Stephanie Schroedter

Listening in Motion and Listening to Motion. The Concept of Kinaesthetic Listening Exemplified by Dance Compositions of the Meyerbeer Era

Musical life in Paris underwent profound and diverse changes between the July Monarchy and the Second Empire. One reason for this was the availability of printed scores for a broader public as an essential medium for the distribution of music before the advent of mechanical recordings. Additionally, the booming leisure industry encouraged music commercialization, with concert-bals and café-concerts, the precursors of the variétés, blurring the boundaries between dance and theatre performances. Therefore there was not just one homogeneous urban music culture, but rather a number of different music, and listening cultures, each within a specific urban setting. From this extensive field I will take a closer look at the music of popular dance or, more generally, movement cultures. This music spanned the breadth of cultural spaces, ranging from magnificent ballrooms – providing the recognition important to the upper-classes – to relatively modest dance cafés for those who enjoyed physical exercise above social distinction. Concert halls and musical salons provided a venue for private audiences who preferred the more sedate activity of listening to stylized dance music rather than dancing. Café-concerts and popular concert events offered diverse and spectacular entertainment programmes.

The present study is based on a wide survey of arrangements derived from ballets pantomimes, and dance arrangements of popular melodies from operas, held in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, especially at the Département de la Musique and the Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra. While not exhaustive, the survey offers a representative cross-section of the dance music repertoire in the timeframe between the July Monarchy and the Second Empire. The following analysis focuses on the spectrum of forms that developed in these arrangements and how they were constructed, examining, in particular, the changing nature of the aesthetics of perception, which has so far not been researched in detail.

In principal the quantity of arrangements of a piece can be construed as an indication of the popularity of the stage production itself. Some of the most successful melodies were adapted in new arrangements well into the 20th century. Notable cases are: *Le Corsaire* (1856); *Coppélia, ou La Fille aux yeux d'émail* (1870); Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* (1831) and *Le Prophète* (1849); the Paris reproductions of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1834, 1841, and 1866); and Weber's *Freischütz* (1841). Despite the limited success of its Paris production in 1861, the march from Wagner's *Tannhäuser* was also frequently arranged; indeed, march compositions were generally very popular, as will be discussed below. Nonetheless the practice
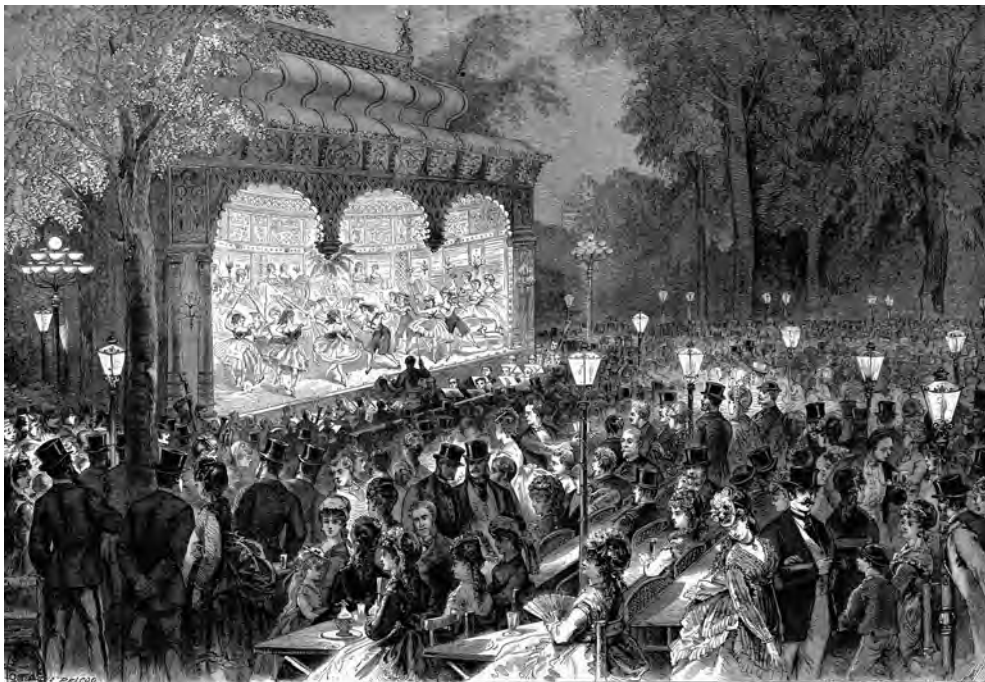
F I G U R E 1   Interior view of a café-concert pavilion during the
World Exhibition in 1867 showing small singing performances
F I G U R E 2   Open air café-concert at the Champs-Élysées (1870)
depicting a small dance performance

F I G U R E 3   Exterior view of the "Cirque national des Champs-Élysées", later called "Cirque de l'impératrice", mainly offering special concert attractions such as depicted in figure 4

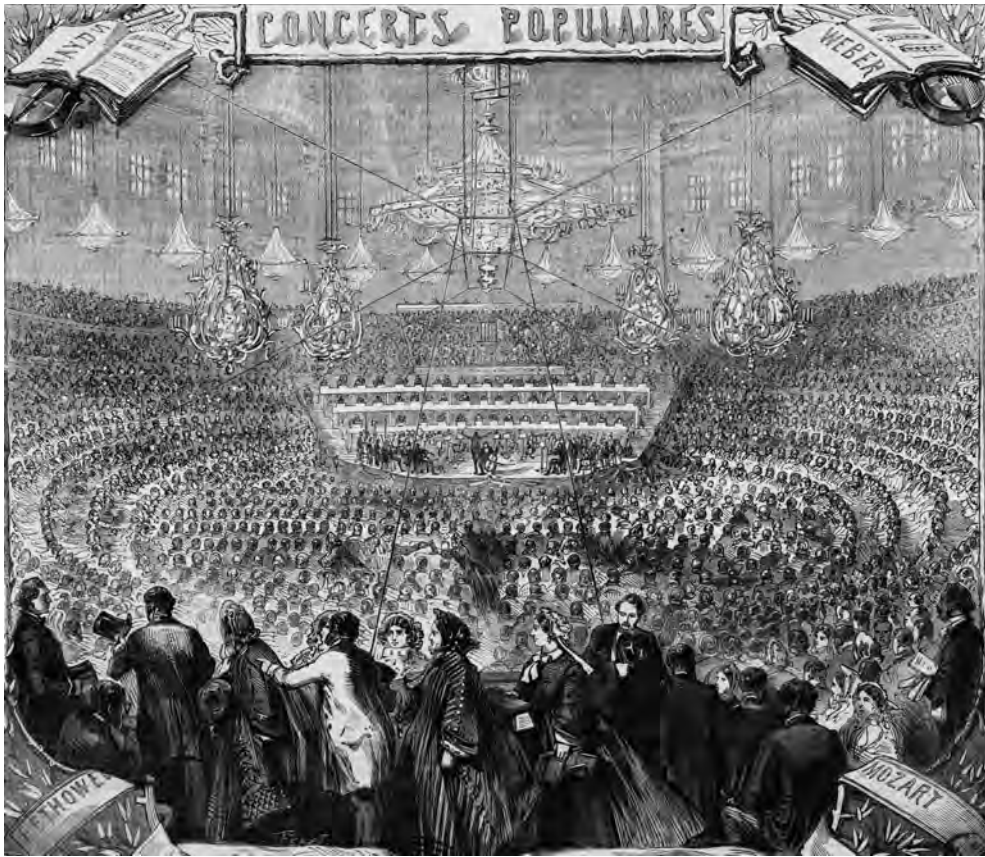F I G U R E 4   "Concert vocal des orphéonistes" (1852)

