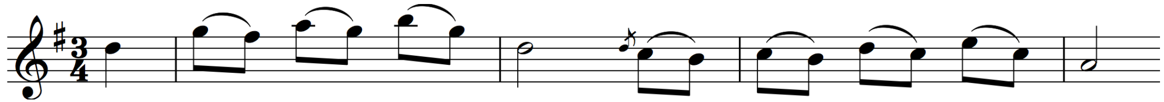
No. 7 Minuet



No. 7 Trio



No. 8 Minuet



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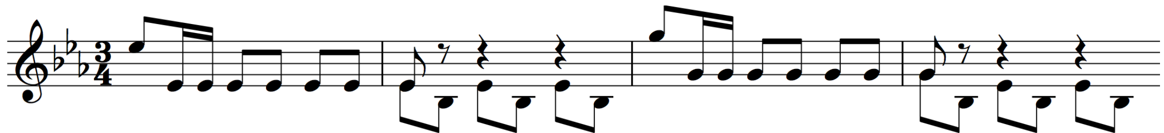

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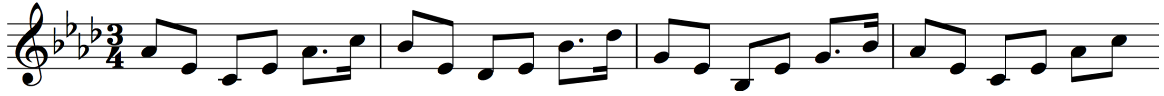

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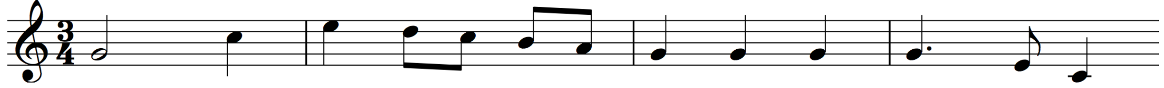

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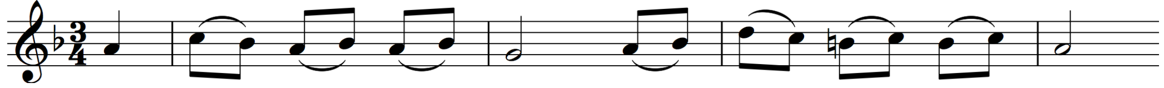
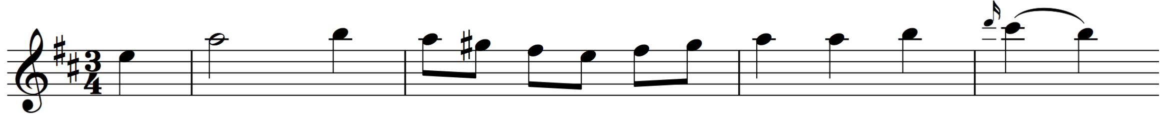


