

THE CONCERT OF NATIONS:
MUSIC, POLITICAL THOUGHT AND DIPLOMACY IN EUROPE, 1600s-1800s

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Musical category, political concept, and political myth, the Concert of nations emerged within 16th- and 17th-century court culture. While the phrase may not have entered the political vocabulary before the end of the 18th century, the representation of nations in sonorous and visual ensembles is contemporary to the institution of the modern state and the first developments of the international system.

As a musical category, the Concert of nations encompasses various genres—ballet, dance suite, opera, and symphony. It engages musicians in making commonplaces, converting *ad hoc* representations into shared realities, and uses multivalent forms that imply, rather than articulate political meaning. *The Nutcracker*, the ballet by Tchaikovsky, Vsevolozhsky, Petipa and Ivanov, illustrates the playful re-composition of semiotic systems and political thought within a work; the music of the battle scene (Act I) sets into question the equating of harmony with peace, even while the *ballet des nations* (Act II) culminates in a conventional choreography of international concord (Chapter I).

Chapter II similarly demonstrates how composers and librettists directly contributed to the conceptual elaboration of the Concert of nations. Two works, composed near the close of the War of Polish Succession (1733-38), illustrate opposite constructions of national character and conflict resolution: *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* (BWV 206) by Johann Sebastian Bach (librettist unknown), and *Les Sauvages* by Jean-Philippe Rameau and Louis Fuzelier.

These construct competing definitions of the political concept vis-à-vis hegemony, morality, and reality

The Concert of nations has hence long constituted a symbolic resource for political action. At the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), music and dance contributed to a high society of pleasures that modeled peaceful difference and competition in international relations. The Austrian court, and in particular its foreign minister, Klemens von Metternich, consistently resorted to the Concert of nations as a vector of soft power. Current uses of music in international relations only partially replicate these practices. As illustrated by the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, musicians can still represent the Concert of nations, but the experience remains limited to professionals, and the values their performances embody do not necessarily offer desirable political models (Chapter III).

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Damien Mahiet, born 1983, studied government and political thought at Sciences Po Paris (M.A., 2005). Under the supervision of Jean-Marie Donegani, he completed his master's thesis, a reflection on the meaning of *La Jeune France*, a group of composers formed in 1936. With Jean-Michel Bardez, Jean-Marie Donegani, and Bruno Moysan, he organized in 2008 a study day sponsored by the *Association française de science politique* (AFSP); from this event resulted a collection of articles published as *L'Institution musicale* (Sampzon, France: Delatour, 2011). His articles have also appeared in *Présentaine* (no. 20/21, 2007) and two conference reports.

In 2005, Damien Mahiet was admitted to Cornell University in the Department of Music; he pursued a degree in musicology under the guidance of Annette Richards (MA, 2008, and PhD, 2011), studied piano with Xak Bjerken and Malcolm Bilson, and conducting with Chris Youghoon Kim and Scott Tucker. In 2010, he was selected as the recipient of a one-semester graduate fellowship by the Judith Reppy Institute for Peace Studies. In 2010-2011, he was director of orchestra and assistant professor at Denison University (Granville, Ohio).

Damien Mahiet began his undergraduate studies at the Lycée Claude Monet and the Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne (DEUG, history and philosophy, 2003). He received basic musical training as a singer at the Maîtrise de Radio-France (1992-95) and as a pianist at the Conservatoire Paul Dukas (Paris) and the Conservatoire Hector Berlioz (Paris), completing a *Diplôme de fin d'études* in 1998 (Éliane Gernez, solfège) and a *Premier Prix avec félicitations* in 1999 (Véronique Barry-Roux, piano). He received further musical instruction at the École de musique de Ville d'Avray (Jean-Marie Cottet, piano) and at St. Mary's College of Maryland (Eliza Garth, piano, and Brian Ganz, chamber music).

To Angela Early, in thanks and love

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way;
But to act, that each to-morrow
Find us farther than to-day. (...)
Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.
~ H. W. Longfellow, *A Psalm of Life*

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In the past, I have described the music department as a family, with all the passion and conflicts that might entail, but also with the sincere warmth and trust one might expect from those with whom you share a significant part of your life.

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Many members of the faculty contributed to my growth in the past six years. I have spent wonderful hours studying piano with Malcolm Bilson and Xak Bjerken, both passionate thinkers at the piano. Chris Kim and Scott Tucker gave me an opportunity to start conducting with the Cornell Chamber Orchestra, sending me well equipped on a long journey of self-discovery, musical performance, and intellectual inquiry. Martin Hatch generously introduced me to Arab music, and Steven Pond to ethnomusicology. I am particularly grateful to have been able to observe the collaborative work of Steven Pond, Katherine Reagan, and Bonna Boettcher on a writing course that mobilized Cornell's recently acquired hip hop collection.

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honored to collaborate musically with the Lafayette exhibit at the Kroch Library in 2007.

The Judith Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies kindly allowed me to present material from Chapters 2 and 3 at the lunchtime seminar; I thank Professors Kirshner, Reppy and Evangelista for their questions and comments.

Outside Cornell University, Daniel Boico has always made time in his busy schedule to teach me conducting; his thoughtful and good-humored support made all the difference. Michael Tolaydo, Professor at St. Mary's College of Maryland, has long been an inspiring and generous mentor. I am particular proud of the performance of *The Soldier's Tale* which he agreed to prepare and perform in collaboration with the talented choreographer and dancer Caroline Copeland in 2010.

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David Yearsley has had a significant impact on my scholarship through two truly inspiring graduate seminars (on J.S. Bach's secular cantatas and Charles Burney) and a wonderful introduction to the harpsichord. The questions and material taught in the seminars have remained with me since then, and the second chapter is certainly indebted to his teaching. Of course, he would probably deny it; but here: it is written.

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INTRODUCTION

MUSIC IN POLITICS, POLITICS IN MUSIC: MEANINGS OF THE CONCERT

“My understanding is that he’s a terrific musician. He puts on a very good concert,” Mr. Obama said in the interview broadcast Sunday. “I certainly don’t think it hurts U.S.-Cuban relations. These kinds of cultural exchanges — I wouldn’t overstate the degree that it helps.”

New York Times, September 20, 2009, about the peace concert organized by rock star Juanes in Havana, Cuba.

Published in the French newspaper *Le Monde* under the title “The Concert of Nations as seen by Cam,” a satirical drawing by Cam Cardow, editorial cartoonist of the *Ottawa Citizen*, aptly illustrates the resilience of the phrase’s musical meaning in contemporary politics (see Figure i.i). The caption reads “Wakey, Wakey.” Kim Jong-il and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad stand at the bedside of a bewildered Barack Obama, performing a visibly odd piece of music for cymbals and bugle. The caption and fictional location suggest, in lieu of trumpet music, the military wake-up call typically associated with the soldier’s life, a sound misplaced in the familiar comfort of a civilian’s bedroom. The un-pitched sound of the cymbals, played by a Kim Jong-il with a somewhat punkish hairstyle, adds to the sheer prospect of unruly noise.

Noise and dissonance here suggest a double antagonism, first between military and civilian lives, then between wayward and bourgeois characters, that is emblematic of disruptive action in an otherwise policed international order, at least insofar as the United States is concerned. The inscription of their country’s names on the two characters’ shirts ensures that the reader understands that the two men stand here not only as rulers, but also as embodiments of their nations. While this is customary, June 2009, the month of this cartoon’s publication, provided an opportunity to contest this



Figure i.i — Cam, “Wakey, wakey...,” published as “The Concert of Nations as seen by Cam” in *Le Monde*, June 21, 2009, p. 16.
 The cartoon had previously appeared on June 15, 2009 in *The Ottawa Citizen*.
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representative link: recall the riots which, in Tehran, punctuated the reelection of Ahmadinejad as president of Iran on June 12. The same month, North Korea sentenced two American journalists to twelve years of hard labor as it faced a U.N. vote sanctioning recent nuclear tests. Events revived the specter of “rogue states” acting in concert, seemingly resurrecting what the Bush administration previously dubbed the “Axis of Evil.” Less than six months after the beginning of the Obama administration, it appeared that normative criticism and diplomatic aspirations might well shatter in the confrontation with reality.

At the center of the picture, Barack Obama’s puzzled expression and oversized ears easily allow the reader to place him- or herself in the position of the listener: his surprise gives a sense of the cacophony depicted in the cartoon. But the moral and social meaning of dissonance, in this image as in the many reflections on the Concert of nations since the 17th century, is more complex than would appear. Indeed, while Cam references dissonance, he does so, consciously or not, within the strictly coherent

framework of Western symphonic music; that is to say, by using a well-established lexicon of musical icons—here, trumpet and cymbals. Borrowing from this lexicon ensures that the viewer immediately perceives the sonorous clash between instruments. Paradoxically, it also posits a potentially harmonious relation between the three characters. After all, trumpets and cymbals are not only noisemakers; they are also fixtures of symphonic and chamber ensembles. All it takes is a purposeful coordination of each part, whether jointly agreed upon or imposed on each individual. Who knows what Obama might achieve if he were to get up, then pick up his own instrument or browse for a score in his orchestral library?

In this regard, Cam's musical depiction of international relations reconvenes an Orientalist construction of otherness and a harmonious representation of enmity that have a long history in Western culture. Indeed, trumpets and cymbals are stock elements of "Turkish" music, the musical style that characterizes cultures and powers foreign to European civilization in Western "classical" music. In its principle, the representation of Ahmadinejad and Kim does not differ from Mozart's construction of Osmin, the ill-tempered guardian of the seraglio in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. Osmin's anger might cause him to break the rules of beauty—the proper construction of melody or the conventional conduct of harmony—but as Mozart famously wrote to his father: "passions, whether violent or not, must never be expressed to the point of exciting disgust; and (...) music, even in the most terrible situations, must never offend the ear, but must please the listener."¹ Mozart's music, in Matthew Head's analysis of the aria, serves the double purpose of dividing and uniting: it signifies the Other as it asserts "universal standards of conduct under the rubrics of 'reason' and 'rationality'."² Similarly in the case of Cam's cartoon, difference and discord do not

¹ From W. A. Mozart's letter to his father of 26 September 1781; as quoted in Matthew Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart's Turkish Music* (London: Royal Music Association, 2000), 2.

² Head, 8.

go to a point where international agents could not make sense of each other's intent. The sounds that comically characterize Ahmadinejad and Kim are not entirely meaningless noise, but are produced by clearly identified instruments: their dissonance still pertains to a global system of relations in which it not only makes sense, but could potentially be resolved into consonance.

The title assigned by the French newspaper—"The Concert of Nations as seen by Cam"—adds to the ironical and political meaning of the drawing. Concert, as a regulatory concept, hardly calls forth the idea of cacophony and transgression. The phrase often entails the idea, if not the ideal, of a certain social harmony—literally among individuals, but also figuratively among such collective entities as states or nations. The problem is not simply to determine whether conflict and dissonance pertain to the idea of a concert in music or in international relations—though this is indeed a question that will be addressed in this dissertation. The drawing's French title playfully reactivates the musical and ethical meanings of the phrase *Concert of nations*, with far-reaching echoes for anyone who cares to pause a moment. To what extent should one care about the musical definition of the word *concert* in studying the history and theory of international relations? Is the musical meaning of the *concert* a specialized application of a moral and social concept, and by extension, a regulatory metaphor for political action? Or is it the literal origin of a figurative use in politics—a metonymy of international relations? In other words, this cartoon's play with musical and political meanings is not as anecdotic as it would seem. The interpretation of the cartoon sends us off in partially uncharted territories as regards the Concert in international relations; these territories are both the history of a familiar concept of international relations, and the current significance of music in diplomacy.

The history of the phrase *Concert of nations* stretches back to the 19th century, although it is predicated on a social, moral, and musical definition of the word *concert* that has roots as far back as the 15th century. In its modern political usage, it refers to a voluntary relation of cooperation between powers. Perhaps its most recognized instantiation is the Concert of Europe, a conceptual, regulatory framework that provides incentives for the collective resolution of continental issues. As the cartoon by Cam suggests, the term is very much in currency, and since the end of the Cold War, has generated new variants, such as the Concert of democracies. However, the concept of the Concert of nations emerged much earlier than the phrase itself, as evidenced by the vast number of iconographic, musical, and theatrical depictions of nations acting in concert. In spite of the large literature on and commonplace usage of the term, the history of the concept remains misunderstood.

The Concert of nations, as a political performance (denoted here by the capital letter), emerged from musical practices as early as the 17th century. These early performances of the nations in concert ranged from *ballet des nations* to operas, dance suites, song collections, and characteristic symphonies. As a normative or fictional sphere of international relations, they informed diplomatic efforts to address issues not only from a national, but also from an international or transnational perspective. It is traditional to recall that the Prince de Ligne, speaking of the Congress of Vienna, quipped that *le congrès ne marche pas, il danse*. The sentence is often read as a harsh critique of the diplomats' inaction, but it might have meant more, or something else, than this ironic dismissal.³ Dance and music, in ceremonies as in entertainments, were

³ *Marcher* ("to walk") might be understood as a *double-entendre*, meaning "to work well." Nicholas Parsons, for example, translates the sentence as "the Congress doesn't progress—it waltzes," in *Vienna: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 18. In the same vein, another translation reads: "the Congress isn't working, it's dancing." The sentence appears in different sources, most notably a letter of Jacob Grimm sent from Vienna to his brother, dated November 23, 1814 (Jacob Grimm worked as secretary of legation for the Elector of Hesse) and in the memoirs of Auguste La Garde-Chambonas. The latter's report of a conversation with the Prince de Ligne can neither be

central in the diplomatic efforts of the Congress. Appreciating the musical origins of the Concert of nations, this dissertation contends, enriches our understanding of past European diplomatic practices and representations, and in turn, extends the practical value of the concept in the present time.