F I G U R E 5   From 1861/62 the "Concerts populaires" founded by Jules Pasdeloup were staged at the Cirque de l'impératrice. The scores or, more specifically, text banderoles in the corners of the picture show that the primary aim was to make German-speaking composers (Haydn, Weber, Beethoven, and Mozart) more "popular" in France. Pasdeloup also made a name for himself as a composer of dances with numerous dance arrangements of popular melodies from contemporary operas and ballets.

of arranging ballet compositions lagged behind the opera sector. Furthermore, the arrangements of ballets pantomimes were initially mostly limited to pianistic salon music such as rondo forms, rondoletti, variations, and divertissements, that focussed on a listening mode of perception rather than listening while moving. The premiere of *Giselle, ou Les Wilis* (1841) marks a breakthrough, with an increased production of arrangements not only meant for listening, but also for dancing. The quality of Adolphe Adam's composition, with its powerful depiction of psychological processes through subtle orchestrations, is undoubtedly a crucial reason for this. The novelty of Adam's approach to ballet music is especially apparent in the repeated use of characteristic motifs, which are adjusted to the corresponding dramatic context by slight rhythmic changes and specific harmonic colours. These remarkable musical devices, often described in the relevant research literature with terms such as "recognizable theme-tunes", "recurring" or "remin-

ding motifs",[1] could also be called "character motifs", in reference to the contemporaneous popular "character dances", of which they offer individually nuanced miniatures. Furthermore Adam's instrumentation technique – which was undoubtedly inspired by Meyerbeer's sound-colours dramaturgy ("Klangfarbendramaturgie" to quote Sieghart Döhring[2]) – contributed to the enormous success of his ballet music. Another reason for *Giselle*'s resounding success is that Adam (just like Meyerbeer) transferred the kinetics of dance so convincingly into the medium of music. On this basis, the characteristics of dance movements were not only audible and visible, but – beyond semantic or even dramatic connotations – could also be felt physically and thus perceived kinaesthetically. The effect of this aesthetic was cleverly calculated, since it can be assumed that the majority of the Parisian theatre audience was familiar with the movements of ballroom dancing, which were closely related to the repertory performed on stage. Therefore the audience had the basic structures of the movements already internalized through their own dance practice, not only as enactment (by performing actions or rather movements), but as an embodiment that is physically internalized and thus "corporalized" (an incorporation that also has an effect on the subconscious).[3] This perception was undoubtedly promoted by the urban dance cultures of Paris, which were first and foremost dominated by an exuberant pleasure in movement as the expression of a new desire for freedom rather than the need for social distinction.

If one examines the arrangements of *Giselle, ou Les Wilis* a wide spectrum of forms can be seen, which, as will be confirmed in the further course of this analysis, was common practice at the time:

1   As in e.g. Jörg Rothkamm: *Ballettmusik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Dramaturgie einer Gattung*, Mainz 2011, p. 114. Jordan also uses "motto-themes", cf. Stephanie Jordan: *Moving music. Dialogues with Music in Twentieth-Century Ballet*, London 2000, p. 70. A complete list of these melodies is published in the manuscript version of Marian Smith's dissertation: *Music for the Ballet-pantomime at the Paris Opera, 1825–1850*, Ph.D. Diss. Yale University 1988, pp. 165–176.

2   Sieghart Döhring: Giacomo Meyerbeer. Grand opéra als Ideendrama, in: *Lendemains. Zeitschrift für Frankreichforschung + Französischstudium* 8 (1983), No. 31/32, pp. 11–22, especially p. 14; Idem: Meyerbeer: Robert le diable (1831), in: *Pipers Enzyklopädie des Musiktheaters*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus and the Forschungsinstitut für Musiktheater der Universität Bayreuth led by Döhring, Vol. 4, Munich 1991, pp. 123–130, especially p. 128; as well as Idem and Sabine Henze-Döhring: *Oper und Musikdrama im 19. Jahrhundert*, Laaber 1997, p. 144; cf. also Jürgen Maehder: Klangfarbendramaturgie und Instrumentation in Meyerbeers Grands Opéras. Zur Rolle des Pariser Musiklebens als Drehscheibe europäischer Orchestertechnik, in: *Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864). Große Oper – Deutsche Oper. Wissenschaftliche Konferenz im Rahmen der Dresdner Musikfestspiele 1991*, ed. by Hans John and Günther Stephan, Dresden 1992 (Schriftenreihe der Hochschule für Musik Dresden, Vol. 24), pp. 125–150.

3   For the latest survey on the term "embodiment" from the perspective of dance studies cf. Glenna Batson/Margaret Wilson: *Body and Mind in Motion. Dance and Neuroscience in Conversation*, Bristol 2014, especially the chapter "Reframing Embodiment", pp. 71–86.