No. 11 Trio

No. 12 Minuet



Henneberg 1797

No. 1 Minuet

No. Trio

No. 2 Minuet

No. 3 Minuet

No. 3 Trio

No. 4 Minuet

No. 5 Minuet

No. 5 Trio

No. 6 Minuet

No. 7 Minuet

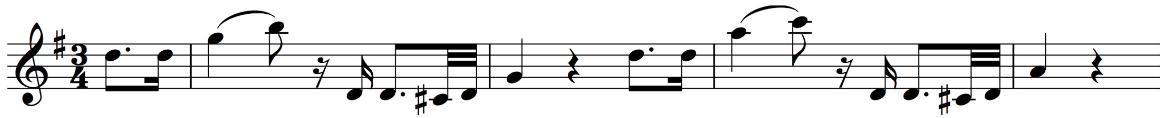
No. 7 Trio

No. 8 Minuet

No. 9 Minuet

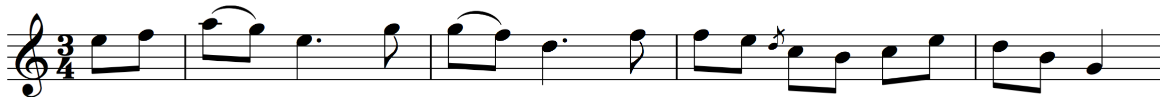
No. 9 Trio

No. 10 Minuet

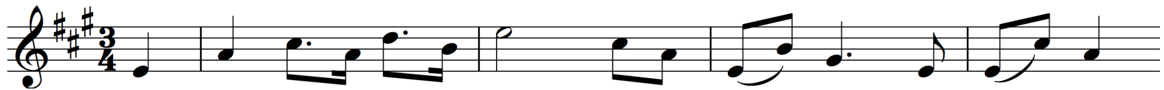


No. 11 Minuet

No. 11 Trio



No. 12 Minuet



Teyber 1798

No. 1 Minuet

No. 1 Trio

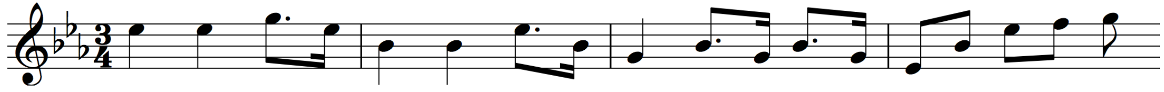
No. 2 Minuet

No. 2 Trio

No. 3 Minuet

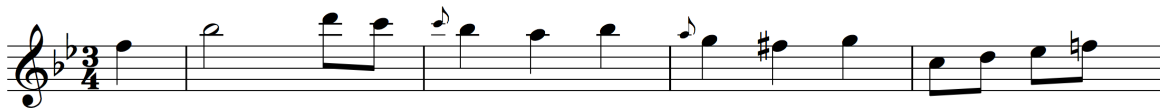
No. 3 Trio

No. 4 Minuet



No. 4 Trio

No. 5 Minuet



No. 5 Trio

No. 6 Minuet

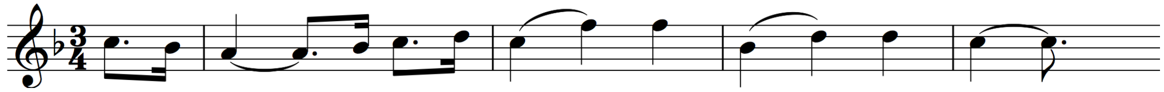
No. 6 Trio

No. 7 Minuet

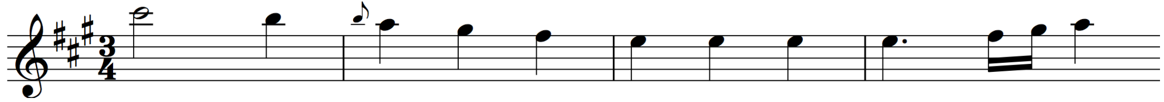
No. 7 Trio

No. 8 Minuet

No. 8 Trio



No. 9 Minuet



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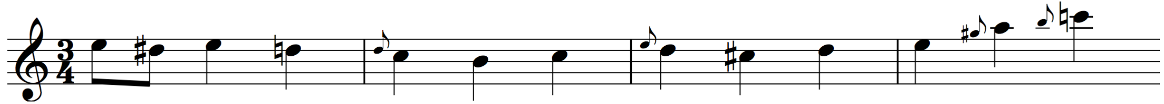
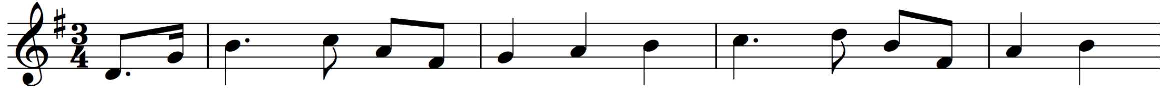
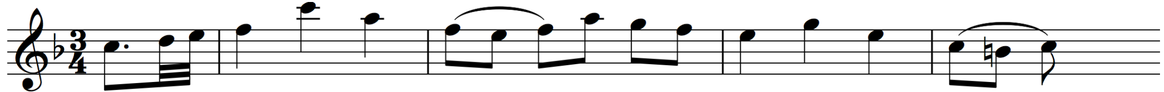