In this regard, the history of the Concert of nations illustrates not one, but multiple articulations between music and politics. Music constitutes a deliberate form of sonorous coexistence; its practice entails the ordering of reality for the purpose of according differing subjects. As individuals make sound together, conflict arises for multiple reasons; indeed, musical subjects routinely search for personal recognition as they assert a definition, defend a practice, claim a position, and seek resources.⁴ Making music with others, from this perspective, consists in instituting a shared musical ordinary despite the resilience of difference, and in some instances, of quarrel. In this regard, music reflects society, but can also, under certain circumstances, exceed it: what Jacques Attali identifies, somewhat mystically, as music's prophetic power, its capacity to prefigure new social forms, results from multiple institutions of music as an autonomous locus of collective action, partially separated from everyday life.⁵ Clearly, politics is not the only process that informs musical relations: aesthetics and

confirmed nor invalidated, but it is worth noting that the *bon mot* introduces several other reflections, and that these reflections are far from dismissing the Congress and its entertainments. Accordingly, the Prince de Ligne would have not only derided the "royal mob" and its chaos of claims, but also marked his confidence in the ultimate success of the Congress in securing a "general and durable peace." La Garde-Chambonas had him conclude his speech with a lyrical envoi: "Concord has finally gathered people so long enemies: their most illustrious representatives already provide an example. Here is something that one sees for the first time: pleasure will conquer peace." Auguste Louis Charles de La Garde-Chambonas, *Fêtes et souvenirs du Congrès de Vienne: Tableaux des salons, scènes anecdotiques et portraits*, 1814-1815 (Paris: A. Appert, 1843), I, 27: "La concorde a enfin réuni les peuples, si longtemps ennemis : leurs plus illustres représentants en donnent déjà l'exemple. Chose qu'on voit ici pour la première fois, le plaisir va conquérir la paix."

⁴ For other views of how conflict informs music, see John Morgan O'Connell and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, ed., *Music and Conflict* (Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 2010).

⁵ Jacques Attali, *Bruits* (Paris: Fayard, 2001), 10: "la musique est un extraordinaire moyen de prévoir l'avenir des sociétés et de prévenir leur suicide." Attali re-wrote his 1977 text for this new edition, and placed new emphasis on the beautiful as a determining aspiration of human beings. With this conviction, Attali devotes the last segment of his essay to deciphering, via current transformations of musical practices, the future of Western societies.

economics, among other disciplines of thought, offer alternative ways to understand the distribution of authority and power in music; but neither aesthetics nor economics exhausts the compass of musical relations. Musical politics emerges not simply as an economy of power determined by the social structures it thus reproduces, but as the space between two sonorous subjects who acknowledge their respective entitlement to making sound in a meaningful way—or in brief, as a fragment of the political. In other words, music and politics are partially consubstantial.

The Concert of nations, as the phrase indicates, establishes and regulates musical relations among a series of collective subjects. Quite often in music, and most evidently in instrumental music, subjects remain abstract, wanting enunciation. Sound does not tell its name until, being called music, it obtains the capacity to speak in the name of each and everyone: the composer, the performer, a fictional character, or an audience member, and even objects or reality. *I* hear a piece of music; who animates it? It is the voice of the composer, or perhaps the expression of my own psyche revealed to me. It is the making of the performer, the doing of nature, or the product of society, and so on, and so forth. With sound's apparent capacity to speak for all at once, music easily comes to symbolize a community without boundaries and a society without conflict. But this is hardly more than a dream, precisely because music will always fail to reveal its own name. Music must first be invoked by its subjects for its promise to operate. Sound is music only insofar as it is agreed upon.

Let one person contest the name of music, music turns into noise, the dream shatters. For this reason, authority and power are constituents of music's institution as shared reality and common practice. The fashioning of musical subjects is one aspect of this institution, and current scholarship Western art music provides a case in point. Since the 19th century, many performers have promoted themselves as depositories of the composer's authority, though in the process, these musicians have paradoxically

cast themselves as servants of the composers and dressed themselves uniformly in the evening dress of the bourgeoisie.⁶ In questioning this construction of the performer's self, critics have also opened the way to redefining Western art music, not as the product of the composer's power of creation, but as the act of making music, or musicking⁷. Pursued consistently, the consequences of this critique would amount to no less than a reform of music in Western culture. Considered in this light, the Concert of nations is music of a certain kind since it always posits subjects of a specific nature; that is to say, it consists in musical works that bear the marks of multiple national characters. As a musical category, the Concert of nations encompasses a wide variety of genres, from ballet and dance suites, to operas and symphonies. All these works, however, accomplish a similar task in that, via sound, they symbolize political persons—nations—as given realities; Chapter I (“The Aesthetics of Composing the Nations in Concert”) explores the aesthetics of this imperative. In this regard, Concerts of nations share substantive and formal features with the political anthropology of moral portraits and *caractères*. The elaboration of national characters as self-evident notions locates the Concert of nations at the intersection of nature and culture, in the realm of the ordinary; the Concert is a reality of the world as much as it can be the prefiguration of a world to come. To follow the lesson of Louis van Delft's essay on literature and anthropology, the *caractère* constitutes both a reading of the world and the imprinting of a difference.⁸ Chapter I endeavors to restore to an all-too-ordinary genre of entertainment its political depth; as a case study, *The Nutcracker*, the familiar

⁶ For such critiques, see Nicholas Cook, *Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 24-6, and Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 64-74.

⁷ On the revival of this verb, see Gilbert Rouget, “L'efficacité musicale : musiquer pour survivre. Le cas des Pygmées,” *L'Homme* 171-172 (2004): 27.

⁸ Louis van Delft, *Littérature et anthropologie: Nature humaine et caractère à l'âge classique* (Paris: PUF, 1993), especially 26-40.

Russian ballet and American Christmas ritual with music by Tchaikovsky, aptly illustrates the complexity of commonplaces.

In elaborating this intrinsic assignment of sound to various collective subjects, moreover, musicians institute music as multimedia, in which multivalent forms sustain multiple specifications. From this perspective, for example, sound is not so much the original matter and end goal of music as its distinctive attribute. Sound operates like a coordinating conjunction in a discourse: it connects multiple semiotic systems, in particular the verbal and the visual. Multivalent forms do not ease the conflict of subjectivities, but they legitimately allow a wide variety of interpretations and recompositions. As such, they make possible, not the resolution, but the coexistence of sustained differences. This sets into question the definition of harmony in international relations: if not always an active unison, and not even necessarily concord, then does political harmony encompass dissonance? *The Nutcracker*, a work that deploys a rich reflection on social harmony, suggests that war itself, or perhaps at least just war, might not entirely forfeit the thought of harmony.

Musical works, then, make a generative contribution to the history of political ideas, beyond the functions of propaganda and vulgarization that they can also fulfill. While many might agree with this proposition (although not all students of political science will), elucidating the political significance of musical works still remains a contentious matter as soon as the exegesis extends beyond the narrative of circumstances and an *explication de texte*. Beyond the genesis of a work or the libretto of an opera, however, there is both the performance of music on stage, which like theatre amounts to no less than a social enactment, and the puzzling semantics of sound to account for. Musical works are all at once political thought, symbol, and play. If, as Claude Lefort once wrote, works of thought institute “a *world* wherein the

outside world gives **of/onto** itself,” then musical works are labyrinthine halls of mirrors.⁹

Chapter II (“Nations in Concert: Follow the Music”) thus seeks to inscribe musical works within the history of political thought. The formation of Concerts, as figuratively illustrated by Bird Concert paintings, depends on the acknowledgement of a regulatory authority by all participants. Librettists and composers, as they stage differing characters of various nationalities coming to peace in operas and cantatas, and propose models for this process. The chapter focuses on *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* (BWV 206), a cantata by Johann Sebastian Bach (the librettist is unknown), and *Les Sauvages*, the fourth *entrée* of *Les Indes galantes* by Jean-Philippe Rameau and Louis Fuzelier. Indeed, other works could also have illustrated the generative contribution of music to political thought: the point, here, is neither to confirm nor to invalidate the singularity of the composers’ labor. Instead, these two examples have the advantage of presenting both historical proximity and conceptual distance. First performed in 1735-6, both the cantata and *Les Indes galantes* include direct references to the then-ending War of Polish succession. They offer, however, opposite constructions of national character, respectively as allegory or stereotype. They also offer opposite conceptions as regards the formation of the Concert of nations, one based on persuasion, and the participants’ conversion to a moral imperative, the other resulting from hegemonic domination. Long before the Congress of Vienna, the terms of a debate on the origin of Concerts—between what scholars would nowadays call realists and idealists—had already been laid out.

As a repertoire of theories and experiences, music can inform political action and transform political life. The relation between music and politics, however, varies

⁹ Claude Lefort, “L’œuvre de pensée et l’histoire” (1970), in *Les formes de l’histoire: Essais d’anthropologie politique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), 257: “l’œuvre s’affirme d’instituer un monde à l’intérieur duquel se donne le monde du dehors.”

with history, and in particular, with political regimes: the regulation of sonorous coexistence takes a different meaning under different regimes. Under the reign of Louis XIV, for example, the centralization of resources in Lully's hands expanded the king's power into the realm of music and contributed to fabricating a representation of the king as the unique source of authority in France. Paradoxically, however, Lully's tyranny did not altogether condemn musicians to renounce all autonomy. In a political economy of prestige, music's utility consisted in the public recognition of the king's magnificence; this entailed, at least fictionally, that the arts were judged not in terms of their utility to Louis XIV's personal distinction, but on their own terms, as the luxurious display of an inexhaustible power. Republican France consistently remembered this lesson in soft power, using the *Conservatoire* and *Opéra* as instruments of international standing in a political economy of prestige: Marie-Joseph Chénier, member of the *Convention*, found music not only "useful" and "moral," but "necessary" to the "splendor of the Republic."¹⁰ But new regimes also meant a reexamination of musical institutions. Republican thinkers—Rousseau in particular— theorized the part music could play in shaping collective and individual subjects, with direct reference to the political philosophy of Ancient Greece, and most notably to Plato's *Republic*. Liberal writers, anxious to mark their modernity, could hastily expel music from their considerations on political constitutions.¹¹ In practice, though, liberal democracies have continued to regulate sonorous coexistence, both by governmental laws and social customs: the concert hall is no place of anarchy. What musical

¹⁰ Quoted in Emmanuel Hondré, "Le Conservatoire de musique de Paris: Une institution en quête de sa mission nationale (1795-1848)," in *Musical Education in Europe (1770-1914): Compositional, Institutional, and Political Challenges*, ed. Michael Fend and Michel Noiray (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), I, 85. On music as an art of universality and the Third Republic's international policy of glory, see Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music As Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 231-98.

¹¹ See for example Montesquieu, *De L'Esprit des lois* [1748] (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1979), Book IV, Chapter 8, 165.

freedom means in liberal democracies is a question beyond the scope of this dissertation. It should come as no surprise, however, that the profound transformations of international relations since the Peace of Westphalia deeply affected music's significance as regards diplomatic action.

The Concert of nations aptly illustrates these multiple constructions of the relation between music and politics. Indeed, in certain circumstances, it determined an intersection between musical and diplomatic practices. Chapter III ("Music in Diplomacy, Diplomacy in Music: The Art of the Concert") juxtaposes two such occasions in past and recent history: in 1814-15, the Congress of Vienna and its immediate prolongation in smaller diplomatic conferences till the Congress of Verona in 1822; and since 1999, the peace concerts of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, a summer youth orchestra that gathers musicians from Israel and Arab countries as well as European and American participants. Historians of international relations seldom pay official ceremonies and social evenings the attention they lavish on diplomatic documents, except when they target a large audience avid for a peek into the life and feelings of the famous and powerful. Based on secondary literature and sources available in print, the chapter sketches a different history, reexamining music's part in the political communication of the Austrian government, but also the personal investment of important diplomats in musical activities. Music not only symbolized international harmony, it also contributed to structuring a European sociability that ran parallel to state relations. Congress diplomacy consisted not only in a continental forum of negotiations doubled by bilateral discussions and temporary coalitions, but also in a second sphere of negotiations governed by the rules of civility and reinforced by musical entertainment. From this perspective, the conceptual differences between the West-Eastern Divan orchestra and the Congress of Vienna impede the use of music as a form of diplomacy today. In practice, political elites remain nowadays largely

consigned to the role of spectator rather than actor in musical performance.

Symbolically, the rules that govern the musicians' participation are now mainly vocational: musicians follow a professional code of conduct that limits their personal responsibility as performers and legitimizes economic or altruistic motives for their actions.

Finally, to what extent does the use of music in international relations infer its politicization? In all fairness, the question equally applies not only to the last, but also to the two previous chapters. Throughout this dissertation, conceptual discussions originate in historical inquiries: a musical artifact and some events constitute the starting point for a reflection of general scope. In other words, the "text" of political thought extends beyond writing, to include symbols and actions. Embedding thought in history does not yield a higher realism so much as it captures the generative tension between principle and circumstances. Each person founded in principle, which is to say most individual and collective subjects, lives in the confrontation of her ideas with external objects and discourses; musical persons are no exception. This is perhaps why, seen in the fictional world of operatic performance or in the abstract relations of symphonic music, the Concert of nations might seem strangely detached from current affairs. Its national characters stand severed from history, like shadow-puppets in a stereotyped drama, or perhaps on the contrary larger-than-life, like protagonists in a mythical time. In any case, sonorous coexistence, however abstract, remains nonetheless a fragment of the political (in French, *le politique*), always potentially, but not necessarily confronted with politics (*la politique*). From this perspective, not all music is political in the sense that nothing compels one to understand every piece of music as a pertinent commentary on current affairs. Politicization is the process through which the discourse on current affairs becomes a constituent of music making, and consequently, the process through which sonorous coexistence becomes a

“workspace” for political decisions and collective action. One issue of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra is precisely whether or not it constitutes a “workspace” for conflict resolution in the Middle East. Particular to circumstances, politicization is a frequent extension of music into current affairs, in parallel or in tension with the principles of sonorous coexistence it actualizes. But it is never the full extent of its political meaning. Using a piece of music for political purposes, if it might sometimes shed new light on the values it symbolizes, also complicates its political significance.

