Introduction

Beethoven's Arrival; Haydn's Return

Vienna. Early November 1792. The young Beethoven has just arrived in the city, having travelled from Bonn, over 500 miles away. Aged twenty-one, he is intent on forging his career here. One of his primary reasons for the move is to study with Haydn,[1] but this is not all that is on his mind. Beethoven is carrying a small memorandum book, in which he keeps track of expenditure, lists things to buy and notes advertisements – the general necessities of setting up home in a new place.[2] Just four pages in, and perhaps while en route between Bonn and Vienna, he writes himself a shopping list: 'overcoat, wig-maker, boots, shoes, piano-desk, seal, wood, writing-desk, piano-desk [*sic*], dancing-master'.[3] Two pages later, he copies out the following details from an advertisement in the newspaper: 'Andreas Lindner, dancing-master, lives at Stoß im Himmel, No. 415'.[4] Clearly, Beethoven counts learning to dance among the *essentials* of establishing himself in Vienna, alongside finding shoes and a coat. In terms of priority it equals that of buying a piano: on the other side of the page with the dancing teacher's details he copies out an advertisement for two pianos. Quite simply, to be a functioning member of Viennese society at this point in history, he needs to be able to dance.

Haydn is also back in Vienna now, having returned just a few months earlier from his extended trip to London over 1791–92.[5] Like Beethoven, Haydn too has dance on his mind, his first commitment back in the city being to compose a set of minuets and German dances for a public ball – or

[1] H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works. III: Haydn in England, 1791–1795* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), 202–5.

[2] The memorandum book is housed in the British Library: Ludwig van Beethoven, 'Memorandum book', 1792–94, Zweig MS 14, British Library: Zweig Collection.

[3] Dagmar von Busch-Weise, 'Beethovens Jugendtagebuch: Mit Tafel', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1962): 68–88 (72).

[4] Ibid.

[5] Landon identifies 24 July as the date of Haydn's arrival back in Vienna. Landon, *Haydn in England*, 194.

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'Redoute' – on 25 November.[6] This ball will be a significant occasion on the city's social calendar and will be held in the Hofburg Redoutensaal – part of the imperial residence, and the most prestigious location in Vienna for such an event. It is organised by the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler, a prominent charitable association founded just a few years earlier to support aging and ailing artists.[7] They are holding the Redoute to raise capital for their pension fund and have asked Haydn to compose new dance music for this event. Even the seemingly straightforward task of composing minuets Haydn takes seriously, drafting and revising his sketches for these compositions at some length.[8]

Will Haydn and Beethoven meet on this November night, at the Redoute? Probably not. Although Haydn will attend, Beethoven's presence is less likely.[9] Beethoven surely knows of its happening, though; after all, it is advertised prominently in the same newspaper in which he found the piano and dancing-teacher information.[10] For now, while Haydn readies

[6] Ibid., 205–7. Based on analysis of the manuscript paper type, Landon concludes that the dances were composed in Vienna, after Haydn's return there, and not earlier.

[7] Cyriak Bodenstein, *Hundert Jahre Kunstgeschichte Wiens, 1788–1888: Eine Festgabe anlässlich der Säcular-Feier der Pensions-Gesellschaft Bildender Künstler Wiens* (Vienna: Verlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1888), XI–XIV.

[8] A facsimile copy of two pages of sketches for these minuets gives a sense of their careful crafting: Joseph Haydn, A. J. Ohrenberger, and Anton Hahn, *Haydn-Autographe: aus dem Haydn-Haus Eisenstadt* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländischen Landesmuseum, 1976), 3.

[9] Haydn's name is included in the list of those who received complimentary tickets: 'Ausgegebene Frey-Billets', 1792, A1 – Akten: Beilagen zum Ereignisprotokoll (2 'l's) 1792, Pensionsgesellschaft des Vereines bildender Künstler in Wien, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv. Given that Beethoven typically noted all his expenses at this time in the memorandum book, and that there is neither any mention of this there nor any record elsewhere of Beethoven's attending, it seems doubtful that he was present.