No. 10 Minuet

No. 10 Trio



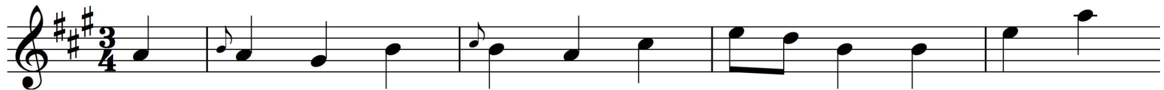
No. 11 Minuet



No. 11 Trio

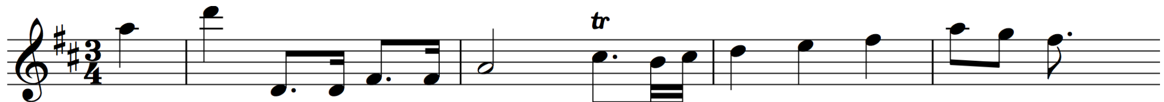
No. 12 Minuet

No. 12 Trio



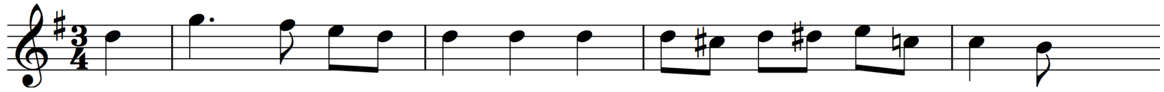
Lipavsky 1799

No. 1 Minuet

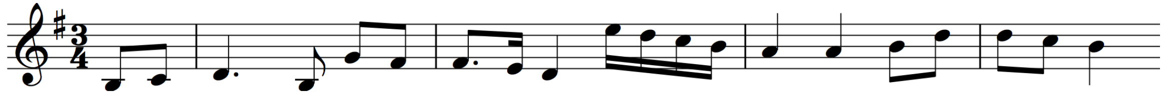


No. 1 Trio

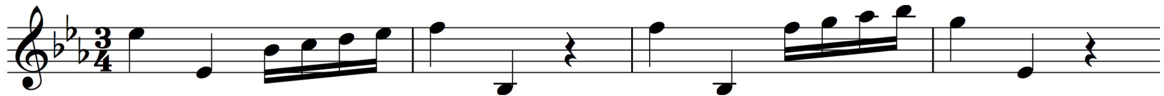
No. 2 Minuet



No. 2 Trio

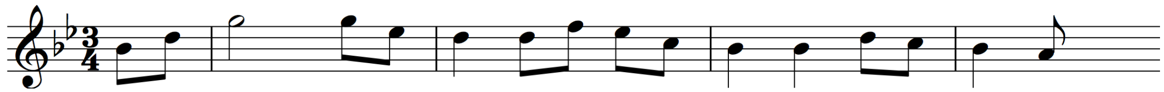


No. 3 Minuet

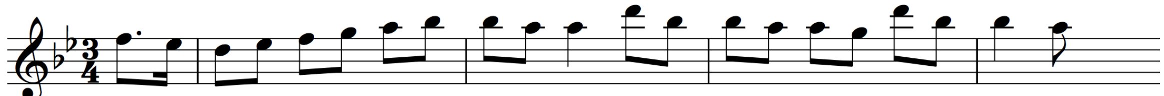


No. 3 Trio

No. 4 Minuet

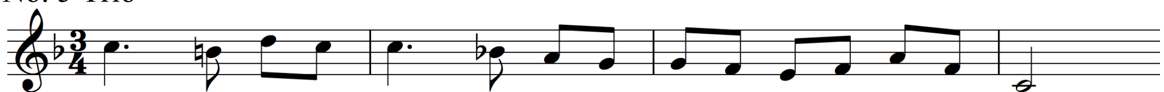


No. 4 Trio



No. 5 Minuet

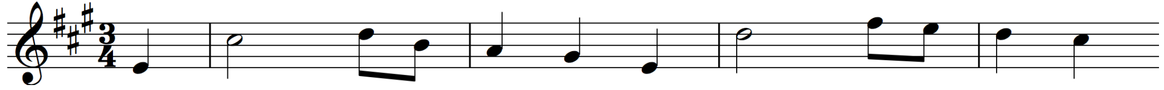
No. 5 Trio



No. 6 Minuet

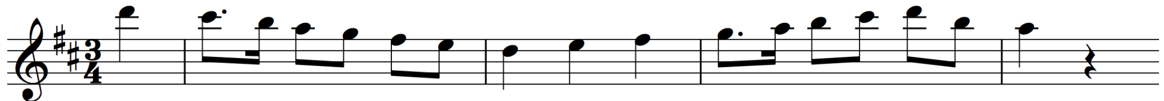
No. 6 Trio

No. 7 Minuet



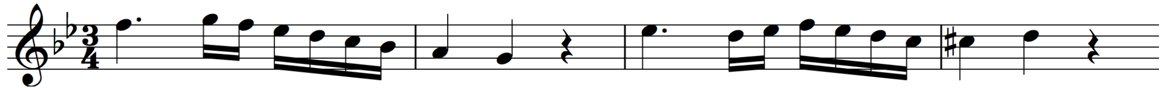