Before dwelling any further on musical forms and political orders *per se*, the polysemy of the word *concert* gives an inkling of the complexity at hand. Indeed, as embarrassing as it might be for scholars, a concert is a messy business with competing etymologies and definitions. Perhaps at its core, the word *concert* refers to the general act of doing something with someone else—to act *in concert*, as the phrase goes. Beyond this, a *concert* might refer to a social relation or a musical performance, to a kind of harmony or a genre of competition, and to an ethical concept or a commercial event. To make matters worse, European languages have also borrowed spellings from one another to differentiate among specific aspects of the concert: so much for universal understanding. The history of the word’s competing definitions, however, provides a first indication of the articulations that the Concert constitutes between music and politics.

An early definition of the concert consisted in the idea of a harmonious relation or agreement between distinct individuals: in music, that meant, for example, a polyphonic performance blending such different entities as voices and instruments together. Ironically, the word *concert*, in its harmonious meaning, has generated sufficient dispute among linguists and musicologists for its etymology to remain “uncertain.” Robert A. Hall, Jr. asserted that it derived from the Italian verb

concertare (“work out, plan, arrange”).¹² But A. C. Keys instead suggested the past participle *concerto* of the verb *conserere* (“unite, join”), via a semantic association with *concento* (“harmony” or “consonance,” from the Latin *concentus*).¹³ William Weber, for good measure, has added another germane possibility, though strictly for the benefit of the English speaker: the etymology of the word *consort*, which is to say, the noun *consortium* (“society, participation”).¹⁴ In this regard, Weber perhaps follows Leo Spitzer’s interpretation of the English respelling as an organic development from Christian (and notably, Augustinian) thought.¹⁵

As a performance genre, concerts exemplified best the Neoplatonist concept of music as the representation and restoration of a harmonious world. This was an “encyclopedic” definition of music, as large as life.¹⁶ In philosophy, painting and literature, the Concert illustrated the establishment of order between individual entities through relations of proportions or sympathy. In his 1705 *Dictionnaire de musique*, Sébastien de Brossard, rather than allocating a full entry to the word, noted the partial equivalence between *musique* and *concert*, and identified the *Concerts de musique* as the expressive practice of harmony—the modern art of ordering and uniting sounds one above the other.¹⁷ Considering this context, the merging of the musical *concert*

¹² Robert A. Hall, Jr., “Italian “Concerto” (“Conserto”) and “Concertare,”” *Italica* 35/3 (1958): 188-91; this article is a response to David D. Boyden, “When Is a Concerto Not a Concerto?,” *The Musical Quarterly* 43/2 (1957): 220-32.

¹³ A. C. Keys, “The Etymology of Concerto,” *Italica* 48/4 (Winter 1971): 449.

¹⁴ William Weber, “Concert (ii),” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed January 3, 2011 <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06240>.

¹⁵ Leo Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word “Stimmung”* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), 110. Spitzer studies the “historical semantics” of the “concert” in the fifth chapter of this work.

¹⁶ See Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony*, and Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947).

¹⁷ Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique contenant une explication des Termes Grecs, Latins, Italiens & François, les plus usitez dans la Musique* [1705, 2nd ed.], ed. Harald Heckmann (Hilversum : Frits Knuf, 1965), 57 (*Musica*, or *Musique*) and 231 (*Uso*, or *Coutume*). Chambers (1728), in his article *Musick*, similarly asserts that “*Concert* . . . is more properly, as well as more usually understood of Harmony, or where the Musick consists of divers Parts”; quoted in Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical Terms from British Sources, 1500-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 81.

and marital *consort* in English 17th-century dictionaries makes a certain sense, and despite the warnings of 18th-century dictionary writers, has retained currency.¹⁸ By analogy (or homology, depending on the credit one gives to Plato's philosophy and its Christian adaptation), the Concert stood as an emblem of love, marriage, family, divine order, spiritual elevation, and cosmic motion (namely, *harmonia mundi*).¹⁹ Ironically, the word *concert* could also figuratively take a negative connotation, as in this definition added by the editors for the second edition of Furetière: "Concert, also said of a hodgepodge of all kinds of voices: there was here a concert of drinking and doctrine."²⁰ For all its idiosyncrasy, the English misunderstanding of the French word brings to the fore the social and moral significations the term held in the 17th century; *consort* emphasizes the idea of company or companionship in the production of harmony. The "popular" misspelling, betraying the association of musical and social concepts, is a window unintentionally left open onto "harmonist thinking."²¹

¹⁸ See De La Fond (1725), quoted in Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, 81, and the article *Consort*, 87-88.

¹⁹ On the Concert as an iconographic program, the following references provide an introduction and a thematic gallery of images, mostly from the Italian Renaissance: Patricia Egan, "Concert Scenes in Musical Paintings of the Italian Renaissance," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14/2 (1961): 184-195; Richard Leppert, "Concert in a House: Musical Iconography and Musical Thought," *Early Music* 7/1 (1979): 3-17; Heinrich Schwab, *Konzert: Öffentliche Musikdarbietung vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971); Nicoletta Guidobaldi, "Musica delle cose invisibili: Le concert dans les peintures italiennes entre le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle," in *Le Concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro, 312-32 (Paris: CNRS, 1995); and Alberto Ausoni, *Music in Art*, trans. Stephen Sartarelli (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009). On the Angel Concert, see Emanuel Winternitz, "On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century: A Critical Approach to Realism and Symbolism in Sacred Painting," *The Musical Quarterly* (1963): 450-63; and Irving Godt, "Ercole's Angel Concert," *The Journal of Musicology*, 7/3 (1989): 327-42. On marital harmony in particular, see P. J. J. van Thiel, "Marriage Symbolism in a Musical Party by Jan Miense Molenaar," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 2/2 (1967-1968): 90-99.

²⁰ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes & les termes des sciences et des arts,.... Recueilli & compilé par feu messire Antoine Furetière,.... Seconde édition revue, corrigée & augmentée par Monsieur Basnage de Bauval* (The Hague and Rotterdam: A. et R. Leers, 1701-2): "CONCERT, se dit encor du mélange confus de toutes sortes de voix. Il se fit là un concert d'ivrognerie & de doctrine."

²¹ On the import of harmonist thinking in political theory, see James Daly, "Cosmic Harmony and Political Thinking In Early Stuart England," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69/7 (1979): 3-41.

Given these connotations, it will come as no surprise that the word *concert* could function as a partial synonym for *symphony* (here meaning a genre of musical composition) and *orchestra* (in its modern sense as a category of musical ensemble).²² For Antoine Furetière (1690) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1768), a concert referred primarily to an “assembly of musicians performing works of vocal and instrumental music.” By metonymy, the word also meant the music performed.²³ In the *Encyclopédie*, Louis de Cahusac illustrates this second meaning with Rameau’s 1736 publication *en concert* of his opera *Les Indes galantes*: in contrast with regular opera scores, Rameau here divides his music into separate pieces for a reduced ensemble of voices and instruments. The publication’s title conformed to a French practice alive from the mid-17th century to the end of the 18th century, and most notably illustrated in the 1720s by François Couperin’s *Concerts royaux* (1722) and *Les Goûts réunis ou Nouveaux Concerts* (1724).²⁴

The Concert has thus doubly interested political thinkers; at one level, it constitutes a metonymy of the polity, or a human microcosm, and at another, but in relation to the former, it provides a tool with which to police subjects and a vocabulary with which to conceptualize political principles. The constitutional and legislative activities of the rulers, in this perspective, amounted to a form of composition, a way of harmonizing individual entities and assigning them a part in a larger, united

²² John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw illustrate this relation with a passage from Johann Mattheson’s *Das neu-eröffnete Orchester* (1713), in *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). In the entry *Concert*, Louis de Cahusac similarly notes in Diderot and D’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie* that “Some produce concerts of instruments without voices, in which only symphonies are performed” (“On fait des *concerts* d’instruments sans voix, dans lesquels on n’exécute que des symphonies”). J.-J. Rousseau also indicates a relation between the Italian word *concerto* and the French *trio* or Italian *sinfonia*.

²³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique* [1768], in *Œuvres complètes*, V (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 722.

²⁴ Julie Anne Sadie, “Concert (i),” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed January 3, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06239>.

performance.²⁵ As an emblem of proper government in Europe, music provided more than a repertoire of metaphors with which to formulate the principles of the modern state and evaluate the value of different regimes: it provided concepts. This should come as no surprise, for the realms of music and politics were not always constructed as radically independent. In 16th- and 17th-century Europe, the occurrence of musical terms in political discourses did not necessarily involve the semantic transfer we refer to as a metaphor; it could instead entail the recognition of an identical foundation, in this case provided by concepts of geometric proportions, mathematical ratios and mechanistic balance.

Music emerged from the medieval *quadrivium* as the highest mathematical discipline informing empirical research in everything from physics to poetry, fencing to politics. In matters of government, musical ratios accommodated both the demonstration of the kingdom's unity and the establishment of a tempered relation between the kingdom's diverse constituents. Kate van Orden has brilliantly shown how Jean Bodin, in *Les Six Livres de la République* (1576), constructed his theory of absolutist monarchy on the basis of such "harmonic" proportions.²⁶ Balance-of-power politics, whether in the context of internal affairs or international relations, emerged as not only an intrinsically mechanistic and emblematic concept (the scale, and the sign of the *libra*), but also as a musical one.²⁷ It should come as no surprise, then, that

²⁵ See Florence Alazard, *Art vocal, Art de gouverner: La musique, le prince et la cité en Italie à la fin du XVI^e siècle* (Paris – Tours: Minerve – CESR « Ricercar », 2002), and "La métaphore musicale et la genèse de l'État moderne: Musique, politique, et Renaissance," in *L'Institution musicale*, ed. Jean-Michel Bardez et al., 66-74 (Sampzon, France: Delatour, 2011).

²⁶ Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 73-80, as part of a chapter entitled "*Juste proportion: Music as the Measure of All Things.*" Italian writers, after Bodin, also pursued this line of thought: see Alazard, *Art vocal, Art de gouverner*, 261, 264, 267-77.

²⁷ On the intellectual origins of balance-of-power politics in Europe, see Alfred Vagts, "The Balance of Power: Growth of an Idea," *World Politics* 1/1 (October 1948): 82-101; Per Maurseth, "Balance-of-Power Thinking from the Renaissance to the French Revolution," *Journal of Peace Research* 1/2 (1964): 120-36; M.S. Anderson, "Eighteenth-Century Theories of the Balance of Power," in *Studies in Diplomatic History: Essays in Memory of David Bayne Horn*, ed. Ragnhild Hatton and M.S. Anderson, (London: Longman, 1970), 183-98; Ernst Kaeber, *Die Idee des europäischen Gleichgewichts in der*

Concert and balance-of-power, as concepts, can overlap, for example when the balance, rather than symbolizing a conscious search for equality, designates instead a process in which the competition of interests naturally results in harmonious relations (analogously to Adam Smith's Invisible Hand in economics).²⁸

As abstract and idealist as this Neoplatonist vision of music is, it nevertheless held concrete meaning for European elites, if only as a guide for noble behavior and an inspiration for courtly entertainment. Musical education, court entertainments and ceremonials were literally ways of practicing and rehearsing these theories of social relations. Neo-Platonist musical thought constituted the conceptual basis for a way of life. Sometimes at the margin, and sometimes at the center, the idea that music promoted social and political harmony governed not only such educational institutions as the French academies, but also the elaborate masques, *ballets de cour*, and *feste teatrali* of the French, English and Habsburg courts. The *Ballet des Polonais*, or *ballet des provinces*, constitutes a well documented example: danced in 1573 at the court of Charles IX for the entertainment of the ambassadors who brought Henri d'Anjou the crown of Poland, it featured the 16 provinces of France performing, in a complex figurative dance, a series of geometrical patterns that both exulted and concealed discipline, order, and unity. Indeed, the perception of these figures and ciphers implied an elevated view, one symbolically akin to the king's gaze. While perhaps evoking the image of celestial motion and cosmic harmony, the ballet also demonstrated

publizistischen Literature vom 16. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Hildesheim: H. A. Gerstenberg, 1971); Michael Sheehan, *The Balance of Power: History and Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 24-52; Klaus Malettke, "L'équilibre européen face à la *monarchia universalis*: Les réactions européennes aux ambitions hégémoniques à l'époque moderne," in *L'invention de la diplomatie: Moyen Âge – Temps modernes*, ed. Lucien Bély (Paris: PUF, 1998), 46-57.