[10] The dancing teacher's advertisement runs for the last time on 3 November: 'Nachricht', *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna), 3 November 1792, 2985. The ball's advertisement runs twice, on 14 November and 21 November: 'An das Publikum', *Wiener Zeitung*, 14 November 1792, 3080; 'An das Publikum', 3144–5. See also Alexander Thayer and Elliot Forbes, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, [1866] 1991), 135. In fact, these advertisements enable the re-dating of Beethoven's arrival in Vienna. Thayer uses the fortepiano advertisements to establish the date of his arrival in Vienna, reasoning that since 10 November was the final date on which the advertisement ran Beethoven must have arrived in the city by this point. Thayer's assertion has held strong: Landon cites it when claiming that 'about 10 November 1792, Beethoven arrived in Vienna to study with Haydn', for example, in Landon, *Haydn in England*, 202. Similarly, the *New Grove* 'Beethoven' article claims 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': Joseph Kerman, Alan Tyson, and Scott Burnham, 'Beethoven, Ludwig van', in *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Stanley Sadie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Yet the fact that the dancing-teacher advertisement ran for the last time on 3 November suggests that Beethoven must have arrived somewhat earlier than Thayer supposed – by this date, or at least in time to pick up a copy of this issue of the newspaper, which

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parts and players for the event, Beethoven's mind is on finding a dance teacher. In just three years, though, it will be the younger man's turn: come 1795, Beethoven will compose the music for the Gesellschaft's Redoute, in what will be his first commissioned composition for the city. Yet this missed encounter between the two men in 1792 offers an inviting window onto the dance culture of late eighteenth-century Vienna, and one to which we will return repeatedly over the course of this book. It immediately points to the centrality of dance to the city's social and cultural life during this period, and to the importance of recognising this as a vital context for understanding music from this time. Moreover, as we shall see, the minuet lay at the heart of this dance culture, and for no repertoire is an understanding of the dance context more important than for the minuet compositions of Haydn and his contemporaries.

'Dancing Mad' Vienna

Dancing was utterly integral to life, across all social classes, in late eighteenth-century Vienna. It was an especially popular activity during *Fasching*, the period immediately preceding Lent (otherwise known as Carnival), although it was permitted at most other times of the year, with the exceptions of Advent and Lent.[11] Contemporaneous accounts attest to the centrality of dance to Viennese social life. Describing the city during his time there in 1784–86 as 'dancing mad', the Irish tenor Michael Kelly recounts: 'As the Carnival approached, gayety began to display itself on all sides, and when it really came, nothing could exceed its brilliance. The ridotto rooms, where the masquerades took place, were in the palace, and spacious and commodious as they were, they were actually crammed with masqueraders.'[12] Not even the prospect of imminent childbirth could keep Viennese women from dancing – or so the story goes:

> The propensity of the Vienna ladies for dancing and going to carnival masquerades was so determined, that nothing was permitted to interfere with their enjoyment of their favourite amusement – nay, so notorious was it, that for the sake of ladies in

was published twice a week. We might therefore re-date Beethoven's arrival in Vienna somewhat earlier in November 1792.

[11] Martin Scheutz, 'Fasching am frühneuzeitlichen Wiener Hof: Zur Domestizierung', in *Wien und seine WienerInnen: Festschrift für Karl Vocelka zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Scheutz and Vlasta Valeš (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 125–56 (131–38).

[12] Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, ed. Roger Fiske (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1826] 1975), 102.

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the family way, who could not be persuaded to stay at home, there were apartments prepared, with every convenience for their accouchement, should they be unfortunately required. And I have been gravely told, and almost believe, that there have actually been instances of the utility of the arrangement.[13]

Other writers from this period attest to the popularity of dancing. Johann Pezzl also writes in 1786 of the extent to which dancing infused daily life during this period, asserting that during *Fasching* 'the chief pursuit is the dance and whatever belongs to and is connected with it'.[14] But perhaps Johann Friedel in 1784 best sums up the prevailing mood of the city: 'Better not to live than not to dance.'[15] In short, dance was a fundamental part of Viennese life during the final decades of the eighteenth century, for many or even all of the population.

Opportunities for social dancing abounded in Vienna, both in everyday life and as a key part of one-off events. The city's many inns and taverns hosted informal dancing in all periods of the year except Advent and Lent; indeed, the standard licence issued to venues for serving alcohol also covered the playing of dance music.[16] As gardens and parks like the Augarten opened up to the public, they also became the site of both informal and organised dancing events.[17] Marriage celebrations, from grand affairs uniting ruling dynasties to humble peasant weddings, invariably involved dancing.[18] State occasions and visits from foreign dignitaries often entailed a grand ball, normally held in the dance halls at the Hofburg.[19] A popular pastime among nobles with suitable homes was to

[13] Ibid. Kelly's scepticism notwithstanding, eighteenth-century women of course typically had many more children than is the case today, in many cases spending a large portion of their child-bearing years pregnant.