No. 7 Trio

No. 8 Minuet



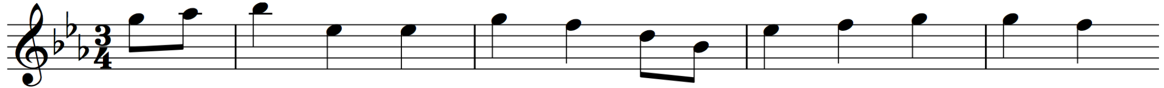
No. 8 Trio

No. 9 Minuet

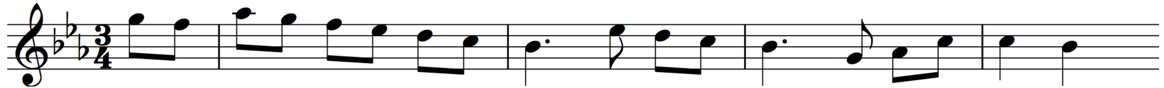


No. 9 Trio

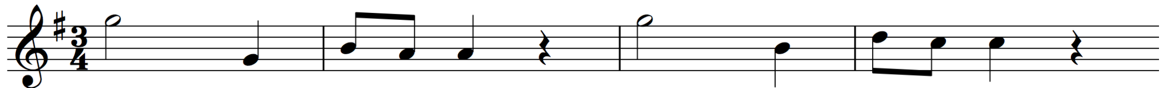
No. 10 Minuet



No. 10 Trio



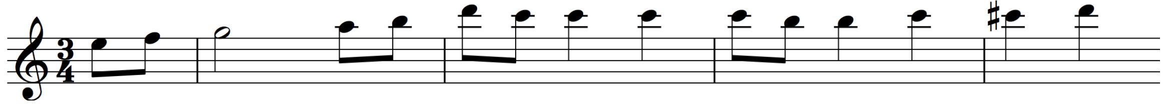
No. 11 Minuet



No. 11 Trio

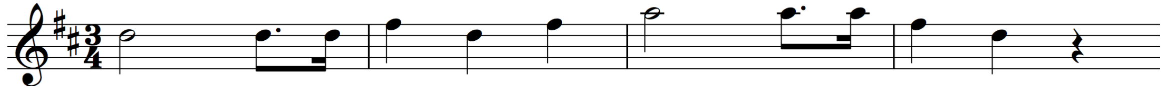
No. 12 Minuet

No. 12 Trio

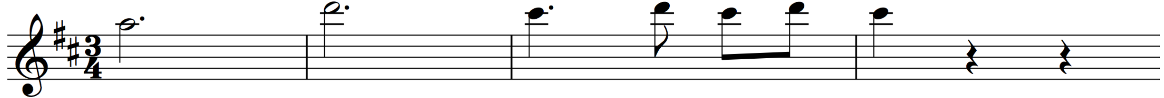


Pichl 1800

No. 1 Minuet

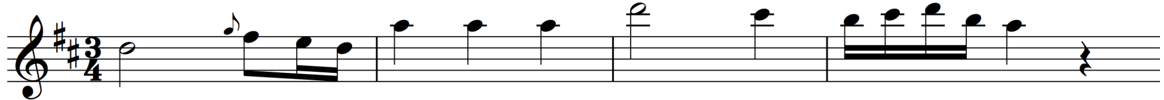


No. 1 Trio

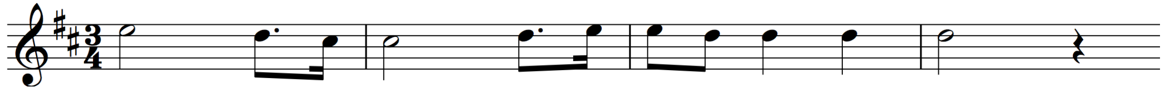


No. 2 Minuet

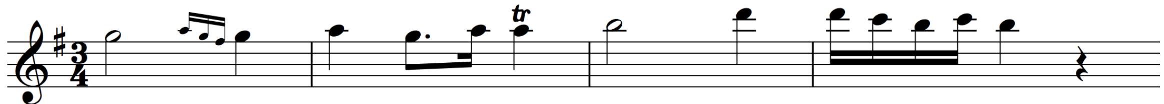
No. 3 Minuet



No. 3 Trio

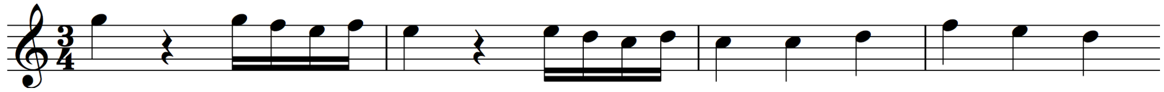


No. 4 Minuet

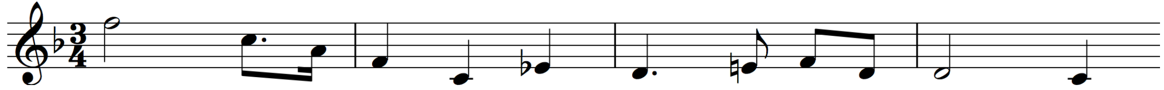