²⁸ See for example Theodore H. von Laue's 1854 lectures about great powers in the 18th century: while "following their own inner drives" in strict autonomy, "they could be compared to so many celestial bodies incessantly moving together and side by side, sometimes in a certain conjunction and sometimes in a certain divergence from each other;" quoted in Carsten Holbraad, *The Concert of Europe: A Study in German and British International Theory, 1815-1914* (London: Longman, 1970), 87.

figuratively, through the dancers' regimentation and a fictional battle, the king's martial power.²⁹

But is the Concert then always a musical concept? The history of the word forbids any lapidary answer. If the Italian *conserto* originated in a poetical and religious context, the *Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca*, from its first (1612) to its fifth edition (1863-1923) consistently defined the word first in musical terms.³⁰ Similarly in France, Étienne Pasquier might have first listed the word *concert* as fashionably borrowed from the Italian to signify *conference*, but by the end of the seventeenth century, the musical meaning firmly predominated.³¹ Both Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* (1690) and the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (first published 1694) clearly established the musical meaning as primary, and held all subsequent meanings (such as "union, intelligence") to be figurative or adverbial (i.e. in the phrase *de concert*). Pierre Richelet, who in 1680 dedicated to the Bishop of Münster the dictionary he had conceived for the benefit of foreigners, didactically indicated as figurative the social meaning of coming to a common decision or action, vis-à-vis both the noun *concert* and the verb *concerter*.³² A century later, Jean-

²⁹ See Frances Yates, *French Academies*, and "The Festivals for the Polish Ambassadors 1673," in *The Valois Tapestries* (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1959), 67-72; Margaret McGowan, *L'Art du ballet de cour en France, 1581-1643* (Paris: CNRS, 1978), 41, and "Une affaire de famille: Les fêtes parisiennes en l'honneur d'Henri, duc d'Anjou, roi de Pologne," in *Arts du spectacle et histoire des idées: Recueil offert en hommage à Jean Jacquot* (Tours: Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance, 1984), 9-20; Mark Franko, *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 19-26; and Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms*, 109-10 and 185-6. All these references commonly reproduce an engraving of a geometrical figure from Jean Dorat's *Magnificentissimi spectaculi* (1573).

³⁰ The institution has made the five editions available online: accessed January 3, 2011, <http://www.lessicografia.it>.

³¹ Étienne Pasquier, *Recherches de la France* (Paris: L. Sonnius, 1621), Book VIII, Chapter III, 683. Pasquier, however, also reproduces a poem on the death of Ronsard by Nicolas Rapin which uses the word in a sense closer to its musical meaning (ibid., 655): "Vandomois harpeur, qui mourant ne mourras, / Mais de loing nos pleurs à ton aise verras, / Oy ce saint concert, & retiens avec toy / L'ombre de ton Roy."

³² Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois: contenant les mots et les choses, plusieurs nouvelles remarques sur la langue françoise, ses expressions propres, figurées et burlesques, la prononciation des mots les plus difficiles, le genre des noms, le régime des verbes...* (Geneva: J. H. Widerhold,

François Féraud, in his *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française* (1787-88) does not depart from this classification, indeed further specifying that the phrase “de concert” is a poetical way of saying “to be in agreement,” and adding as an example of figurative use: “Without the concert of ministers and generals, war cannot have a happy outcome.”

Both German and English dictionaries provide the French *concert* as the etymological origin; indeed, 18th-century German dictionaries do not usually include *Konzert*, but *Concert* as the proper spelling. But there exist startling differences in these languages’ treatment and classification of the word. In German, *Concert* is consistently described first in musical terms, and then only, if at all, in political terms; for example, there is no social or political definition in Johann Christoph Adelung’s *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart* (1793-1801).³³ Zedler’s *Universal Lexikon* (1740), however, provided an unusually specific field of application for his second definition, with not only connotations of secrecy in general, but military organization in particular.³⁴ Remarkably, such modern German dictionaries as the *Duden* or the *Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch* have retained this order of definitions to this day, and may still qualify the political meaning as a figurative use of the word.

In England, on the contrary, Samuel Johnson had already inverted the order of meaning: the “communication of designs,” mostly in a private or restricted environment, precedes the idea of a “symphony” or “many performers playing to the

1680), 159-60; Richelet systematically listed the primary meaning first, and marked figurative definition with a star.

³³ Johann Christoph Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart* (4 Bände, Leipzig, 1793-1801), Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum, accessed 7 January 2010, <http://lexika.digitale-sammlungen.de/adelung/online/angebot>

³⁴ Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künster* (1736-1751), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, accessed 7 January 2010, <http://www.zedler-lexikon.de/index.html>.

same tune.”³⁵ Lord Grenville, England’s Foreign Secretary from 1791 till 1801, doubtless concerned himself with communication when he deplored the want of “a general concert” in the struggle against France; yet, in the end, he also hoped for a “union of Great Powers” that would reverse the division of interests that had enabled France to establish her domination.³⁶ The social conception that traditionally characterized the concert easily allowed for analogies between musical and political realms; the parallel syntax of the definitions for *Concert* and *Congress* in Abraham Rees’s revision of Chambers’s *Cyclopædia* aptly illustrates this potential construction.³⁷

	Collective entity...	...constituted of diverse individuals (list)...	...united in action.
Congress	An assembly of...	...commissioners, deputies, envoys &c. from several courts or provinces...	...meeting to concert matters for their common good.
Concert	A number, or company of...	...musicians [instrumentalists or vocalists], playing or singing the same song, or piece of music, together.

In sum, politics and music are intimately intertwined in the Concert. All iterations of the word do not actively engage with musical thought and may not entail the upholding of harmony as a regulatory concept for ethical conduct, but the possibility remains for one to seize upon such meanings.

³⁵ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*. . . . (Dublin: printed for Thomas Ewing, 1775, 4th ed., revised by the author [1st ed., 1755]).

³⁶ Quoted in John M. Sherwig, “Lord Grenville’s Plan for a Concert of Europe, 1797-99,” *The Journal of Modern History* 34/3 (1962): 286.

³⁷ Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia*. . . . *with the supplement and modern improvements*. . . . by Abraham Rees, D.D. (London: printed for W. Strahan, J. F. and C. Rivington [and 34 others in London], 1778), I, n. p. The relation of analogy between the two concepts is not, of course, a relation of identity. The parallel syntax also highlights differences. The musical entity, for example, receives both an arithmetic and a substantive definition of collectivity. The musical action is also not explicitly defined in terms of a goal (in contrast with “for their common good”). It can thus be interpreted as its own goal, or as a disinterested action, free of any purpose.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, as the *Concert of Europe* gained wider currency in political discourses, its predominant connotation as a performance of harmony was also seemingly turning obsolete, overcome both in the musical world and the world at large by specialized meanings.³⁸ This is particularly apparent in France where Émile Littré emphatically revisited the order of definitions in his *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1872-1877); Littré distinguishes among three meanings: the first, general (the act of concerting), includes the recently forged *Concert of Europe*, the second, musical, pertinently divides into an early use (the phrase *concert de musique*) and its shortening (*concert*, a social event where music is performed), the third and last encompasses the previous definition as “harmony” of voices and instruments. In this context, Ernest Chausson or Vincent d’Indy’s use of the term as a title for a piece of music (respectively in 1889-92 and 1926) qualifies compositions for unusual instrumental ensembles as revivals of past practices.

Three competing ideas add to the meaning of *concert*: first, concert could designate a form of musical contest that partially informed the genre of the *concerto*, designated in most languages by the Italian; second, economic transformations, combined with the emergence of aesthetics, legitimized the perception of the concert as an autonomous activity dedicated to music, with distinct venues and practices; and third, the congress system founded in Vienna after the Napoleonic wars provided yet another technical definition of the *concert*, this time in the realm of politics. Seldom radically new, these competing meanings emerged as distinct, if not entirely exclusive constructions, turning the word into a palimpsest purposely dissociated from its

³⁸ In *The Concert of Europe* (4-5), Holbraad lists instances of the term’s use: Queen Victoria’s letters (1855 and 1856), the Treaty of Paris (1856), in Francis Joseph’s reflections in a session of the Austrian Council of Ministers (1864), or in a speech by Bülow in the *Reichstag* (1898).

history—a resetting of the clock, giving the word a new origin at the same time as a new definition. All three definitions share a motion toward theory or abstraction, with a corollary attention to forms, by opposition to circumstances or substance. The study of the Concert of nations as a jointly political and musical concept sheds light on these definitions as discursive strategies serving circumstantiated purposes or functions.

The possible definition of the *concerto* as a form of contest, for example, betrays a concern with the value of discord.³⁹ *Concerto* applies to a genre of musical works that set a soloist or a group of instruments against one another. Far from insignificant, this definition insists on acknowledging “contest” as a constituent of music and harmony. It comes along with a competing etymology to the one aforementioned—the Latin (rather than Italian) verb *concertare*, to dispute, contend, struggle—commonly retraced to the theoretical works of Hercole Bottrigari (1599) and Michael Praetorius (1619).⁴⁰ Bottrigari concludes his dialogue on the etymology of the word by asserting that bad chords and confusions should come as no surprise in the concert. The debate on the meaning of the concert as a musical genre, then, amplifies contemporary disputes on the status of dissonance in harmony.⁴¹ Florence Alazard immediately notices that political theorists, “as they seize music, generally compel it to wear all the finery of a science of concord and unity.”⁴²

Paintings, ballets and music, however, might tell a different story, in which war and peace equally partake in the making of harmony. The question arises, for example, when interpreting Hans Holbein’s 1533 famous painting, traditionally known

³⁹ In addition to the literature previously quoted, see John A. Meyer, “The Idea of Conflict in the Concerto,” *Studies in Music* 8 (1974): 38-52. In effect, Meyer questions definitions that generalize the idea of conflict to the entire genre. This does not mean that the idea has no historical reality, but that it might have informed a more limited set of compositions than traditionally assumed.

⁴⁰ See Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 33-36; and Alazard, *Art vocal, Art de gouverner*, 265-6.

⁴¹ Hercole Bottrigari, *Il desiderio overo de’ concerti di varij instrumenti musicali* (Bologne: Gioambattista Bellagamba, 1599), 9; quoted in Italian and French in Alazard, *op. cit.*, 266.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 266.



Figure i.ii — Hans Holbein the Younger, “The Ambassadors,” London, 1533.
© National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY

as “*The Ambassadors*” (see Figure i.ii)—an object that historians of music and diplomacy have already long shared. In this portrait, the two sitters, identified in 1900 by Mary Hervey as Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve, stand on each side of a shelf bearing various objects and, at the bottom, the anamorphic picture of a skull.⁴³

⁴³ Mary Frederica Sophia Hervey, *Holbein’s “Ambassadors”: The Picture and the Men* (London: Bell, 1900).

The still life, not entirely gratuitous, but also generally not self-evident, turns objects into ciphers of the sitters' moral portrait. Long omitted in descriptions, the redundancy of musical icons has recently attracted attention—namely: on the lower shelf, opposite a terrestrial globe, an eleven-stringed lute with the octave string of its fourth course broken (the case is stored under the shelf); by the lute, a case of five flutes, one of them missing; and in front of the lute, partially lying on the case of flutes, an open Lutheran hymnal, most likely Johannes Walther's *Geistlich Gesangbuchli*, fictionally opened to the tenor parts for two traditional anthems of the Catholic Church translated into German, the “*Veni Sancte Spiritus*” (Come Holy Spirit) and the “Ten Commandments”.⁴⁴ What these objects might refer to cannot be firmly established: too little is known of the emblematic program.⁴⁵ The lute and its broken string have traditionally been interpreted as a want of concord, though the emblem might apply to multiple spheres: political, as in Alciati's *Emblemata* (1531) where the broken string symbolizes the difficulty of maintaining alliances; religious, where dissonance could have referred to Christian schisms and more generally to sin and evil; and even courtly, as found in Concert paintings and depictions of Venus.⁴⁶ While the hymnal perhaps indicates a common ground for spiritual reconciliation, flutes could evoke a celestial choir, and the absence of the fifth flute would then reiterate human imperfection. But Mary Rasmussen also suggests that the case of flutes perhaps alludes to military fifers.⁴⁷ In the eye of the diplomat, lute and flutes could symbolize not only the want of accord, but the alternatively pleasing, spiritual,

⁴⁴ Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* 219-23 and 227-32. See also Susan Foister, Ashok Roy and Martin Wyld, *Making & Meaning: Holbein's Ambassadors* (London: National Gallery, 1997), 40-42, and John North, *The Ambassadors' Secret* (New York: Hambledon and London: 2004), 159-65 and 290-305.

⁴⁵ In addition to John North, see Costas M. Constantinou, *On the Way to Diplomacy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3-26.

⁴⁶ North (290-305) seems to suggest that these readings are mutually exclusive, but harmonist thought would have easily sustained multiple readings.

⁴⁷ Mary Rasmussen, “The case of the flutes in Holbein's *The Ambassadors*,” *Early Music* 23/1 (1995): 114-23.

and martial instruments of harmony, practiced under the enlightened rule of Christian law. Bad chords (*mali accordi*) and confusions pertained to worldly concerts, Bottrigari might have once again ventured if he had seen this painting.

Like the definition of the *concerto*, the technical definition of the Concert of Europe as a political phrase does not have the transparency or innocence that scholars of international relations perhaps anticipate. For one thing, the largely formalist definition of the Concert of Europe that characterizes its use in the political vocabulary evacuates *a priori* any relation of the concept to music—this even though students of international relations otherwise disagree on the relation between politics and culture. Technically, then, the Concert consists in the formal provision to resolve international issues collectively, most notably through the renewal of multilateral meetings, as enunciated first in the Treaty of Chaumont, Article V (March 9, 1814) and the Treaty of Paris, Article VI (November 20, 1815), and first put into practice at the Congress of Vienna (September 1814-June 1815).⁴⁸ “A Great Power concert, by itself, is about procedure, not substance,” Greg Rasmussen writes.⁴⁹ Did congress diplomacy, then, alter in any way the variables of balance-of-power politics? Yes, institutionalists answer. New practices resulted from the cultural transformation brought about by the Napoleonic Wars: allied against French hegemony, decision-makers learned to think not only of national, but also of common interests.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ See René Albrecht-Carrié, *The Concert of Europe* (New York: Walker, 1968), 25-35.