Giselle, ou Les Wilis	Ballet fantastique · 2 Acts · 28 June **1841**
	Composer: Adolphe Adam [with an additional "Pas de deux des jeunes paysans" by Friedrich Burgmüller]
	Choreography: Jean Coralli, Jules Perrot
	Libretto: Théophile Gautier, Jules Henri Vernoy Marquis de Saint-Georges

Arrangements:	
Adam, Adolphe	6 Petits **airs** faciles · piano
	Ballade [Mélodie: Paroles de Mr. Léon Escudier] · piano
	La Wili. **Ballade** fantastique [Mélodie] · piano
	La Wili. **Mélodie** fantastique · piano
	Galop · piano
	Galop et grande **valse** · orchestre
	Pas de deux · musique militaire
	Pas des vendanges · piano
	Scènes de Giselle. Fragments · quatuor à cordes, flûte, clarinette, cor et basson
	Valse · piano
	Valse et **galop** · piano
Burgmüller, Friedrich	Souvenir de Ratisbonne. Grande **valse** · piano
Coard, Émile	**Pas de deux** · musique militaire
Herman, Jules	12 **Fantaisies** · flûte avec accompt. de piano
Herz, Henri	3 **Airs de ballet. Divertissements**: La **Valse**, la **chasse**, le **galop** · piano
Herz, Jacques	**Rondo** brillant sur la **valse** favorite de Burgmüller · piano
	Rondo élégant sur un motif de Burgmüller · piano
Kalkbrenner, Friedrich	**Fantaisie** · piano
Kalkbrenner / Artôt, Alexandre J.	**Duo** brillant · piano et violon
Ketterer, Eugène Nicolas	**Divertissement** élégant · piano
Le Carpentier, Adolphe Claire	**Bagatelles** sur deux motifs favoris · piano
	Quadrille · piano avec accompt. de violon, flûte, cornet, flageolet
Louis, Nicolas	**Quadrille** · piano
Musard, Philippe	2 **Quadrilles** · piano et violon, flûte, cornet, flageolet
Rosellen, Henri	**Divertissement militaire** sur la marche des vignerons · piano
	Fantaisie brillante · piano
Tolbecque, Jean-Baptiste	**Suite de valses** · piano
Tolbecque / Rummel, Joseph	**Suite de valses** · piano à 4 mains par Rummel
Wolff, Édouard	Grand **duo** brillant · piano à 4 mains

Among these multiple arrangements, there are a few instances which involve semantic redefinition, for example the adaptations of ballet melodies into ballads (in this case by Adam himself), through which a dance composition with vocal-lyrical traits (although without words), is transferred into the medium of song. Furthermore, it is important to distinguish adaptations such as the Pas de deux for military music (again by Adam himself) from popular salon music of the time written "in a military style", such as Rosellen's Divertissement militaire sur la marche des vignerons, for piano. Other very common

arrangements for the salon include *Divertissements, Fantaisies, Rondeaux, Duos,* and *Bagatelles* ("faciles", "favorites", "brillantes", "sentimentales"), as well as *Grandes valses. Suites de valses* were also used in smaller private dance events, whereas quadrille arrangements were typical dance music for larger ballroom parties. More than any other forms, *Airs de ballet* and especially *Airs faciles* offered transcriptions for private musical use which made even the beginner pianist feel that he or she was participating in "great art".

What is striking about the further developments of arrangement practice based on ballet compositions, is that it was the character dances that were preferred above all, both by the seated listening audiences, and by those that listened in motion. In the latter case, the melodies were heard, so to speak, "with the feet", corporalized on the basis of the commonly known social dance repertoire. Prominent examples of this include: the Cracovienne from Adam's *La Jolie fille de Gand* (1842); the Pas espagnol, Pas des almées, and Pas de l'abeille from Burgmüller's *La Péri* (1843); the Mazurka from Adam's *Le Diable à quatre* (1845); the Pas des manteaux from Édouard-Marie-Ernest Deldevez' *Paquita* (1846); the Tarantella and the Bolero from Cesare Pugni's *La Fille de marbre* (1847); the Redowatschka from Pugni's *La Vivandière* (1848); the Saltarelle, Sicilienne, Calabrese, and Furlana from Pugni's *Stella, ou Les Contrebandiers* (1850); the Allemande from Deldevez' *Vert-Vert* (1869); the Ballabile mexicain from Théodore Labarre's *Jovita, ou Les Boucaniers* (1853); the Pas des fleurs and Pas des éventails from Adam's *Le Corsaire* (1856); the Tarantella, Pas du voile, and Grand marche from Nicolò Gabrielli's *L'Étoile de Messine* (1861); the Furlana from Paolo Giorza's *La Maschera, ou Les Nuits de Venise* (1864); the Hungarian dances from Louis Minkous' *Néméa, ou L'Amour vengé* (1864); the Pas des voiles, the Danse circassienne, and the Mazurka from Léo Delibes' *La Source, ou Naila* (1866); and the Mazurka and the Czardas from Delibes' *Coppélia, ou La Fille aux yeux d'émail* (1870). Typically, these were simple compositions but with a succinct rhythm, that gained their meaning through danced performance.

Finally one cannot fail to notice the abundance of ballet arrangements with military connotation, for example pieces for military bands (such as the Grand pas of Émile Coard based on *Le Diable à quatre*; the Pas de cinq from *Le Corsaire* again by Coard; the Mazurka by Louis Adolphe Mayeur based on *La Source, ou Naila*; and the Valse of Coard and Polka-Mazurka by Eugène Mastio based on *Coppélia, ou La Fille aux yeux d'émail*), or the profusion of salon music that imitates military music (for example, the Divertissement militaire by Burgmüller based on *Lady Henriette, ou La Servante de Greenwich,* 1844). This phenomenon is further reflected in operas, which regularly include marches and processions, in either the military or the religious style ("religieuse" or "solennelle"), and were also often adapted in popular arrangements. Compare, for example, the march compositions of the following operas with their subsequent arrangements:

FIGURE 6 AND MUSIC EXAMPLE 1   Redowatschka (Redowa Polka) from *La Vivandière* arranged by Burgmüller with the respective cover illustration that depicts (as was common at the time) a detail of a striking dance scene. The choreography for this ballet-pantomime, the content of which (like *Paquerette* from 1851) revolves around military barracks and the vivandières working there, was by Arthur Saint-Léon. The latter chanced upon the East European national, or character, dances in the late 1840s. Accordingly many of the events around *La Vivandière* and *Paquerette* as well as the ballet-pantomime *Néméa, ou L'Amour vengé*, which was also by Saint-Léon, take place in Hungary. The plots lack dramatic substance, instead they serve as platforms for numerous Hungarian, Polish or Czech dances, which, while essentially true to the original style, were adapted to make them more palatable to audiences at the Paris Opéra.