No. 5 Minuet

No. 5 Trio

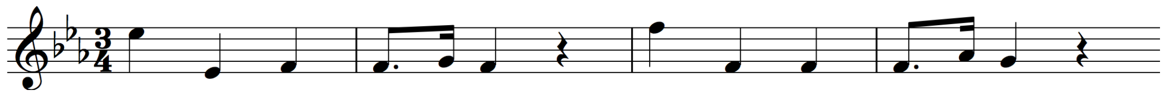


No. 6 Minuet



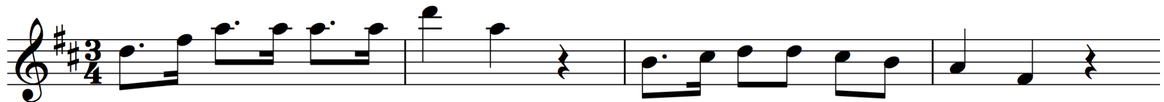
No. 7 Minuet

No. 8 Minuet



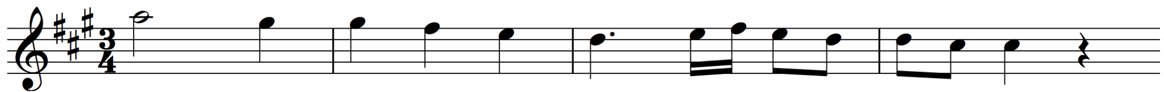
No. 9 Minuet

No. 10 Minuet

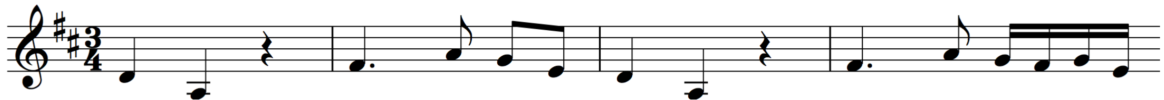


No. 10 Trio

No. 11 Minuet

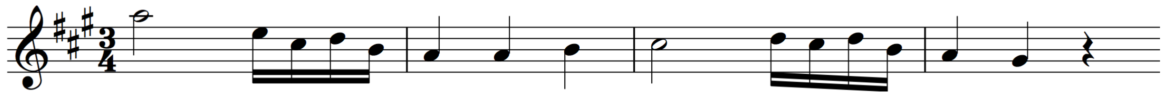


No. 12 Minuet



No. 12 Trio

No. 13 Minuet



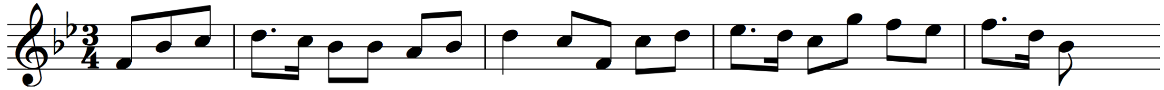
Seyfried 1800

No. 1 Minuet

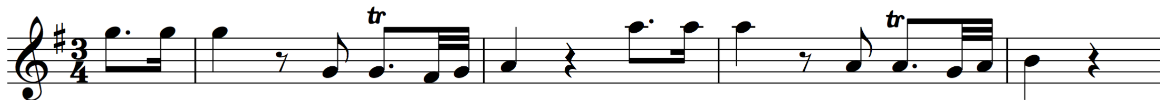
No. 1 Trio

No. 2 Minuet

No. 2 Trio

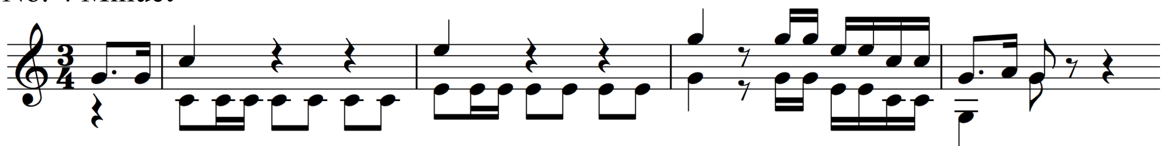


No. 3 Minuet



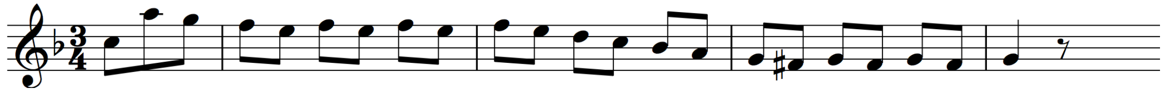
No. 3 Trio

No. 4 Minuet



No. 4 Trio

No. 5 Minuet



No. 5 Trio

No. 6 Minuet

No. 6 Trio