⁴⁹ See Greg Rasmussen, “Great Power Concerts in Historical Perspective,” in *The New Great Power Coalition: Toward a World Concert of Nations*, ed. Richard Rosecrance (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 206. Dan Lindley pursues this line of thought, focusing on the benefits derived from congresses as communication forums, in “Avoiding Tragedy in Power Politics: The Concert of Europe, Transparency, and Crisis Management,” *Security Studies* 13/2 (2003-2004): 195-229. Rasmussen partially contradicts himself when he later ties concert effectiveness with “ideological consensus.”

⁵⁰ The seminal work is Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), preceded by “The 19th-Century International System: Changes in the Structure,” *World Politics* 39/1 (1986): 1-26, and “The Nineteenth Century System: Balance of Power or Political Equilibrium?,” *Review of International Studies* 15 (1989): 135-53. Schroeder’s work prompted several collective publications: Peter Krüger and Paul W. Schroeder, ed., *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848: Episode or Model in Modern History?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). Also crediting the Concert of Europe with practices and effects unknown to balance-

In this regard, the Treaty of the Holy Alliance (September 1815), while entirely unpractical, placed the congress system under a moral rule that negated the liberal distinction between private and public spheres. In theory at least, the Treaty made the use of force the prerogative of a “Christian nation,” of which Russia, Austria, and Prussia were but delegates: the Treaty redefined war as a “reciprocal service” rather than a sovereign act of states. Was this display of principles nothing but empty verbiage? The vocal denunciation of revolutionary movements as a collective threat against governments partially identified the purpose of the Concert with the interests of monarchs. Scholars regularly emphasize the significance of ideological agreement in the formation of concerts, and indeed, current proponents of a Concert of Democracies offer a substantive definition of this institution.⁵¹

In 1815, Castlereagh had but one answer to the Treaty of Holy Alliance: “nonsense.” England’s foreign minister subscribed only to a procedural definition of the Concert that could not compromise the states’ sovereign power to wage war or to resist foreign intervention. In theory, then, Castlereagh conceived of a Concert that did not significantly modify the state’s definition of self-interest. In the opinion of realists, institutionalists have not demonstrated that the new institution significantly modified

of-power politics are Richard B. Elrod, “The Concert of Europe: A Fresh Look At An International System,” *World Politics* 28/2 (1976): 159-74; Regina Akopian, *The Great Powers and the Establishment of Security Regimes: The Formation of the Concert of Europe, 1792-1815* (PhD diss., The State University of New Jersey, 2008); and Kevin McMillan, *The Emergence of International Governance: Practices of European Politics, 1700-1848* (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2008). Jervis ties the Concert to specific incentives generated by wars against a *hegemon*, in “From Balance to Concert: A Study of International Security Cooperation,” *World Politics* 38/1 (1985): 58-79, and “A Political Science Perspective on the Balance of Power and the Concert,” *The American Historical Review* 97/3 (1992): 716-24.

⁵¹ Richard Rosecrance designates ideological agreement as one of the three constitutive principles of a Concert in “A New Concert of Powers,” *Foreign Affairs* 71/2 (1992): 64-82. On the Concert of Democracies, see G. John Ikenberry and Anne-Marie Slaughter, dir., *Forging a World of Liberty Under Law: U.S. National Security in the 21st Century* (Princeton: Princeton Project on National Security, 2006), 7, 61; Robert Kagan, “The case for a league of democracies,” *Financial Times*, May 13, 2008; and James M. Lindsay, “The Case for a Concert of Democracies,” *Ethics & International Affairs* 23/1 (2009): 5-11.

political behaviors or produced unique outcomes in peacekeeping.⁵² The Congress system emerged from historical circumstances in which multiple powers endeavored to balance perceived mutual threats—in the context of 19th-century Europe, Napoleonic France, and later on, revolutionary movements that threatened the legitimacy and security of monarchs. The debate, after over half a century of repeated arguments, retains all its significance: it speaks of what animates political life, and of the power to invent new ways to relate to one another.

In this regard, the notion of a dramatic “chasm” that traditionally dissociates the modern era from “harmonist” thought must be re-examined.⁵³ No doubt, the secularization of political thought, the construction of musical autonomy, and the social division of labor have all contributed to setting into question the traditional acknowledgment of music as a constituent of political life. In this regard, the technical definition of the Concert of Europe evacuates social mores and political symbols from the picture. The literature on the Congress of Vienna, in this regard, betrays scholarly schizophrenia, oscillating between tabloid-like sensationalism—gossips of a past glamorous “world” caught in journals, correspondences, and police reports—and diplomatic work—the careful writing of official documents that commit governments.⁵⁴ Peter Krüger, though concerned with the part cultural changes play in

⁵² See for example Korina Kagan, “The Myth of the European Concert: The Realist-Institutionalist Debate and Great Power Behavior in the Eastern Question, 1821-41,” *Security Studies* 7/2 (1997-1998): 1-57; and Branislav L. Slantchev, “Territory and Commitment: The Concert of Europe as Self-Enforcing Equilibrium,” *Security Studies* 24/4 (2005): 565-606. Matthew Rendall questions the assumed cosmopolitanism of Russian foreign policy in “Russia, the Concert of Europe, and Greece, 1821-29: A Text of Hypotheses About the Vienna System,” *Security Studies* 9/4 (2000): 52-90.

⁵³ For the opposite perspective see Michael Walzer, “On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought,” *Political Science Quarterly* 82/2 (1967): 202 (in reference to Shakespeare); Daly, “Cosmic Harmony and Political Thinking,” 31-38, and Spitzer, who speaks of “the destructive process of ‘demusicalization’ and secularization” in *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony*, 138.

⁵⁴ For examples of the first genre of history, see David King’s page-turner, *Vienna 1814: How the Conquerors of Napoleon Made Love, War, and Peace at the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2008); Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon & the Congress of Vienna*; and on the Congress of Aachen, Merete van Taack, “*Die Affären gehen gut*”: *Metternichs kleiner Europa-Kongreß 1818* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1988). For examples of the second, see Harold Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna: A Study in Allied Unity, 1812-1822*; Henry A. Kissinger, *A World Restored*:

political decisions, confidently asserts that “the European concert was rarely turned into myth: it was too little known and too concrete.”⁵⁵ The fact that several other terms beside *concert* could equally well designate the powers’ new relation in the minds of diplomats does not, however, invalidate the contribution music made to political imagination.⁵⁶

The Concert of Europe did not spring full-grown out of the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). At once musical category and political idea, the Concert of nations emerged within 16th- and 17th-century court culture, and has successively been remolded till the present time. While the phrase may not have entered the political vocabulary before the end of the 18th century, the representation of nations in sonorous and visual ensembles is contemporary to the institution of the modern state and the first developments of the international system. Music, dance, and theater operated as soundboards for these conceptual developments—at once a source of entertainment, propaganda, and innovation. This study seeks to restore its “pre-history” and its symbolic potency to the Concert of Europe.

Studies on music in international relations have multiplied since the 1990s, with publications in a myriad of disciplines: musicology, ethnomusicology, history, peace studies, and government. Scholars have addressed music’s contribution to cultural diplomacy and the practice of soft power.⁵⁷ Sporadically, scholars have shed

Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-22 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company / Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1957); Paul Schroeder, *Metternich’s Diplomacy at Its Zenith, 1820-1823* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962); and on the Congress of Verona, Irby C. Nichols, Jr., *The European Pentarchy and the Congress of Verona, 1822* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971). Dorothy Gies McGuigan productively weaves sentimental history and political reflection in *Metternich and the Duchess* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1975).

⁵⁵ Peter Krüger, “Balance of Power, European Concert and Integration: The Myth of a Changing International System,” in *Haunted by History: Myths in International Relations*, ed. Cyril Buffet and Beatrice Heuser, 3-14 (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1998), 12.

⁵⁶ For a list of synonyms (association, confederation, council, great alliance, system, etc.), see Holbraad, *The Concert of Europe*, 4-5.

⁵⁷ On German music, see Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009). For jazz in the Cold War, see Penny M. von Eschen, *Satchmo blows up the world: Jazz Ambassadors play the Cold*

light on the part musicians have played in building relations with foreign courts, collecting information about decision-makers, and shaping political communication.⁵⁸

François de Callières, in his well-known treaty on the art of diplomacy, singles out musicians in the business of intelligence gathering:

An expert minister will likewise not fail to gain, by gratuities and fortune, who have the art of insinuating themselves into all courts, and by whose means he may reap great advantages if he knows how to make a right choice of them. We have seen musicians and opera women, who, by the free access they had to certain Princes and their ministers have discovered very great designs.⁵⁹

It might admittedly be difficult for historians to document the work of musicians as informants or spies beyond the report of hearsay and indirect evidence, as in the cases of the composer Alfonso Ferrabosco I (1543-88), the violonist William Corbett (d. 1748), the piano student Agnes Street-Klindworth (1875-1906), and the music critic Henry Peasants (1910-2000).⁶⁰ Monographic studies of diplomats as composers, performers and patrons of music will contribute also to a better understanding of their

War (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Lisa E. Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era* (Jackson, University Press of Mississippi, 2009); Danielle Fosler-Lussier, "Cultural Diplomacy as Cultural Globalization: The University of Michigan Jazz Band in Latin America," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 4 (2010): 59-93; and Emily Abrams Ansari, "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Cultural Diplomacy," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5/3 (2011): 335-64.

⁵⁸ See Lucien Bély, "Musique et musiciens dans les relations internationales à l'époque moderne," in *Le musicien et ses voyages: Pratiques, réseaux, et représentations*, ed. Christian Meyer (Berlin: Berliner-Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2003), 9-28; by the same author, *La société des princes* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 150-60; and by T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). The case of Abbé Agostino Steffani has received the most attention: Claudia Kaufold, *Ein Musiker als Diplomat: Abbé Steffani in hannoverschen Diensten (1688-1703)* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1997) and Colin Timms, *Polymath of the baroque: Agostino Steffani and his music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁵⁹ François de Callières, *The Art of Diplomacy*, ed. H. M. A. Keens-Soper and Karl W. Schweizer (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983), 79.

⁶⁰ See Craig Monson, "The Composer as 'Spy': The Ferraboscis, Gabriele Paleotti, and the Inquisition," *Music & Letters* 84/1 (2003): 2-3 and 6-7; Owain Edwards, "Espionage, a Collection of Violins, and *Le Bizzarie Universali*: A Fresh Look at William Corbett," *The Musical Quarterly* 73/3 (1989): 335; Alan Walker, "Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: A Spy in the Court of Weimar?," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28/1 (1986): 50-51 and 58; 47-63; and Douglas Martin, "Henry Pleasants, 89, Spy Who Knew His Music," *The New York Times*, January 14, 2000.

significance in international relations if the lens includes not only their musical productions, but also their political agenda.⁶¹ More generally, music, especially opera, has long played a part in shaping representations of sovereignty, power, and international relations.⁶² But students of international relations have only recently acknowledged the part music played in the arts of war, diplomacy, and peace.⁶³ It would be premature, then, to say that an interdisciplinary field of study has emerged: the archival and theoretical work ahead is indeed dauntingly vast. Such a field, however, would contribute to our understanding of music as a symbol and performance of international relations, perhaps yielding new diplomatic paths for the future.

To rewrite President Obama's statement and this introduction's epigraph: these kinds of cultural exchanges—I wouldn't *understate* the degree it could help.

⁶¹ See Aubrey S. Garlington, *Society, culture, and opera in Florence, 1814-1830: Dilettantes in an 'Early Paradise'* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), on Lord Burghesh, and Albert Dunning, "Un gentilhomme hollandais, diplomate-compositeur à la cour de Louis XV: Nouvelles recherches sur le comte Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer," *Revue de musicology* 74/1: 27-51.