[14] 'Die Hauptbeschäftigung ist der Tanz und was dazugehört und damit verbunden ist.' Cited in *Fasching in Wien: Der Wiener Walzer 1750–1850* (Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1979), 5. All translations are my own except where otherwise attributed.

[15] 'Ja lieber nicht leben, als nicht tanzen.' Johann Friedel, *Galanterien Wiens: Auf einer Reise gesammelt, und in Briefen geschildert* (Vienna, 1784), 145.

[16] Reingard Witzmann, *Der Ländler in Wien* (Vienna: Arbeitsstelle für den Volkskundeatlas in Österreich, 1976), 8.

[17] Walter Salmen, *Mozart in der Tanzkultur seiner Zeit* (Innsbruck: Helbling, 1990), 8.

[18] For a discussion of state weddings, see Walter Salmen, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern: Tanz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1988), 13–14. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Rosenbaum describes in his diary attending a wedding of some acquaintances in the cheese-making business, at which there was dancing to music played on the piano. 'Die Tagebücher des Joseph Carl Rosenbaum (ÖNB SN 194–204) – eine Arbeitstranskription', https://db.adler-wien.eu/adler_rosenbaum_list.php. Entry for 9 January 1803.

[19] To pick one example of many, the *Wiener Zeitung* of 19 January 1791 mentions a ball held in connection with a visit from the king of Naples (Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies). 'Inländische Begebenheiten', *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna), 19 January 1791, 141.

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hold private house balls, modelled on the grand balls, where anything ranging from a string trio to a small orchestra would provide the music.[20] In addition to these relatively organised opportunities, other, more spontaneous gatherings might also include dancing, of course.

Yet, while all these events inevitably involved dancing, it was the Redoute that had the activity of dancing at its heart. Although Vienna was by no means the only city to host Redoutes, they enjoyed noted popularity in this city. Held mostly during the *Fasching* period, as well as in November, before Advent, Redoutes provided the Viennese population with a vehicle for enjoyment and release before the more restrained, penitential seasons of the church year set in. Redoutes could be lucrative for their organisers, and numerous new dance halls sprang up (or were converted from taverns) during the final decades of the century, to cater for ever-growing demand from the population. In 1789, the travel writer Philipp Röder estimates that there were 460 such venues across Vienna and its suburbs![21] Of course, Röder is including every conceivable public dance location here, including beer houses that sometimes hosted dancing events; a more measured reckoning comes in a recent study by Joonas Korhonen, in which he counts references to over fifty different public dance venues in the city between 1780 and 1815, ranging from the opulent setting of the central Hofburg Redoutensaal to the much more modest examples of the Goldene Einhorn and the Traiteur zum Storchen, out in the suburbs.[22] With multiple venues sometimes hosting several balls a week during *Fasching*, the Redoute constituted an important and prominent feature on the social calendars of a sizeable portion of the Viennese population.

As will become apparent over the course of this book, the Redoute and the minuet are inseparable entities, and to assert the importance of one is to assert the same of the other. Even at the end of the eighteenth century, the minuet was still esteemed above all other dance types. The minuet very much constituted the 'signature' dance of the Redoute, and this remained the case throughout the eighteenth century and into the early years of the nineteenth. Gerhard Vieth explains in 1795: 'Because of its convenience

[20] Monika Fink, 'Tanzveranstaltungen und Bälle', in *Mozart in der Tanzkultur seiner Zeit*, ed. Walter Salmen (Innsbruck: Edition Helbling, 1990), 42–43.

[21] 'In der Stadt und allen Vorstädten rechnet man 460 solcher Tanzplätze.' Philipp Ludwig Hermann Röder, *Reisen durch das südliche Teutschland*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Crusius, 1789), 410. Mentioned in Gerhard Tanzer, *Spectacle müssen seyn: die Freizeit der Wiener im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1992), 232.