No. 7 Minuet

No. 7 Trio

No. 8 Minuet

No. 8 Trio

No. 9 Minuet

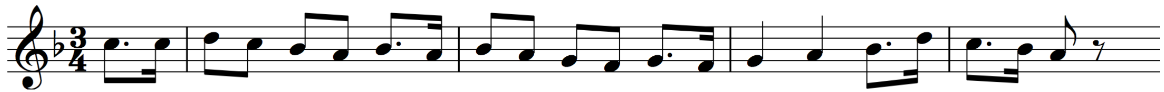
No. 9 Trio

No. 10 Minuet

No. 10 Trio

No. 11 Minuet

No. 11 Trio

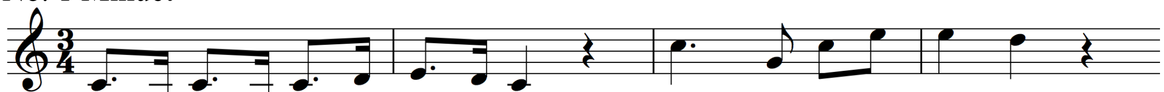


No. 12 Minuet

No. 12 Trio

Gyrowetz 1803

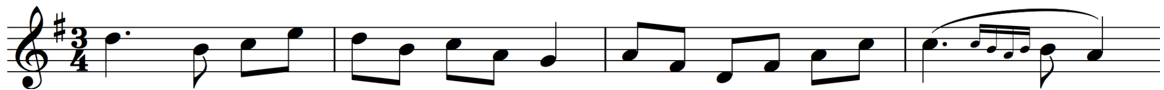
No. 1 Minuet



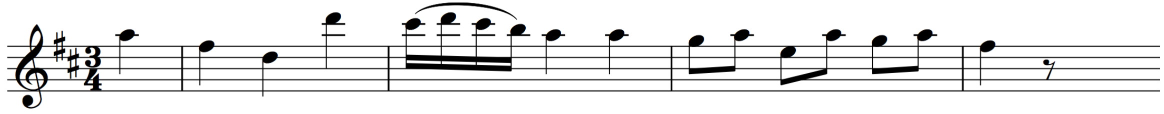
No. 1 Trio

No. 2 Minuet

No. 2 Trio

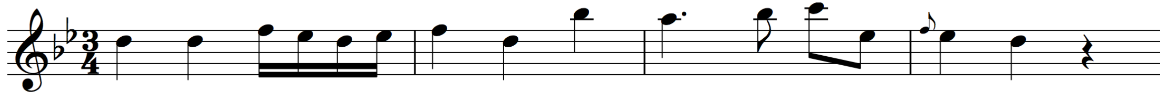


No. 3 Minuet

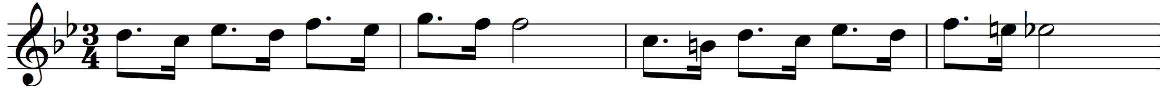


No. 3 Trio

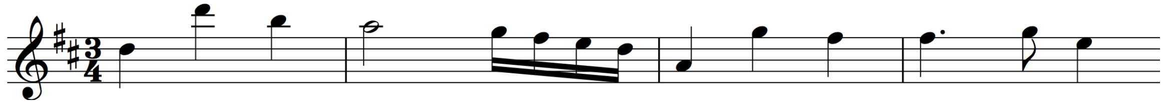
No. 4 Minuet



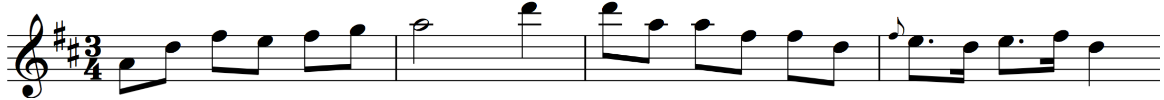
No. 4 Trio



No. 5 Minuet



No. 5 Trio

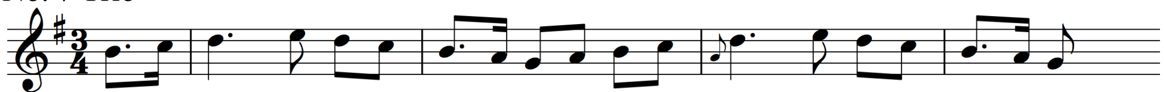


No. 6 Minuet

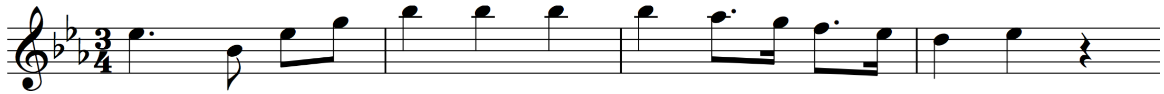