Daniel-François-Esprit Auber's

> *Gustave III, ou Le Bal masqué* – with a **Pas redoublé** by Adolphe Valentin Sellenik
>
> *L'Enfant prodigue* – with two **marches** for piano by Henri Hippolyte Potier
>
> *Le Serment, ou Les Faux-Monnayeurs* – with a **Pas redoublé** by Jean-Baptiste Dias

Félicien César David's

> *Herculaneum* – with a **march** arrangement for piano by Émile Vauthrot

(Domenico) Gaetano Donizetti's

> *Dom Sébastian, Roi de Portugal* – with a **Marche funèbre** for piano by Franz Liszt
>
> *Les Martyrs* – with a **Marche funèbre** for military band by [?] Moudrux and a **Pas redoublé**
> by Stanislas Verroust

Christoph Willibald Gluck's

> *Alceste* (staging from 1861) – with **march** arrangements for military band, harp with violin,
> harmonium with violin, organ or piano by Eugène Baron, Léonce-Jean-Baptiste Farrenc, Georges
> Fischer, Jean Charles Lucien Hess, Jean-Baptiste Krumpholz, Théodore de Lajarte, Georges
> Lamothe, Charles Loret, Léo Maresse, Émile Porchet, Émile Prudent, Ernest Wilhelm Ritter,
> Auguste Samm [Durand], Georges Louis Tilliard and Édouard Wolff among others.

Charles Gounod's

> *La Reine de Saba* – with a **Marche-cortège** for military band by C. [?] Bonnot, Félix Garnier-
> Marchand and Gustave-Xavier Wittmann as well as a **Pas redoublé** by Lucien Gérard

Jacques Fromental Halévy's

> *Le Juif errant* – with two **Pas redoublés** by Jean-Baptiste Mohr and a **Marche triomphale** by Henri
> Hippolyte Potier

Auguste Mermet's

> *Roland à Roncevaux* – with a **Marche pour moyenne harmonie** by Blancheteau

Giacomo Meyerbeer's

> *Robert le diable* – with a **Marche du tournoi** by Franz Hünten
>
> *Les Huguenots* – with **Pas redoublés** by Louis Brunet and Pierre Signard
>
> *Le Prophète* (**Coronation march**) – arranged for piano, specifically two pianos for four or eight hands,
> for violin and piano by Léon Desjardins and Henri Schickel, for the 'Orgue expressif à percussion'
> by Louis-François-Alexandre Frêlon, as well as for military band by Auguste de Villebichot and
> Gustave-Xavier Wittmann *L'Africaine* – with the **Marche religieuse** und **Marche indienne** arranged
> for harmonium by Frédéric Brisson, for piano for two hands by Émile Vauthrot and for four hands
> by Édouard Wolff as well as for military music by Adolphe Valentin Sellenik

Gioachino Rossini's

> *Othello* – with a **Marche triomphale** for military band by Romain Rolland and a march for piano
> by Joseph Rummel
>
> *Robert Bruce* – with a **Marche pour orgue expressif** by Louis-François-Alexandre Frêlon
>
> *Sémiramis* – with a **march** for military band by A. [?] Blancheteau as well as **marches** for piano for
> two and four hands by S. [?] Ponce de Léon and Eugène Schmidt

(Charles-Louis) Ambroise Thomas's

> *Hamlet* – with a **Marche solennelle** by Édouard Batiste, a **Marche des chasseurs** by Alexis Douard,
> a **Marche danoise** by Émile Vauthrot as well as a further **Marche pour grande orgue** by Théodore-
> Clément-François Dubois

Giuseppe Verdi's

> *Don Carlos* – with a **Marche triomphale** for piano for two and four hands by Wilhelm Krüger,
> Joseph Rummel and Émile Vauthrot

Richard Wagner's

> *Tannhäuser* – with **march** arrangements for piano for two and four hands respectively, for two pianos for four or eight hands, as well as for organ, harmonium, violin or mandolin and military band by Hans von Bülow, Gaston Choisnel, Théodore-Clément-François Dubois, Wilhelm Krüger, A. [?] Lefort, Léon Lemoine, André Messager, Léon Jean Roques, Henri Rosellen, Adolphe Valentin Sellenik, Charles Jean-Baptiste Steiger, J. [?] Turin and Auguste de Villebichot

Carl Maria von Weber's

> *Euryanthe* – with **Pas redoublés** by Blancheteau and Georges Fischer
> *Freischütz* – with a **Marche pour cinq instruments à vent** by Blancheteau, a **Pas redoublé pour défiler avec tambours et clairons** by Dias, a **Allegro militaire** pour harmonie by Théophile Louis Dureau, a **Allegro militaire** pour moyenne fanfare by Omer Fort, a **Marche favorite** by Joseph Gelinek, Variations brillantes sur le **marche** by Kalkbrenner and a **march** by Jean-Georges Kastner for salon music

Of particular interest here is the mutual interplay between urban real-life experiences and the theatre: military musical practices were imitated in the theatre, and military orchestras also adapted music from the stage, so that they became a mirror of themselves in the urban context. The same goes for the many "orgies" and "bacchanalia" in operas and ballets, through which squalid urban-life excesses were artistically transformed and finally made their way back into the musical life beyond the stage, albeit at a safe distance from their urban origins. The ballet-pantomime *L'Orgie* (1831) pioneered this genre, followed by many other works including: the orgy from Auber's *L'Enfant prodigue* (1850) with a respective piano arrangement by Henri Potier; the bacchanal from Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*, arranged very elaborately for piano by Jacques Herz; and the "Bacchanale aux flambeaux" from Édouard-Marie-Ernest Deldevez's ballet-pantomime *Eucharis* (1844), arranged as a four-handed piano version by the composer himself. Further examples include: the bacchanal from Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète* for orchestra by Adolphe Gauwin (much later from 1922); the one from Félicien David's *Herculaneum* (1859) arranged for piano by Émile Vauthrot; the one from Ambroise Thomas' *Hamlet* (1868) for piano as a two-handed version (without octaves, kept markedly simple "*à l'usage des petites mains*") by Valiquet, as well as a four-handed version by Georges Bizet; and, of course, the one from Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, the Venusberg-Bacchanal for two pianos for two hands by Paul Dukas and for eight hands by Camille Alexandre Chevillard. In the same vein, Meyerbeer's torch-dance composition for 130 trumpets and trombones of the Prussian military music corps, performed on the occasion of the wedding of Princess Marie Friederike and Crown Prince Maximilian of Bavaria (1842), was so successful that, in later productions of his Grand opéra *Les Huguenots*, it often replaced the gripping Menuet and ensuing Galop which open Act V.

The evidence suggests that those composers who made arrangements for larger orchestras were generally also leaders of dance bands. Besides Jules Pasdeloup, the

AU BAL DE L'OPÉRA.

13.

POLKA

Chez Aubert Pl. de la Bourse, 29.