[22] Joonas Korhonen, *Social Choreography of the Viennese Waltz: The Transfer and Reception of the Dance in Vienna and Europe, 1780–1825* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarun Fennica, 2014), 51–53, 61.

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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.'[23] Even as late as 1808, at the vaunted opening of the Apollosaal, the first dances to be performed were minuets, composed especially for the occasion by Johann Nepomuk Hummel.[24] Quite simply, wherever one found a Redoute, one found the minuet.

The prevalence of the dance minuet in late eighteenth-century Vienna raises, I believe, an important question for the study of eighteenth-century music. I will argue that almost 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 chamber setting: whether dancing or listening to a minuet, they would still do so in the same body, a body containing this somatic knowledge. In short, it would not have made sense to these people 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 today: as a matter of course, we force a dissociation between the dance and the music. We, with over 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 also 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, etched into the body. The question, then, is this: if eighteenth-century audiences were as accustomed to experiencing the minuet in its dance form as they were to listening to it in concert settings, how might the somatic knowledge of the dance inform and influence their understanding of minuet music in general?

Overview

The last two decades have seen a concerted effort by scholars to acknowledge the significant role played by dance in eighteenth-century social life,

[23] '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.' Gerhard Vieth, *Versuch einer Encyklopädie der Leibesübungen* (Berlin: Hartmann, 1795), 427.

[24] The minuets composed for this occasion were Hummel's *Tänze für den Apollo-Saal* Op. 27.

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and to consider the implications that an understanding of this dance culture might have for our interpretation of music from this period. Two such attempts come from Haydn scholars, both pertaining to the minuet. Melanie Lowe gives an account of Haydn's Symphony No. 88 in G Major (Hob. I: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'.[25] Similarly, Danuta Mirka 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.[26] Both writers here attempt to account for the fact that audiences listening to music in the concert hall also interacted with similar, related repertoire in the dance hall. They suggest that listeners' experience of the minuet in a dance context may have informed their interpretation of the music in a concert setting.

Despite this readiness from musicologists to consider the dance hall as a cultural context, huge gaps still persist in our understanding. Again, Haydn and the minuet offer a clear example of this, with noted scholars disagreeing even over basic assumptions about who would have performed the dance. David Wyn Jones claims that 'by the middle of the [eighteenth] century, it was the most common social dance in Austria, at all levels of society'.[27] Lowe, by contrast, 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.'[28] Although a willingness to consider this dance culture is very much in evidence, much remains to be learnt about its actual practices.

The purpose of this book is to reconstruct the dance culture that operated in Haydn's Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century, in order to be

[25] Melanie Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 87.

[26] Danuta Mirka, *Metric Manipulations in Haydn and Mozart: Chamber Music for Strings, 1787–1791* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 297.

[27] David Wyn Jones, *Haydn*, Oxford Composer Companions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 234.

[28] Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning*, 109.

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able to re-establish this crucial context for understanding the minuet as a genre. The temporal, geographic and topical focus here is calculated and deliberate. In focusing on Vienna, and particularly on the Hofburg Redoutensaal as the city's most important venue, this book will attempt to realise a hitherto-unattained level of detail in its examination of the activities held there. It will consider the question of who, precisely, attended these Redoutes, and exactly what practices (dancing and otherwise) they undertook there. More specifically still, the focus will be on the minuet, and on who danced it and the choreography they undertook. The study will examine the repertoire of danced minuet compositions, to establish a sense of the generic patterns and expectations employed by this body of music. In so doing, it will build an overall picture of the minuet as danced publicly during this period.

Yet this book will not focus solely on the dance hall; it will also follow attendees of these Redoutes out of the dance venues and into other realms of their musical lives. It will consider, for example, the perspective of an individual who attends both the public balls and the public concerts frequently, who both dances the minuet in the dance hall and listens to it, seated, in the concert hall. It will explore ways in which knowledge of the minuet as a dance might inform such an individual's interpretation of concert minuet music – how the experience of listening to the minuet in a body inscribed with the steps of this dance might differ from listening without this somatic understanding of the genre. Today, since the minuet dance rarely features in any regular educational curricula, we habitually listen to minuet compositions without the dance as a point of reference. This study aims to recontextualise the minuet in the light of an understanding of it as a dance, and specifically as a group dance performed at the public balls in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century.