No. 6 Trio

No. 7 Minuet

No. 7 Trio



No. 8 Minuet



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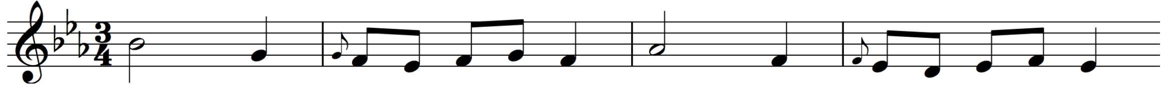

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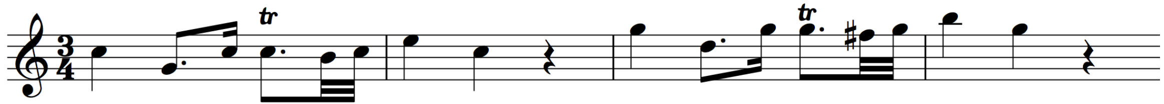

No. 9 Trio

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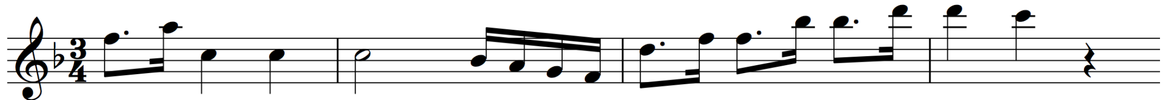

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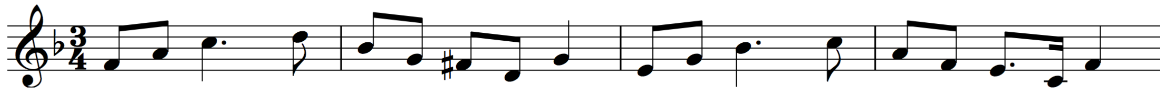
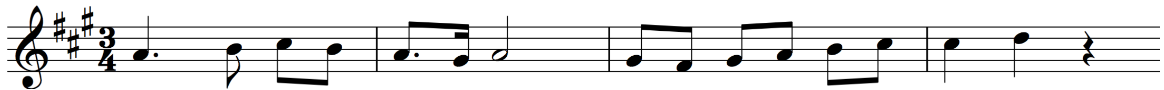
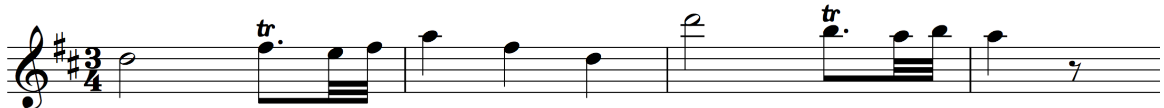


No. 11 Minuet

No. 11 Trio



No. 12 Minuet



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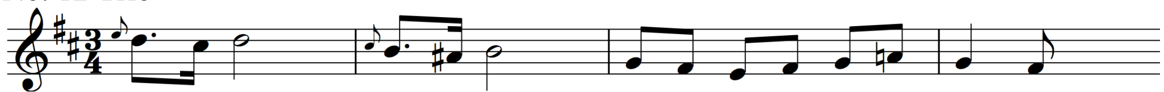
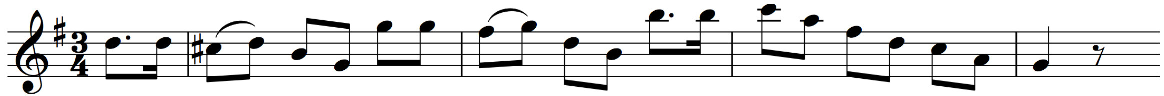