⁶² See for example Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973); Louise K. Stein, "Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda," *Acta musicologica* 63/2 (1991): 12-167; Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne: Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und Diplomatie, 1690-1745* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1998), and Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁶³ For a collection of articles by peace studies scholars and musicians, see Oliver Urbain, ed., *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics* (London: Tauris, 2007). On opera as an object of study in international relations, see Frédéric Ramel, "La musique comme matériau pour l'internationaliste: Le cas des opéras," in *L'Institution musicale*, ed. Jean-Michel Bardez et al. (Sampzon, France: Delatour, 2011), 88-102. The use of music in the Iraq wars have received much attention; see for example Jonathan Pieslak, *Sound Targets: American Soldiers and Music in the Iraq War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009). For an ethnomusicological approach to music as representation and enactment of conflict, see O'Connell and Castelo-Branco, ed., *Music and Conflict*. For a survey on music in conflict transformation, with a particular emphasis on the social use and psychology of music, and directions for future research, see Arild Bergh and John Sloboda, "Music and Art in Conflict Transformation: A Review," *Music & Arts in Action* 2/2 (2010), accessed July 15, 2011, <http://musicandartsinaction.net>

CHAPTER I

THE AESTHETICS OF COMPOSING THE NATIONS IN CONCERT

Composing the nations, an art of the ordinary. The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815)—the designated birthplace of the Concert of Nations or “congress system”—was more than a political event: it also presented European musicians with an opportunity to promote themselves to an unparalleled society of patrons. Indeed, the demand for entertainment, both private and public, provided many with employment and distinction. Among them was twenty-year-old Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870), to whom advertising printed in the *Wiener Zeitung* attributed a four-volume collection of national dances performed in the ballrooms of the Congress.¹ In Vienna since 1808, the pianist and composer had won the recognition of both peers and patrons.² Possibly recommended by the publisher Artaria, Moscheles received in particular the task of transcribing Beethoven’s opera *Fidelio* for piano, under Beethoven’s supervision. Moscheles also received the task of composing music for a Carrousel. In preparation for this aristocratic game, Archduke Rudolf had requested music from Beethoven. The composer sarcastically

¹ The musical life of the Congress, after scant previous attention, has aroused scholarly interest in the past decades, and what amounts to an obsession with Beethoven’s political music: Wilhelm Freiherrn von Weckbecker, “Die Musik zur Zeit des Wiener Congresses,” in *Der Wiener Kongress*, ed. Eduard Leisching (Wien: Artaria, 1898), 273-87; Michael Ladenburger, “Der Wiener Kongreß im Spiegel der Musik,” in *Beethoven Zwischen Revolution und Restaurationii*, ed. Helga Lühning and Sieghard Brandenburg (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1989), 275-308; Esteban Buch, *La Neuvième de Beethoven: Une histoire politique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1999), 81-103; Ingrid Fuchs, “The Glorious Moment — Beethoven and the Congress of Vienna,” in *Denmark and the Dancing Congress of Vienna: Playing for Denmark’s Future*, ed. Ole Villumsen Krog and Preben Ulstrup (Copenhagen, Denmark: Christiansborg Slot, 2002), 182-196; Otto Biba, “The Congress of Vienna and Music,” also in Krog and Ulstrup, 200-14; Nicholas Cook, “The Other Beethoven: Heroism, the Canon, and the Works of 1813-14,” *19th-Century Music* 27/1 (2003): 3-24; Nicholas Mathew, *Beethoven’s Political Music and the idea of the Heroic Style* (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2006), in particular 200-30 and 251-4; and by the same author, “History Under Erasure: *Wellingtons Sieg*, the Congress of Vienna, and the Ruination of Beethoven’s Heroic Style,” *The Musical Quarterly* 89/1 (2006): 17-61.

² The scholarly literature on Ignaz Moscheles is scarce, and like my account, mostly derived from *Aus Moscheles’ Leben: Nach Briefen and Tagebüchern* by Charlotte Moscheles, translated into English the year of its publication in 1873 (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1873). This holds true for: Carolyn Denton Gresham, *Ignaz Moscheles: An Illustrious Musician in the Nineteenth Century* (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 1980), 1-11 and 146-56; Jerrode Kathleen Marsh, *Style and Structure in the Chamber Music of Ignaz Moscheles* (DMA diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2000), 25-40; and Emil Smidak, *Isaak-Ignaz Moscheles: The Life of the Composer and His Encounters with Beethoven, Liszt, Chopin, and Mendelssohn* (Aldershot, UK: Gower Pub. Co., 1989).

bowed to his patron's will, but effectively passed on the chore to his young devotee.³ The commission, however, did have social significance. Organized by the imperial Festivals Committee at the Spanish Riding School, the Carrousel consisted in a deliberately archaizing display of aristocratic wealth and military choreography: twenty-four carefully selected "knights" displayed their skills for the pleasure of several "Queens of Love" and a large audience, including royal and diplomatic guests. The event, emulating the past, invited direct comparison with the splendor of 17th- and 18th-century court festivities.⁴ Beethoven's refusal might have contributed to the perception that the composer would not commit himself to any regular courtly service; Rossini, in response to his inquiries into Beethoven's situation in 1822, received only one response: "that's the way he wants it."⁵ Vice versa, the commission likely reinforced Moscheles' place in aristocratic salons and festivities, as did Countess Hardegg's request for a new composition for her concert to the benefit of charitable Viennese institutions on Ash Wednesday. "The Allied Princes were present," Moscheles noted succinctly of the performance in his diary.⁶ In effect, the variations he produced for the occasion, based on "the march played by the regiment bearing the name of the Emperor Alexander of Russia," ensured his popularity for several decades.⁷ They crowned a series of publications celebrating the

³ Beethoven's letter to the Archduke is quoted in Buch, 95-96. Beethoven had previously supplied the Archduke with music for horse ballets: indeed, the 1810 *Marsch für Militärmusik* in F, WoO 19, dedicated to Archduke Anton, survives in a reduction for piano solo by Archduke Rudolph himself; see Susan Kagan, *Archduke Rudolph, Beethoven's Patron, Pupil, and Friend: His Life and Music* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1988), 61-63. Whether circumstantial or foundational, Beethoven's change of mind as regards composing music for the Carrousel is perhaps significant. As noted by Buch, Beethoven had a certain preconception of the occasional music he wished to write (Buch, 96ff.).

⁴ On the Carrousel, see Dorothy Gies McGuigan, *Metternich and the Duchess* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1975), 407-9, and David King, *Vienna 1814: How the Conquerors of Napoleon Made Love, War, and Peace at the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2008), 152-56.

⁵ Or so it would appear from E. Mischoles' report of a conversation between Wagner and Rossini in 1860; see Herbert Weinstock, *Rossini: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 122 and 431. Beethoven's famous Congress concerts on November 29 and December 1 could also have partially prevented him from completing the assignment. The Carrousel's performances occurred on November 23, December 1 and December 5. Still, his refusal certainly increased the complexity of this relation to the Imperial Court. Unavoidable but dispensable, Beethoven remained on the outskirts of governmental power—gaining at best an occasional mention in the biography of Count Metternich.

⁶ C. Moscheles, 18.

⁷ Like other publications of the time, the title entertains a fruitful ambiguity as regards the symbolic significance of the march: it is the "March of Czar Alexander," or even shorter, the "Alexander variations." Omitting to identify

Allies—variations on a Russian theme (Op. 23) and an Austrian “national melody” (Op. 36), and characteristic sonatas (*Triumphal Entry of the Allies into Paris*, Op. 26 and *The Return of the Kaiser*, Op. 27).⁸ Artaria’s advertising in the *Wiener Zeitung* also attributed to Moscheles the collection of a large series of national dances in four volumes—three in 1815 and one in 1816, several months after the end of the Congress (the “Final Act” dates from June 1815, preceding the Battle of Waterloo by only a few days).⁹ The composer’s name, however, does not appear on the title page, and C. Moscheles only mentions the composition of Austrian Ländler for the publication.¹⁰ Titled in both French and German, though in slightly different ways, the collection perhaps was aimed both at a cosmopolitan and a local audience:

<i>Choix de Danses Caractéristiques de Diverses Nations de L’Europe avec les danses exécutées à l’occasion du séjour des Hautes-Puissances à Vienne pendant les Années 1814 et 1815, pour le Piano Forte</i>	Collection of Characteristic Dances of Various Nations of Europe, with the dances performed on the occasion of the stay of the High Potentates in Vienna during the years 1814 and 1815, for the Piano Forte
--	--

<i>Sammlung verschiedener National=Tänze</i>	Collection of different national dances
--	---

At the intersection of characteristic and character music, the collection constitutes an unlikely instance of the Concert of nations as a musical category and is an instructive starting point for an inquiry into the category’s aesthetic premises.¹¹ Its richness results in part from its unfulfilled claim to document the sonorous background of the Congress festivities—a claim immediately compromised by the quasi absence of information on the historical circumstances in which the dances might have been performed. In other words, and despite its marketing, the

more specifically the regiment that bore the Russian Emperor’s name blurred the distinction between this specific military body and the Tsar’s person.

⁸ Gresham, 149

⁹ See Alexander Weinmann, *Vollständiges Verlagsverzeichnis Artaria & Comp.* (Wien : Musikverlag Ludwig Krenn, 1978), 110 and 113. Weinmann references advertising in the *Wiener-Zeitung* No. 69 (10.3.1815) and 174 (22.6.1816).

¹⁰ C. Moscheles, 13. In effect, only two sets of dances are directly attributed to Moscheles in the publication: 6 *Redout Deutsche* in the first volume, and 2 *Kontratänze* and 3 *Kosaken Tänze* in the second volume. The *Ländler* are generally anonymous, except for two sets respectively attributed to Pamer and M. J. Leidesdorf.

¹¹ Character music implies a certain unity—of affect or subject (such as in a portrait). Characteristic music, while it applies to a wide range of referential music, generally involves a gamut of emotions, and quite often, a narrative or action. See Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 4-13.

publication was no memorial. Words are few in the publication beyond the title page (see Appendix I for a table of contents). About sixty percent of the 158 dances are attributed to specific composers (generally, only their last names appear)—in all likelihood, most of them young, on the path to success and fame (see Table 1.1). The list includes Moscheles’ friendly rival, the virtuoso pianist Joseph von Hummel (1778-1837); another of Mocheles’ personal acquaintance, the successful guitar virtuoso Mauro Giuliani (1781-1829); Michael Pamer (1782-1827) who, before Lanner and Strauß, left his mark on Viennese ballroom music; Johann Horzalka (1778-1860), perhaps at one time a pupil of Moscheles; M. J. Leidesdorf (1787-1840), who in 1822 joined Ignaz Sauer’s publishing firm as a partner; and the already well-established composer and piano teacher Francesco Pollini (1762-1846).¹² In the diversity of their origins (Bohemia, Moravia, Italy, Austria), the composers themselves exemplified Viennese imperial culture.¹³

Table 1.1 — The composers of the *Choix de danses*

Anonymous	39.2%
Giuliani	1.9%
Horzalka [Johann Friedrich]	2.5%
Hummel [Joseph Nepomuk]	3.2% or less (2 <i>Ecossaises</i> are marked “von J. v. H.,” which could refer to another composer)
Leidesdorf, M[aximilian] J[oseph]	7.6% or less (1 <i>Ecossaise</i> is marked “J. L.”)
Moscheles [Ignaz]	7.6%
Pamer [Michael]	32.9%
Pollini [Francesco]	1.9%
Sailer [unidentified]	1.9%
Herr Seelig [unidentified]	1.3%

¹² On Mauro Giuliani, see Thomas F. Heck, *The Birth of the Classic Guitar and Its Cultivation in Vienna, Reflected in the Career and Compositions of Mauro Giuliani (d. 1829)* (PhD diss., Yale University, 1970), especially 105-13. Michael Pamer’s music is briefly discussed in Walter Deutsch, “Michael Pamer und Joseph Lanner: Eine ‘ländlerische’ Studie,” in *Flüchtige Lust: Joseph Lanner, 1801-1843* (Wien: Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, 2001), 67-71. Johann Friedrich Horzalka is mentioned in *Thayer’s Life of Beethoven*, revised and edited by Elliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991 [1921]), II, 776, notes 15 and 16. On Leidesdorf, see Alexander Weinmann, “Sauer,” in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford Music Online), accessed April 22, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24631>, and on Pollini, Elena Biggi Parodi, “Pollini, Francesco,” in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford Music Online), accessed April 22, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22029>. Leidesdorf and Moscheles are also discussed in Otto Biba, “Jewish Families, Composers, and Musicians in Vienna in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Vienna: Jews and the City of Music 1870-1938*, ed. Leon Botstein and Verner Hanak, 65-75 (Annandale-on-Hudson: Bard College and Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 2004).

¹³ Alice M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 10.



Figure 1.1 — Frontispiece of the *Choix de danses...*, No. III (Artaria No. 2369).
Wienbibliothek im Rathaus.

Some dances also include tempo markings, and seven French quadrilles receive choreographic instructions. The frontispiece itself appears oddly unspecific, almost careless and misplaced in its topical nature (see Fig. 1.1): the pastoral figure of a woman clashes with the work of skilled virtuosos and the enjoyment of High Potentates. Dressed freely *à l'antique*, she dances alone in a seemingly natural environment, holding a triangle, while staff and tambourine rest on the ground.

The iconographic reference to pastoral life and Ancient civilization, however, might not be as contradictory as it would first appear. Collecting national tunes and dances involved a practical interest in the boundary between civilization and nature, art and the power to move others. After his stay in Berlin, Charles Burney wrote at length of Lord George Keith's passion

for national tunes—how his host, following a discussion of Scots music and Erse poetry, “made him to sing through a whole collection,” and “ordered a Scots piper, one of his domestics” to perform “some Spanish and Scots tunes.”¹⁴ Most interesting here is the reason why Burney finds himself subjugated to this musical experience. Keith—a former military leader and diplomatic agent—had set upon this exercise to demonstrate he did not ignore the “power of sound.”¹⁵ “Lest you should think me too insensible to the power of sound,” Burney reports him saying, “I must tell you that I have made a collection of *National tunes* of almost all the countries on the globe.” Significantly, Burney’s conversation with this former protector of Jean-Jacques Rousseau turned to the comparative merits of French and Italian musics.¹⁶ As noted by Burney, his interlocutor’s anecdotes echoed Rousseau’s *Lettre sur la musique françoise* when Lord Marshal recounted the disastrous effect of French music on a “young Greek lady” and “a native of the new discovered island of Otaheite.” More to the point, Burney’s reconstruction of this conversation echoes Rousseau’s reflection on the power and majesty of music in modern times, as formulated in his article, first in Diderot and D’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie*, then in the *Dictionnaire de musique*. The conversation, however, was not uncritical. Contrary to Rousseau, Keith rejected the idea that music might cure tarantula bites. Keith evoked instead “a Highlander who always cried, upon hearing a certain slow Scots tune” (including in his sleep!), and the homesickness that Swiss soldiers in foreign service experienced upon hearing the *Ranz des Vaches*. If the Lord Marshal’s anecdotes illustrated the power of music to overcome self-control, they manifested an interest in the power of music over the mind rather than the body. Rousseau had ignored this aspect of the

¹⁴ Burney was in Berlin and Potsdam in late September and early October 1772. Burney related his visit to the Lord Marshal in *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, II (London: T. Becket, J. Robson, and G. Robinson, 1775²), 119-27. For a summary of Burney’s perception of musical life in Berlin and the polemics that arose from his statements, see Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), 385-9.