G. 31406 Imp. d'Aubert & Cⁱᵉ
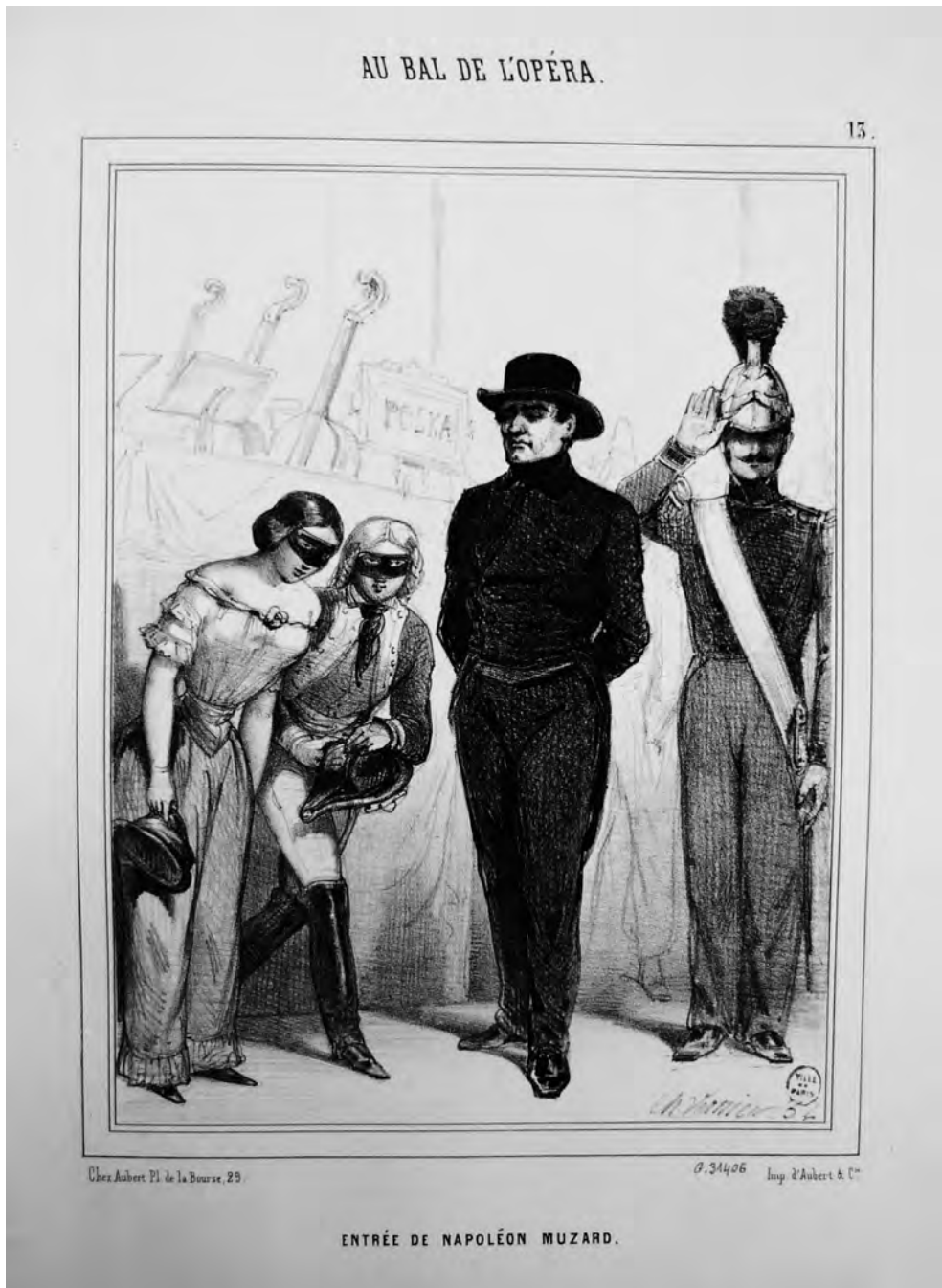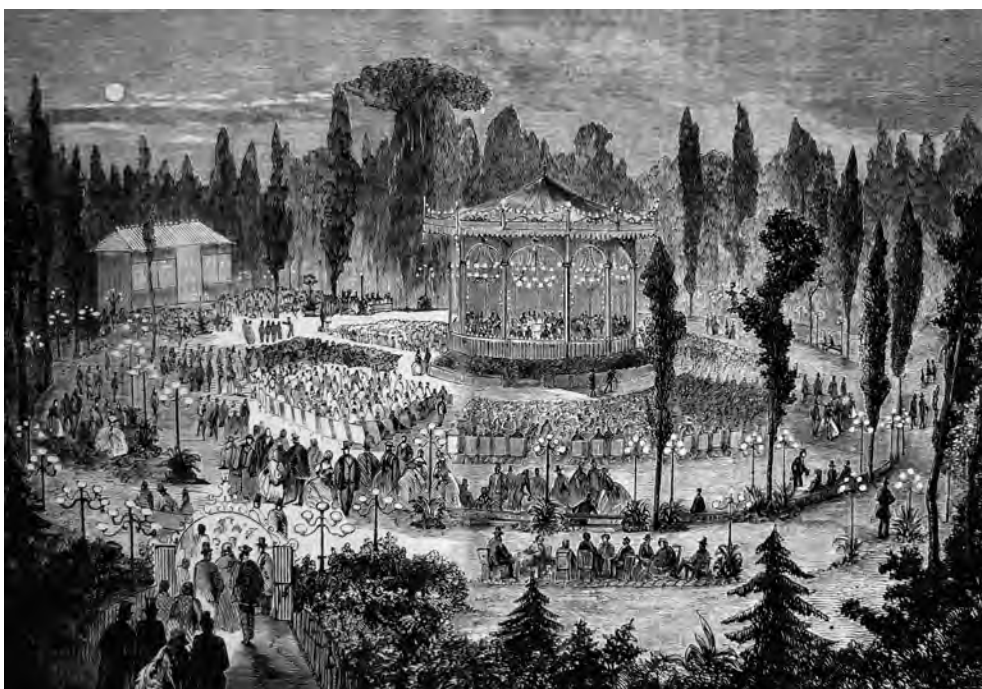
ENTRÉE DE NAPOLÉON MUZARD.