Chapter 1 sets the stage for this study, with an exploration of late eighteenth-century Viennese dance culture. In an attempt to paint as vivid a picture of the scene as possible, this investigation is viewed through the lens of one single night – the Gesellschaft's ball held in the Hofburg Redoutensaal on 25 November 1792. It also expands its perspective out from this one event, considering related practices and activities undertaken across the city, in order to establish a sense of dance and the minuet as a key feature of social and cultural life. The other most popular dance types of the period are introduced, and further relevant practices (such as masking) are explored. The chapter also considers Joseph II's changing legislation and the implications of this for the gradual opening up of the city's main dance

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venues to the lower classes, as well as evidence for the cross-population of dance and concert venues.

Chapters 2 and 3 ask the question: What was the minuet in late eighteenth-century Vienna? Chapter 2 focuses on choreography, using several German-language dance treatises from the period to reconstruct the steps and figures of the minuet as it would have been danced at the public balls in Vienna. While dance historians are already familiar with the earlier, 'theatrical' version of the minuet, in which one couple performed to an assembly of spectators, this reconstruction focuses on the later, 'group' version, in which multiple couples danced simultaneously, which has received little attention from scholars. It considers the various challenges that this expansion of the dance brings, such as coordination issues across the couples. Chapter 3 then explores minuet music that was composed specifically for dancing, with an analysis of a repertory of 319 minuets written for the Gesellschaft bildender Künstler's charity balls over the years 1792–1804. These compositions are considered alongside writings by eighteenth-century music theorists, showing points of both coherence and resistance. After identifying certain key structural features, the choreography of the dance is set alongside the music, to examine how the two fit together and interact. This chapter also considers aspects of compositional creativity and characterisation as vital elements of minuet composition.

Chapter 4 opens up the question of just how the minuet dance can inform our experience and analysis of this genre, grappling with what Isabelle Ginot has described as the 'tenacious *doxa* that physical sensations must irrevocably elude language'.[29] Following an explication of relevant phenomenological literature, and drawing on the burgeoning field of somatic studies, this chapter puts forward a method of 'somatic enquiry', showing ways in which a bodily understanding of the minuet can be incorporated into analysis of this repertoire. We return to Haydn's minuets written for the Gesellschaft's ball in 1792 in order to explore some analytical insights that this mode of enquiry generates, showing how the sensation of dancing can inform perception of the musical sounds, and conversely how these sounds affect a body's kinaesthetic sensations. From this, I argue that a phenomenological rethink of musical experience is necessary, with a shift away from the characterisation of music as an agent acting on the body, and towards an understanding that recognises the role of active bodily investment in the experience.

[29] Isabelle Ginot, 'From Shusterman's Somaesthetics to a Radical Epistemology of Somatics', *Dance Research Journal* 42, no. 1 (2010): 12–29 (13).

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Finally, Chapter 5 turns to the concert minuet, asking how somatic knowledge of the minuet dance informs engagement with and understanding of minuets that were composed primarily for a concert setting, rather than for dancing. This chapter begins with writings that show eighteenth-century listeners and music theorists discussing concert minuets in relation to the minuet dance step, returning to the case made in Chapter 1 that members of concert audiences would have listened the minuet with the feeling of the minuet step. Two of Haydn's concert minuet movements are considered – those from Symphonies Nos. 97 and 102, which were written around the same period as the dance minuets discussed in earlier chapters and were also performed in Vienna in the 1790s (following their London premieres). The chapter focuses on ways in which the composer plays with expectations formed by the dance minuet, subverting the structural norms of minuet composition as well as manipulating one's feeling of the dance step. I build on recent theories of 'affective proprioception' to theorise a connection between felt movement and pleasure in listening.

The fundamental goal of this book, then, is the rehabilitation of eighteenth-century Viennese dance culture as a necessary context in which to understand the minuet. The research relies on a marriage of both the historical and the analytical disciplines of musicology. It is intended to be as much practical as theoretical in its application, with the aim of teaching readers the minuet not just as a conceptual entity but as something they can dance. My basic hope is that this revelation of the late eighteenth-century Viennese dance culture as a context for understanding the music of the minuet will enable readers to appreciate facets of the minuet genre that hitherto might have gone undetected. My bolder aspiration is that the mode of somatic enquiry that emerges later in this essay might point the way towards new, more corporeal ways of understanding western art music more generally.

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