¹⁵ George Keith (?1686-1778), hereditary Lord Marshal of Scotland, lived in exile for the largest part of his life, having long supported the Stuarts. He served the Courts of Spain and Berlin, first in a military capacity, then as a diplomat. Named Governor of Neuchâtel by Frederick the Great, he soon retired near Sans-Souci. Rousseau wrote a glowing portrait of the Lord Marshal in his Confessions; see Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les Confessions*, Livre XII, 595-600, in *Œuvres complètes*, I, ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond (Paris: Gallimard, 1959). D’Alembert also published an apology of the Lord Marshal: *Éloge de Milord Maréchal, par M. D**** (Berlin: Chez Chretien Frederic Voss, 1779).

¹⁶ Rousseau benefited from Keith’s protection in 1762.

question until he analyzed the effect of the *Ranz des Vaches* as that of a “memorative” sign: the power of the song resulted not from its composition, but from “habit, memories, a thousand circumstances”—and the longing for a lost past.¹⁷

In other words, the power of national music originated at the intersection of society and nature. It had two sources: the imperceptible formation of collective habits (in Rousseau’s work, man’s second nature), and the artful duplication of that which already is, has been, and will be.¹⁸ National music evoked the idea of nature to the extent that it exalted ordinary life. Its poetics, thus, entirely excludes the worship of a previously unheard-of singularity. Whatever the amount of thought truly given to the frontispiece of the *Choix de danses*—one might reasonably assume: not much—its pastoral dancer spoke volumes on the aesthetics of composing the nations. She is the familiar harbinger of ordinary life, of the *déjà vu* and the well known.

Titles: where all is said, and nothing is said. Composers certainly grasped the plural purpose of collecting national music: Anton Reicha (1770-1836), for example, defining music as an art of feelings capable of affecting people’s moral life, made clear the value of such contributions to both art and government. His short “observations on national arias,” published in 1824 in his *Traité de la mélodie* and reproduced *verbatim* 1824-1826 in his *Traité de haute composition musicale*, disparaged the want of scientific and public interest in the study of national songs:

It is inexcusable that a collection of national songs has not yet been made, at least of those in civilized countries. We know that many of them are extremely

¹⁷ In-between the publication the *Encyclopédie* and that of the *Dictionnaire de musique*, Rousseau added the *Ranz-des-Vaches* to the Chinese, Persian, and Amerindian airs already reproduced. With its sampling of continents, plate N reproduced almost incidentally the topical presentation of the four parts of the world in ballets and operas. The addition of the Swiss air constitutes a significant modification to Rousseau’s reflection on the power of modern music. While he had already noted the obsolete belief of Ancients in the power of music over the soul, he now conceded that modern music could affect people not only physically, but psychologically: “it is not in their physical action that one should seek the most important effects of sounds on the human heart.” But the discussion leaves the reader with a paradox: music affects people when considered not so much as music, but as something less (sound) or something more (a memorative sign) than music “itself”. The corrective is to anchor music in language, as Rousseau famously advocated.

¹⁸ In the words of *Émile, ou de l’éducation*, “habit makes a second nature for us” (Book II). Social institutions, as discussed in both *Émile* and *Du Contrat social*, alter the very nature of man, to which political constitutions and social customs substitute a civic nature.

original and interesting, and also portray the taste, the character, and the morals of the nations.

(...) What would the Greeks, who considered music as the first among the arts, say if they were our judges, and learned that this most interesting art, whose principles enter into so many of our moral concerns, is in a certain sense banned from our learned societies, and abandoned to a kind of technique with which we solely practice it?

A collection of national songs should be of interest, not only to artists, but to governments, for it is known that there is nothing easier than gaining the friendship of a nation by performing its own songs (which each nation values as strongly as its laws and religion) with the manner, the impulse, the character, and the nuances with which they are usually sung.¹⁹

Czerny, who translated Reicha's text from French to German for Diabelli's bilingual edition in 1832, duly reminded the reader of the progress made in this field, with not only numerous collections of Austrian, Russian, and Scottish airs, but also their elaboration in instrumental and operatic music, most notably by Beethoven. He nevertheless also called for a complete and exhaustive publication that would include songs from nations located in the south of Europe (Spain, Portugal, Italy).²⁰

In sketching the political, educational, and artistic utility of this encyclopedic project, however, Reicha omitted to specify the principles upon which the "collector" should define the territorial or social units labeled as "national." Indeed, the musical and theatrical performance of national characters remained firmly archaic in its territorial variability: as in the 17th-century *ballet des nations*, nations in the *Choix de danses* implied little more than a statement of community, encompassing references to not only states (France, Spain), empires (Russia, Austria), and federative ascriptions (Germany, Italy), but also local and regional territories

¹⁹ Quoted in German in Z. Gárdonyi, "Nationale Thematik in der Musik Franz Liszts bis zum Jahre 1848," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1963): 77-87. For the translation into English, see Anton Reicha, *Treatise on Melody*, trans. Peter M. Landey (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2000), 71.

²⁰ Anton Reicha, *Vollständiges Lehrbuch der musikalischen Composition*, trans. Carl Czerny (Vienna: Diabelli, 1832), 502: "Anmerkung des Übersetzers. In den letzten Jahren ist hier in wohl Manches gethan worden. Oestreichische, russische, schottische, und andere National=Lieder sing in mehreren Sammlungen, freilich nicht immer mit musikalisch=kritischer Sonderung, ans Licht getreten; und viele grosse Tonsetzer (selbst *Beethoven* in seinen 3 Violin=Quartetten op. 59, wo er original=russische Motive einwebte) haben, indem sie solche Thema's zu *Rondo's, Variationen, &c...* verarbeiteten, und selbst in Opern oft mit Glück anbrachten, dieselben dem Publikum zum Theil bekannt gemacht. Aber derjenige Musikverleger würde sich ein grosses Verdienst erwerben, der eine möglicst vollständige and korrekte Sammlung solcher Motive *aller* Nationen, und besonders der, uns in diéser Hinsicht noch lange nicht genug bekannten *südlichen* Länder, wie Spanien, Portugall, Italien, &c... zu veranstalten im Stande wäre."

(Scotland, Hungary, Ukraine, Styria, and the cities of Nurnberg, Strasbourg, and Linz), and even vocational identities (sailors and Cossacks might be counted in this category).²¹ National attributes, while ringing with self-evidence, carried in truth all the complexity of identity politics—from one’s self-representation to the image of foreigners and enemies, through all kinds of multiple allegiances.²² For example, whom did the *polonaise* symbolize in 1814, a little over twenty years after the dismemberment of the Polish kingdom by Russia, Austria, and Prussia? Generally played at the opening of a ball, the dance provided royalty and guests with an opportunity to parade through the rooms: in this sense, its signification pertained more to

²¹ 17th- and 18th-century ballet scholars might readily recognize the topicality of this social variability in multinational ballets. Colletet’s 1622 *Ballet des nations* opens with fishermen, an Englishman, a Spaniard, an Italian and a German, a Venetian Pantalon, a Polish man, a giant, a French man, a Scythian, and finally, Fame leading Moors; see the libretto in Paul Lacroix, *Ballets et mascarades de cour de Henri III à Louis XIV (1581-1652)* (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), VI, 231-8, and Margaret M. McGowan, *L’Art du ballet de cour en France, 1581-1643* (Paris: CNRS, 1978), 157-8. The *Ballet des nations* performed on January 16, 1638 offers a representative list with its entrances for Flemish servants, German women, Turks, Satyrs (*Chevres pièds*), Basques, Pantalon, Italians, French, Egyptians, Madwomen, Portuguese, Moors, and Piedmonts; see David J. Buch, *Dance Music from the Ballets de Cour 1575-1651: Historical Commentary, Source Study, and Transcriptions from the Philidor Manuscripts* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1993), 29, 59, 63, 69-70, and 138-51; and for further examples, Marie-Claude Canova-Green, “Dance and ritual: the *Ballet des nations* at the court of Louis XIII,” *Renaissance Studies* 9/4 (1995): 395-403. National dances still involved a variety of geographical and political scales in the romantic era: see Lisa C. Arkin and Marian Smith, “National Dance in the Romantic Ballet,” in *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet*, ed. Lynn Garafola (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 11-68.

²² There is a large literature on “national character,” encompassing the fields of “image studies” (or “imagology”) and the history of political philosophy. For an introduction to imagology, see Joep Leerssen, “The Rhetoric of National Character: A Programmatic Survey,” *Poetics Today* 21/2 (Summer 2000): 267-92; Alain Montandon, “Les caractères nationaux dans la littérature française: problèmes de méthode,” *Cahiers de l’Association internationale des études françaises* 54 (2002): 251-69; and Russell Goulbourne, “The Comedy of National Character: Images of the English in Early Eighteenth-Century French Comedy,” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33/3 (2010): 335-55. This growing literature is informed and stimulated by the literary study of clichés, a figure of speech with a more complex construction than one might expect from its demonstrative familiarity. In political philosophy, texts by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Hume and Helvetius have long been discussed, especially as regards stated links between climate, national mores, and political regimes. See for example Roberto Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). In music more specifically, a starting point might be found in Judith L. Schwartz, “Cultural stereotypes and music in the 18th century,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* CLV (1976): 1989-2013, and James R. Stevens, “The Meanings and Uses of *Caractère* in Eighteenth-Century France,” in *French Musical Thought, 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart, 23-52 (Ann Arbor and London: UMI, 1989). From such general articles, one might pursue the question in the literature on musical orientalism, or the representation of foreigners in the *ballet de cour*. For the latter, see Marcel Paquot, *Les étrangers dans les divertissements de la cour, de Beaujoyeulz à Molière (1581-1673): Contribution à l’étude de l’opinion publique et du théâtre en France* (Bruxelles: La Renaissance du Livre, 1933); Georgie Durosoir, “Visages contrastés de l’Italie dans les ballets de la cour de France dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle,” *Revue de musicologie* 77/2 (1951): 169-78, Marie-Claude Canova-Green, *La Politique-spectacle au grand siècle: Les rapports franco-anglais* (Paris, Seattle and Tübingen: Biblio 17, 1993); Bruce Alan Brown, “... les danses confédérées”: Mutinational Ballets on the Viennese Stages, 1740-1776” (paper presented at the meeting of the American Musicological Society in Philadelphia, November 15, 2009).

ceremony than identity (in a similar way, the *menuet*, though still loosely associated with France, had also come to symbolize a general idea of elegance). But the Russian empire had seized the *polonaise* as forcefully as its armies occupied a territory Tsar Alexander now hoped to redefine as a satellite kingdom.

The history of the *polonaise*, in itself, would deserve extensive research, but it suffices here to point out two paradoxes. First, one might have assumed that the dissemination of national styles or genres emanates from a predominant position of power. French overtures or ballets, for example, have generally been accepted as symbols of the French court's power of attraction, in the same way as the dissemination of Versailles-like architecture contributed to the image of a French Europe.²³ Indeed, Louis XIV clearly cultivated music as diplomatic asset when he sent eight violinists for the entertainment of the Dresden court in 1665 and 1666.²⁴ But the *polonaise* grew in popularity as a processional dance in the 1780s, precisely between the first and second Partitions (respectively, 1772 and 1793), and not long before the country's complete political demise.²⁵ Second, the *polonaise* (and music in the Polish style more generally) had been increasingly marginalized in 18th-century music, relocated to the confines of European common practice: to many, the country and its culture stood as a march—a border province—between European civilization and Eastern cultures.²⁶ After 1791, however, Józef Kozłowski's *polonaise*

²³ On French court culture as a model in Europe, see Louis Réau, *L'Europe française au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: A. Michel, 1938); S.J. Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendour: Ceremony, Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600-1800* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993), especially 115-76; and for a critique of this representation, with a focus on local mediations of French culture in 18th-century Europe, see Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *Le mythe de l'Europe française au XVIII^e siècle: Diplomatie, culture et sociabilités au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Autrement, 2007).

²⁴ Michael Robertson, *The Courtly Consort Suite in German-Speaking Europe, 1650-1706* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 13 and 18.

²⁵ Sarah Reichart suggests that the growing popularity of the *polonaise* resulted either from the diasporas of the Polish nobility or its acculturation within new political entities; see *The Influence of Eighteenth-Century Social Dance on the Viennese Classical Style* (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1984), 109: "As the nobility were dispersed (or their lands became parts of other countries) the influence of the Polish national dance became even more widespread, affecting not only Western Europe, but Russia as well." For a more general survey of social dance, including the *polonaise*, see Elizabeth Aldrich, "Social Dancing in Schubert's World," in *Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson, 119-40 (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997).

²⁶ See Steven Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 469-502 on the Polish style in Telemann's work and its cultural significance.

“Grom pobedy razdajavsja!” (“Let the thunder of victory sound”) also gained currency as an “unofficial anthem” and a “symbol of Russian might.”²⁷ Adorning itself with the *polonaise*, Russia partially duplicated the cultural borrowing practiced by the Dresden court, where Electors of Saxony had claimed the crown of Poland since 1697. But Kolowski’s *polonaise* accomplished more: it effectively flipped over the exotic connotation of the dance. The genre here symbolized not an Oriental Europe, but Russia’s increasing integration into Western European politics. Announcing the entrance of Catherine the Great at a celebratory ceremony, the piece marked Russian victories over the Turkish Army in the simultaneous wars of the Austria and Russian Empires against the Ottoman Empire from 1787 to 1792. The *polonaise*, thus, also symbolized Russian claims to leadership in Europe and hegemony in Poland. At the Congress of Vienna, the “Polish Question,” joined with Prussia’s bid to absorb the kingdom of Saxony within its boundaries, long delayed the conclusion of the discussions.²⁸

The very concept of national characters artificially calls forth the stability of everyday spatial ascriptions. Social, moral, and political distinctions, especially when assigned to a territory, borrow from physical experience the irrefutable uniqueness of location, which differentiates one person from another and one place from another. In this regard, the Concert of nations, like allegories and maps, pertained to a more general trend of modern European thought, which demonstratively anchored discourse in space.²⁹ In the Concert of nations, thus, the name that stands as a title to a work operates just like the proper name of a place: first, it is a given, and

²⁷ See Birgit Lodes’ well-documented article (except for a typographical error on the ceremony’s date): “‘Le congrès danse’: Set Form and Improvisation in Beethoven’s Polonaise for Piano, Op. 89,” *The Musical Quarterly* 93/3-4 (Fall-Winter 2010): 414-49, especially 415-24.