FIGURE 7 AND 8   Caricature of "Napoléon Muzard", Roi de Quadrilles
of the Paris Bals de l'Opéra, and the illustration of the "Concert
des Champs-Élysées" conducted by him (figure 8), a French
adaptation of the London Promenade Concerts
that enjoyed great popularity

founder and leader of the "Concerts populaires" at the Cirque de l'impératrice (cf. figure 5),[4] Philippe Musard went down in the annals of Paris musical life as the "Roi de Quadrilles" or just "Napoléon Musard".[5] Despite his renown as a dance composer and musician he was forced to leave his conductor's stand at the "Bals masqués de l'Opéra". He was succeeded by Isaac Strauss, a much less talented but politically more astute composer. Although Musard was well-received at the regular Concerts-Promenades and Concerts-Bals (for example in the context of the summer "Concerts des Champs-Élysées" or the seasonally alternating "Champs-Élysées d'hiver"), as well as by his own concert company, the "Concerts-Musard" in the Rue Vivienne, he never managed to establish dance music as a sophisticated form of concert entertainment.

4 Cf. Antoine Elwart: *Histoire des Concerts populaires de musique classique contenant les programmes annotés de tous les concerts donnés au cirque Napoléon depuis leur fondation jusqu'à ce jour*, Paris 1864.

5 Cf. François Gasnault: *Guinguettes et Lorettes. Bals publics à Paris au xixᵉ siècle*, Paris 1986, p. 94, and Manuela Jahrmärker: Musard, Philippe, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil, Vol. 12, Kassel 2004, pp. 835 f. As to compositional processes of quadrille arrangements, which did not exclusively rely on dance melodies cf. Adolphe Claire Le Carpentier: *Petit Traité de Composition mélodique appliqué spécialement aux Valses, Quadrilles et Romances*, Paris 1843, as well as Herbert Schneider: Die Popularisierung musikdramatischer Gattungen in der Tanzmusik. Zu den Tanzzyklen Philippe Musards, in: *Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale. Atti del xiv congresso della società internazionale di musicologia Bologna 1987*, ed. by Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi and F. Alberto Gallo, Turin 1990, Vol. 1: Round Tables, pp. 445–496.

Even Musard's fiercest competitor Louis-Antoine Julien was not able to give his ambitious activities a greater foothold, so that rumours gradually spread that the Parisians did not want to have more highbrow dance music, because they preferred actual dancing to listening to (stylized) dance music. Julien, who was keen to attract large audiences, specialized in semi-theatrical quadrilles, performed by an orchestra of up to 140 musicians, sometimes accompanied by a choir and a ballet ensemble of about 40 dancers. He tried to attract the concert audience with surprises which were typically reserved for opera-goers, those pleasantly terrifying shock moments, a well-measured mix of "plaisir" and "frayeur" (see below).[6] Against this backdrop, Julien managed the rather doubtful undertaking of compressing Meyerbeer's four-hour Grand opéra *Les Huguenots* into an approximately 15-minute quadrille, which must have sent the listener on a roller-coaster ride.

"La foule se presse aux concerts du Jardin Turc pour entendre un nouveau quadrille de M. Julien, sur les principaux motifs des *Huguenots*. Il semble que le nom de ce chef-d'œuvre soit un talisman qui doive infailliblement porter avec lui la vogue. Disons, au reste, que M. Julien, en homme habile, a eu l'art de remplacer en quelque sorte le prestige de la scène, en combinant des effets de surprise dont l'impression est un mélange de plaisir et de frayeur. Au moment où le public se laisse délicieusement bercer par les ravissantes mélodies des premiers actes, tout à coup, à la cinquième figure du quadrille, bourdonne le son lugubre des cloches, accompagnant le beau choral; puis, pour figurer aux yeux comme aux oreilles, le massacre des protestants, le kiosque, les pavillons, les arbres, tout s'embrase en même temps d'un rapide incendie, dont les lueurs prennent successivement des couleurs différentes, tandis qu'on entend la mousqueterie retentir de toutes parts. Les amateurs étonnés et enchantés à la fois redemandent à grands cris ce magique quadrille, et chaque soir M. Julien le répète à la fin du concert."[7]

The masses are rushing to the concerts of Jardin Turc to hear a new quadrille by Mr. Julien, which takes up the main motifs of the opera *The Huguenots*. The name of this masterpiece seems to be a talisman which entails success. At the same time one must admit that Mr. Julien is a smart man who knows how to replace the prestige of the stage with surprise effects that cause a mixture of joy and horror on behalf of the audience. Whereas the audience is swaying to the charming melodies of Act I, the eerie sound of the bells during the quadrille's fifth figure booms, accompanying the beautiful chorale. Thereupon the massacre of the Protestants is staged for the eyes and ears of the audience by kiosk, pavilion and trees bursting into flames. Everything is rapidly eaten by the fire, the light of which is smouldering in a series of different colours, while gun shots are audible from everywhere. The audience is surprised and delighted at the same time and calls, cheering enthusiastically, for an encore of this magic quadrille, which as a result is from then on staged by Mr. Julien once again every evening at the end of the concert.

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6   Cf. on this matter in more detail Gasnault: *Guinguettes et Lorettes*, pp. 107–109.

7   François-Joseph Fétis: Julien, Louis-Antoine, in: *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, Paris 1866–1868, Vol. 4, pp. 454–456, here p. 454. Unfortunately the respective composition is currently not to be found in the inventory of the Bibliothèque nationale.

VARIATIONS SUR LES HUGUENOTS

— Que diable! agis un peu pour la chose publique,
Nevers, imite moi, massacre la Musique!

F I G U R E 9   **Caricature of the emerging arrangement practice during the first third of the 19th century as a medium for a broad reception of music- and dance-theatre compositions beyond the stage. The fact that their musical quality is rather limited is due to their own set of requirements which was meant to invite a wide public to participate in "high art". The price they had to pay for this was not a small one – hence the message of these** Variations sur les Huguenots**: the original musical works were quite often as badly "massacred" as the Huguenots in Meyerbeer's Grand opéra of the same title.**

The following section will deal in greater detail with transformations that occur between dance movements that were initially both seen and heard, and then later only heard, again exemplified by arrangements of Adolphe Adam's Ballet fantastique Giselle, ou Les Wilis. I will now focus on how the sound spaces for movements (on stage and in the ballroom) turn into dance "imaginations" (in the musical salon or concert hall), through which the music itself progresses into movement. The fact that this ballet refers directly to the Paris Dansomanie as a genuine urban phenomenon, is on the one hand evident in its subject matter, which deals with conflicts in this cultural milieu, and on the other hand it is apparent on a musical level through motifs, which refer to social dance models. Notably, this referencing effect can be seen in the quadrille-like beginning of Giselle's (first) entrée in Act I (6/8 Allegretto),[8] as well as in her waltz motif (3/4 Allegro