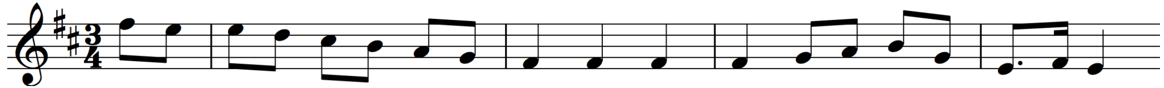
No. 13 Minuet



Molitor 1803

No. 1 Minuet

No. 1 Trio

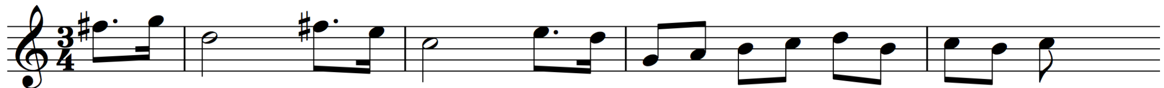


No. 2 Minuet

No. 2 Trio

No. 3 Minuet

No. 3 Trio



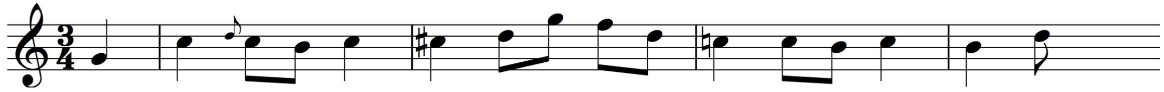
No. 4 Minuet

No. 5 Minuet

No. 5 Trio

No. 6 Minuet

No. 6 Trio



No. 7 Minuet

No. 7 Trio

No. 8 Minuet

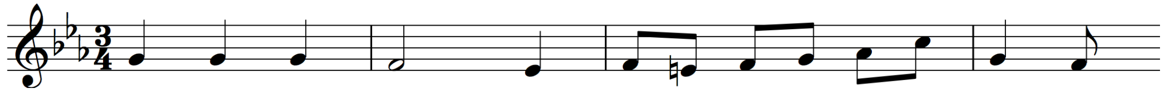
No. 8 Trio

No. 9 Minuet

No. 9 Trio

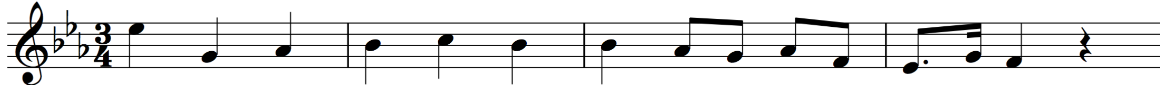
No. 10 Minuet

No. 10 Trio



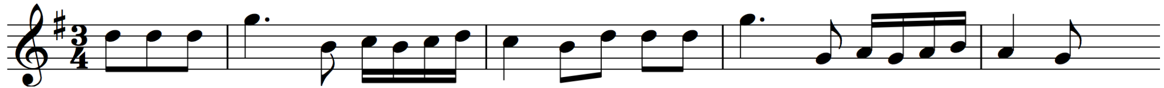
No. 11 Minuet

No. 11 Trio



No. 12 Minuet

No. 12 Trio



Eberl 1804

No. 1 Minuet

No. 1 Trio

No. 2 Minuet

No. 2 Trio

No. 3 Minuet

No. 3 Trio

No. 4 Minuet

No. 5 Minuet

No. 5 Trio

No. 6 Minuet

No. 6 Trio

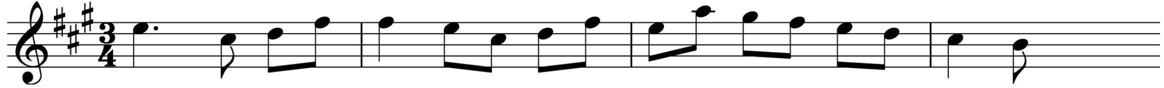
No. 7 Minuet

No. 7 Trio

No. 8 Minuet

No. 9 Minuet

No. 9 Trio

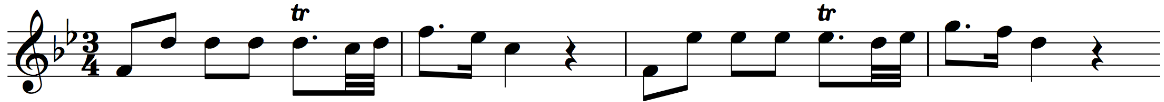


No. 10 Minuet

No. 11 Minuet

No. 11 Trio

No. 12 Minuet



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