8   For a better orientation the following footnotes will give the respective page numbers of the at present

con moto),[9] which is heard for the first time immediately after the "Retour des ven-
dangeurs" and is resumed repeatedly later on (*inter alia* transposed and fragmented). It
also occurs in the "Pas de deux des jeunes paysans", which was belatedly inserted into Act
I and can be traced back to Burgmüller. After a polonaise-like introduction (3/4 Modera-
to)[10] it closes like a Ländler (3/4 Allegro).[11] Particularly significant is also the Grand galop
(2/4 Allegro)[12] following the "Pas des vendangeurs et vendangeuses", since, in accordance
with the model of the "Pas des folies" in the dance scene of Daniel-François-Esprit
Auber's *Gustave III, ou Le Bal masqué* (1833), "galoppades" had become a dramaturgic topos
signalling an impending disaster. Even though the galop in *Giselle* is still committed to
a vivid and joyful ductus, a movement which stays controlled, the gradually increasing
catastrophe in the "Scène de folie" (4/4 Andante sostenuto)[13] that follows is set as a
psychological drama, modelled on Meyerbeer's "Ballet of the nuns" for *Robert le diable*.
Comparable to a through-composed anaesthetization, Giselle's shock is interrupted with
memories of a carefree time introduced with a whirr in the high string and deep contra-
bass-parts ("Giselle trouve et prend l'épée"),[14] followed by nervous twitches in sixteenth-
note sextuplets ("rires convulsifs de Giselle"),[15] agitatedly revised octave leaps and tremen-
dous demisemiquaver runs, motivic material of the "Scène d'amour" as well as a small,
markedly elegiac dance scene (2/4 Andantino) and a chorale-like, soothing wind-player
sequence (piano and dolce),[16] which allow a moment of relief, but cannot prevent the
worst case scenario – the loss of her consciousness.

Ballroom dances are also woven into Act II, though in a rather subtle and less obvious
manner than in the "realistic" sphere of Act I. Thus Myrtha's first appearance is im-
mediately marked by waltz-like motifs (3/4 Andante non troppo followed directly by
6/8 Allegretto[17] and, towards the end of the scene, with the movement in 3/8 Allegro con
moto);[18] in the same way the Wilis' individual solo passages within the ensemble are first
in a movement style reminiscent of the Ländler, and later in a pronouncedly exotic style

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most reliable piano arrangement by Daniel Stirn: *Giselle. Ballet en deux actes. Réduction pour piano*, Paris
1978, here pp. 15–17.

9   Ibid., pp. 24 f.
10   Ibid., pp. 58 f.
11   Ibid., pp. 64–66.
12   Ibid., pp. 78–82.
13   Ibid., pp. 90–96.
14   Ibid., p. 91.
15   Ibid., p. 92.
16   Ibid.
17   Ibid., pp. 107–111.
18   Ibid., pp. 118 f.

(after the 6/8 Allgero non troppo passage of the "Apparition et scène de Myrtha").[19] In the fortissimo passages (alternating with pianissimo passages) the bacchanal of the Wilis is reminiscent of a military music style (2/2 Allegro feroce),[20] so that the row-like formation of the Wilis' choreography is emphasized acoustically by the style of a military quadrille.[21] Finally, Adam shows great sophistication in the use of a fragmentary and deliberately faltering rhythm in the almost limping "Scène d'amour"-motif during the first encounter between Giselle and Albert in Act II (2/4 Larghetto)[22] and in its transformation into a waltz in the final "Grand pas de deux" of the two protagonists (3/4 Moderato).[23]

Such character motifs or kinetic topoi, can be understood kinaesthetically, and thus obtain an important function of bringing movement into an arrangement, especially in piano music for the salon. From their origins as dance gestures these motifs take on a life of their own as pianistic figures, which develop an independent dynamic detached from the dramatic context from which they come, and construct a new musical dramaturgy.

19   Ibid., pp. 116–123. In this context the notes in the libretto Act II, Scene 2, are important: "[…] les Wilis se rendent à leur *salle de bal* [highligting St. Sch.]", and in Scene 4: "C'est Moyna, l'odalisque, exécutant un pas original; puis Zulmé, la Bayadère, qui vient développer ses poses indiennes; puis deux Françaises, figurant une sorte de menuet bizarre; puis des Allemandes, valsant entr'elles … Puis enfin la troupe entière des Wilis, toutes mortes pour avoir trop aimé la danse, ou mortes trop tôt, sans avoir assez satisfait cette folle passion, à laquelle elles semblent se livrer encore avec fureur sous leur gracieuse métamorphose." – (Print of the Libretto:) *Giselle ou Les Wilis*, Paris 1841, pp. 14 f. Cf. for this also Marian Smith: *Ballet and Opera in the Age of "Giselle"*, Princeton 2000, pp. 191–195; and Lisa C. Arkin and Marian Smith: National Dance in the Romantic Ballet, in: *Rethinking the Sylph. New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet*, ed. by Lynn Garafola, Hanover/New England 1997, pp. 11–68, especially p. 46. It is remarkable that at the time of the world premiere of *Giselle* there were "bals blancs" given in Paris at which only female dancers dressed in white were allowed and which were evidently exceptionally excessive. This tradition was revived in 1995 in Montreal with "Bals en blanc" – now in the context of a postmodern society fond of spectacles. Since then every Easter, which after all is known as the celebration of the resurrection (!), "Rave Parties" are organized with up to 15,000 participants which last up to 15 hours. Cf. www.montreal-nightclubs.com/electronic-music-festivals/bal-en-blanc (last access: 12 February 2016), as well as Marian Kant: Das Nonnenballett aus *Robert le diable* und der II. Akt aus *Giselle*, in: *Meyerbeer und der Tanz*, ed. by Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller and Hans Moeller, Paderborn 1998, pp. 250–263.

20   Stirn: *Giselle. Réduction pour piano*, pp. 147–157.

21   Cf. on this matter the dance notation by Henri Justamant, which in all likelihood mirrors the choreography of the world premiere: *Giselle ou les Wilis. Ballet fantastique en deux actes. Faksimile der Notation von Henri Justamant aus den 1860er Jahren*, ed. by Frank-Manuel Peter, Hildesheim 2008, pp. 179–196, especially pp. 187.

22   Stirn: *Giselle. Réduction pour piano*, p. 140.

23   Ibid., pp. 165 f.

In general, some frequently deployed arrangement processes can be identified: Rosellen's *Fantaisie brillante* and Kalkbrenner's *Fantaisie sur Giselle*, for instance, are both arranged as a theme with variations. However, whereas Rosellen restricts himself to two variations on the theme of the "Scène d'amour", following his introduction which indicates more by tone than motif the ghostly sphere of the "Apparitions de Myrthe et évocation magique" at the beginning of Act II, Kalkbrenner's "Introduzione" is followed by three variations (again on the undoubtedly very catchy theme of the "Scène d'amour") and a rondo, in which three character motifs sound in the sequence ABACA. Also, in contrast to Rosellen's dramatic-narrative variations, which convey the impression of a relatively complete and homogenous structure, Kalkbrenner's variations in his *Fantaisie* stand out by means of their pianistic refinement, the mechanics of which transform original dance gestures into a virtuoso, but also rather "decorporalized" work of figures, especially in the étude-like passages. Kalkbrenner's first variation processes the theme in restlessly rising and falling semiquaver octave leaps, the second in slurred, wide swinging, rising and falling semiquaver runs, while, after transitioning from a vivid and wild G major into a g minor "con passione", the third develops a figurative play with small motif cells, of which the first four semiquavers rise in small intervals (mainly thirds or fourths), returning with the last semiquaver to its starting tone.

Jacques Herz focuses in his *Rondo brillant* and *Rondo élégant* mainly on the farmer-Pas de deux which was composed by Burgmüller and interpolated into Adam's score. Herz's arrangement is, on the one hand, interwoven with an almost orchestrated piano movement with tight chords (*Rondo brillant*) and, on the other hand, revised freely (*Rondo élégant*) in a Chopin-like manner ("dolce et elegantemente", "dolce con grazia", et cetera), so that, apart from the beginning and the end, the original version only shimmers through occasionally. While Henri Rosellen in his *Divertissement militaire* allows even the pianistic beginner access to the "Marche des vignerons" with straightforward lively staccato chord sequences, Eugène Nicolas Ketterer uses comparatively numerous kinetic topoi in his *Divertissement élégant*, which are not arranged according to the original dramatic sequence, but are integrated into a new dramaturgy. Motivic material from the "Entrée joyeuse des vendangeurs et vendangeuses" of Adam's *Giselle* processed in the introduction of his *Divertissement élégant* (4/4 Allegro) is followed by a section based on a fragment from the introductory "Scène de Myrtha" (3/4 Andante avec grâce) of Act II of the original composition, and immediately afterwards by a passage which falls back upon a melody from the first "Pas de deux de Giselle and Albert" of Act I, and the last Pas de deux of the two protagonists in Act II. The *Divertissement* is rounded off in quite a dramatic manner by a characteristic motif from the ensemble scene in which the vindictive desire of the Wilis gradually increases, in order to take hold of the completely exhausted prince who is almost danced to death (6/8 Allegro moderato), but saved at the last minute by the peal

MUSIC EXAMPLE 2 Divertissement élégant sur Giselle by
Eugène Nicolas Ketterer with indications on the
motivic material from the original ballet
composition by Adolphe Adam

Motivic linkage to No. 9 from
Apparition et scène de Myrtha of Act II.

C.M. 9909.

Motivic linkage to the Coda (2/4 Allegro)
of the *Pas des Vendanges* Act I.

Motivic linkage to the Pas de deux of Giselle
and Albert in Act II (2/4 Andantino).

Motivic linkage to the *Variation d'Albert* in Act II (6/8 Andante).

of early morning bells. Motifs are not only fragmented and stylized, but also re-tessellated together to create a new life beyond the stage.

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In conclusion, the analysis of this interplay between dance- and music-theatre productions and their reception in the Parisian dance and music cultures demonstrates how the same melody could be listened to in the theatre "to" motion, in the dance café or ballroom "in" motion and in the musical salon or concert hall "as" (imagined) motion (based on active or passive dance knowledge). This phenomenon is of special interest from a perspective which considers bodily movements important for musical perception. Musicological studies in this field (based on so-called embodied or situated cognitive science) focus on the perception of music through visible movements (a playing musician), or the perception of music through one's own physical movements ("musical embodiment" through one's own instrumental play), or a specific bodily hearing (without one's own or visible movements) which perceives music as imaginary in its movement dynamics, thus understanding music first and foremost "as" motion (not only "to", "in" or "through" motion).[24] In my study on movement and sound spaces in Paris between the July Monarchy and the Second Empire,[25] these different modes of listening are placed within a historical perspective and exemplified by music-dance interactions. I have come to the conclusion that in Paris, which stood out through the "dansomanie" that comprised almost all layers of cultural activity, a specific bodily and kinaesthetic listening must have been widespread, which understood music primarily as movement, although this audible movement need not be visible. An indispensable prerequisite for this type of listening capacity is a sense of motion which has increasingly become a centre of interest in dance studies in recent years, especially in the field of research on somatic dance practices – I am referring to kinaesthesia or rather a kinaesthetic empathy.[26] Although I illustrate facets of this kinaesthetic listening through the example of

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24   Latest publications in this field are Arnie Cox: *Music and Embodies Cognition. Listening, Moving, Feeling, and Thinking*, Bloomington 2016, or Marc Leman: *The Expressive Moment. How Interaction (with Music) Shapes Humans Empowerment*, Cambridge, MA, 2016.

25   Stephanie Schroedter: *Paris qui danse. Bewegungs- und Klangräume einer Großstadt der Moderne (Movement and Sound Spaces in a Modern City)*. Habilitationschrift (postdoctoral thesis) FU Berlin 2015.

26   Even if the roots of that research can be traced back into the 19th century (to the early neuroscience represented by the British Charles Bell and Henry Charlton Bastian as well as to the phenomenologically oriented philosophy/aesthetics represented by Theodor Lipps and Edmund Husserl), this essay quotes mainly recent publications of dance studies such as *Touching and Being Touched. Kinesthesia and Empathy in Dance and Movement*, ed. by Gabriele Brandstetter, Gerko Egert and Sabine Zubarik, Berlin 2013; Dee Reynolds: *Rhythmic Subjects. Uses of Energy in the Dances of Mary Wigman, Martha Graham and Merce Cunningham*, Hampshire 2007, especially the chapter "Kinesthetic Imagination and Changing

Parisian dance and music cultures of the 19th century, I do not want to argue that this kind of listening developed only at that time or would be specific to Paris. Instead the term kinaesthetic listening is primarily meant to describe a specific mode of perception which combines music, sound, or noise with an (embodied) knowledge of movement in its broadest sense and is not limited to specific historical epochs, dance/music techniques, or styles.

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Anette Schaffer und Stephanie Schroedter unter
redaktioneller Mitarbeit von Daniel Allenbach