²⁸ See Chapter III for a more detailed discussion and scholarly references on the Polish Question at the Congress of Vienna.

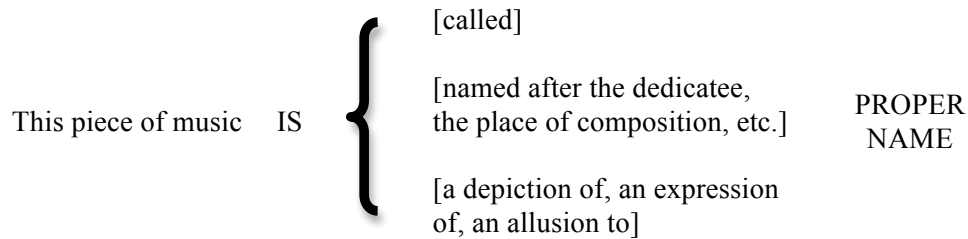
²⁹ On these intellectual and visual practices, Walter J. Ong, “From Allegory to Diagram in the Renaissance Mind: A Study in the Significance of the Allegorical Tableau,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 17/4 (1959): 423-440; and as regards allegorical cartography, Louis van Delft, “La cartographie morale au XVII^e siècle,” *Études françaises* 21/2 (1985): 91-115; Frantz Reitinger, “Discovering the Moral World: Early Forms of Map Allegory,” *Mercator’s World* 4/4 (July/August 1999): 24-31; by the same author, “Mapping Relationships: Allegory, Gender and the Cartographical Image in Eighteenth-Century France and England,” *Imago Mundi* 51 (1999): 106-30; and Jeffrey N. Peters, *Mapping Discord: Allegorical Cartography in Early Modern French Writing* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004). Louis van Delft has written extensively on the relation between topography and character in *Littérature et anthropologie: Nature humaine à l’âge classique* (Paris: PUF, 1993).

therefore goes generally unquestioned, but more to the point, it is not so much given by anyone in particular as already accepted by all—while in Paris, one does not go about wondering whether Paris is Paris. In this context, the denial of location is a clear marker of madness. The visitor will instead instantly move on to another question: not whether Paris is Paris, but rather, what Paris is. With this question in mind, the tourist wanders from monument to monument, street to street, and conversation to conversation. In a sense, then, national characters are “always already” commonplaces, whether or not they benefit from the force of repetition. They are commonplaces by tacit convention, rather than by common sense.³⁰ This very premise allows for both the surprising mutability of traits observed in the definition of national characters and the remarkable resilience of national characters despite the weariness of repetition.

The spatial ascription of the Concert of nations structures its poetics: its referential value goes unquestioned. Location determines with a practical consistency the series of objects and signs coordinated by the term *Paris*, if only negatively: what is located in New York is *a priori* not Paris. Such determinism does not apply to the composition of national characters: while the title operates like the name of a place, it remains an abstract construction, not only open to interpretation, but itself relatively indeterminate. In this regard, the national stereotype is truly a “discursive strategy,” rather than a lack of thought.³¹ Students of musical portraits will already be familiar with the indeterminacy of national characters as with the indeterminacy of portrait titles in general. Historical research amply demonstrated the multiplicity of ways in which one can qualify the relation between a title and notated sound. Concretely, this multiplicity results first from the many meanings the word *is* might take:

³⁰ Focusing on the *Ballet des Muses* (1666-1667), Ellen R. Welch also points out that, while national characters carry “the discursive force of a commonplace,” 17th-century ballets readily acknowledge their conventional and performative nature, allowing for an ironic play between the fictional character and the public identity of the performer, especially when the performer is a member of the Court: see “National Characters: Playing Against Type in the *Ballet des Muses* (1666-67),” *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 32/2 (2010): 191-205.

³¹ See Homi K. Bhabha’s discussion of the stereotype as a discursive strategy in colonialism, in *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon, UK and New York: Routledge, 1994), 94-120.



In the absence of a clear enunciation, all meanings stand equally valid. David Fuller, who provides examples for each of the options listed above, concludes that

without some such declaration [by composers themselves, or by witnesses in a position to know], and in the absence of some obvious cliché of musical depiction like battle fanfares, rustic drones, or bird-like warbling, we cannot possibly be sure what the significance of a given title is, or even whether it has any meaning at all, given the diversity and unpredictability of their approaches.³²

In other words, contrary to the idea that the title restrains the semantics of musical sound, proper names used in this function, whether individual or collective, do little more than reassert the potentially referential nature of musical sound. The title *Les Sauvages* (to a harpsichord piece by Jean-Philippe Rameau) does not tell how the music sounds, but more minimally, that the music might mean something that will encompass the term. *Les Sauvages* remains in this regard, despite its title, “a sign fragment, the signifier of a veiled or unrealized signified” —borrowing from Lawrence Kramer’s terminology. Music, Kramer explains, does not amount to verbal discourse, but it does not entirely want meaning either, because one could “at any moment” assign it a referent or a signified.³³ Portrait titles, if they impose meaning onto sound, do so not only in an injunctive, but also interrogative mode.

³² David Fuller, “Of Portraits, ‘Sapho’ and Couperin: Titles and Characters in French Instrumental Music of the High Baroque,” *Music & Letters* 78/2 (1997): 149-74, especially 164-5. Françoise Escal exposes at length the contradictions of critics and the difficulties of interpretation in reading Couperin’s titles: *Espaces sociaux, espaces musicaux* (Paris: Payot, 1979), 39-60. Joshua S. Walden also illustrates how misunderstandings in the reading of the title led to distinct interpretations of C.P.E. Bach’s musical portraits; see “Composing Character in Musical Portraits: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and *L’Aly Rupalich*,” *The Musical Quarterly* 91/3-4 (2008): 379-411.

³³ Lawrence Kramer, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 156.

The same is true, a fortiori, of the partially generic titles of dances in the *Choix de danses*. Comparing two dances by M. J. Leidesdorf (see Example 1.1 and Table 1.2), their national qualification, rather than speaking directly to the reader, raises questions. First: what denotes sonorously a German rather than a Scottish dance? The problem, here, is to choose which difference is significant and representative. In this small sample of two dances, the contrast between ternary and binary meter is evidently crucial, but in the larger context of the collection (see Appendix I), a ternary meter can also evoke a *menuet*, a *polonaise*, an Austrian dance, and various regional dances, while a binary meter will equally fit an *anglaise* and an *écossaise*, a French *quadrille* and a Cossack dance. Each musical parameter remains within fairly conventional bounds. Indeed, one might marvel here at the very lack of difference: the two pieces share the same key, the same use of register, and overall, the same binary form with similar dynamics. Strikingly enough, both dances end with an upward melodic motion, as if to conjure the same uplifting envoi. Taken individually, differences in melody or texture are too minute to matter; considered jointly, however, they establish a certain sense of distinction.

From this perspective, the German dance conveys a sense of order partially obfuscated in the *Écossaise*. The studious subdivision of the German dance's two parts into another set of two parts contributes much to this appreciation. The additional crescendos and slurs in the first part of the German dance highlight minute differences in what is otherwise the exact repetition of the same four bars: melodic motion, continued till the third beat (m. 4), weakens the sense of cadence the first time it occurs, while the lengthening of the dominant pedal reinforces it the second time around (m. 7). More generally, broken chords and hints of counterpoint in the German dance contrast with the plain full chords of the *Écossaise*. Should the listener understand these sonorous markers of sophistication as denoting cultural refinement? In comparison, the *Écossaise*'s wider range of harmonies and unexpected turns might betray a want of economy, and ultimately, a coarser enjoyment. Or is the *Écossaise*'s further harmonic complexity a marker of art and invention? More fundamentally, should the listener take any of these sonorous traits as representations of a national character? It is hard to answer any of these questions without

10 N° 7.
ÉCOSSAISES
von M. J. Leidesdorf.

16 Deutsche Tänze.
N° 7.
von M. J. Leidesdorf.

Example 1.1 — *Écossaise* No. 1 and *Deutsche Tanz* No. 1 by M. J. Leidesdorf,
in *Choix de Danses Caractéristiques de Diverses Nations de l'Europe*, etc.
(Vienne: Artaria No. 2444, 1816), 10 and 16.
Wienbibliothek im Rathaus.

Table 1.2 — Similarities and differences in Leidesdorf's German dance and *Écossaise*.

	German Dance	<i>Écossaise</i>
Meter	Ternary (3/4)	Duple (2/4)
Key	D Major	D Major
Left hand texture	broken chords, and chromatic counterpoint line mm. 13-16	full chords
Harmony	Mainly I and V (also V/V)	I, V, vii/V, vi, ii
Right hand texture	single melodic line, with parallel thirds mm. 2 and 6, and hint of counterpoint m.15	single melodic line
Melodic bar structure	a (1+1+2) a' (1+1+2) b (2+2) b' (2+2)	a (4+4) b (2+2+4)
Phrasing	Slurs	None
Dynamics	crescendos mm. 3-4, 7-8, 13-16	crescendos mm. 4-6 and 13-16, forte mm. 7-8
Register (low)	Stable (lowest point at the end of the first part)	stable (lowest point at the end of the first part)
Register (high)	ascending, especially ascending scale at the end	ascending, especially ascending scale at the end

arbitrariness. Indeed, far from ending here, the inquiry might expand endlessly to other instances of these musical genres, works by the same composer, prescriptive descriptions of dances, and literatures on national characters. The title should say it all, but it does not: far from ensnaring sound, as some have feared, it triggers the absorption of all kinds of signs, symbols, and discourses in the music—a process which, in the continuation of Umberto Eco’s concept of the “open work,” could be labeled *open semiotics*.

The Concert of nations as multimedia. The paradox of character music lies precisely in the double relation of the title to the piece it qualifies: in one sense, the title ascribes meaning to sound, and in another sense, sound absorbs the title’s significations. The title has thus a dual status, as both text and music.³⁴ Françoise Escal, on the contrary, has consistently described titles as authoritarian injunctions, both pertinent and limiting. Entirely external to sound, the words of the title are never redundant: what title says does not double notated sound. The title’s claim to guide the reading of the score and the listening of the piece, if only by excluding certain interpretations, is therefore always relevant. In *Espaces musicaux, espaces sociaux*, Escal describes verbal indications as “impositions of meaning over music”, or “literal semantic appropriations (*coups de force*)”. Accordingly, she suggests that:

*On peut voir alors dans la musique descriptive de l’époque classique et dans les commentaires auxquels elle donne lieu comme la tentation de surveiller et contrôler ce pouvoir symbolique de la musique par la production réglée de symboles repérables et de signes échangeables (...).*³⁵

³⁴ See Walden, 5: “The title of the piece, which mediates between the music and the listener, inspires an imaginative mode of reception: it serves as a lens through which to perceive notes and structures a representation of human characteristics.” On the idea that language belongs to music in some sense, see David Lewin’s phenomenological model of perception, which encompasses statements on the musical event and its context: “Music Theory, Phenomenology, and Modes of Perception,” *Music Perception* 3/4 (Summer 1986): 327-92. Nicholas Cook suggests that speaking about our musical experience, far from a superficial activity, amounts to a compulsion: *Analyzing Musical Multimedia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 266-268. Lawrence Kramer quotes Cook to highlight the same point when discussing what the phenomenon of mixed media shows about musical meaning (*Musical Meaning*, 163-4).

³⁵ In addition to *Espaces sociaux, espaces musicaux* quoted above (p. 60), see also *Aléas de l’œuvre musicale* (Paris: Hermann, 1996), 185-221.

One may see in the descriptive music of the Classical era [i.e. the reign of Louis XIV], and in the commentaries it lends itself to, something like the temptation of watching and controlling this symbolic power of music by the regulated production of easily spotted symbols and easily exchanged signs.

From this perspective, François Couperin's well-known shuffling of his music's titles betrays music's resistance to its paratext. Indeed, the pieces Couperin gathered in *Les Nations* bore different titles before 1726: *La Pucelle* became *La Française*, *La Visionnaire* transformed into *L'Espagnol*, and *L'Astrée* gained new life as *La Piémontaise*.³⁶ In her effort to dismantle the idea of truth in music, Escal constructs a theory that protects "pure" or autonomous music as the epitome of freedom. "Pure" music, however, is not sound existing in and of itself, but sound constructed as distinct from language, and therefore at first sight, in opposition to words—which in the end is of course again with them. The contradictory relation of a title to written sound, as both distinct from sound and constitutive of its meaning, defines its multivalence in music: the title complements written and performed sound in a plurality of ways, positive and negative, which are for the composer, reader, performer, spectator and listener to creatively determine.

In other words, music emerges from the multivalent property of its parameters. It should come as no surprise, then, that the Concert of nations originated, at least in part, in the *ballet de cour*, a genre that, in theory as in practice, sought to combine multiple arts into one work of art.³⁷ Recent scholarship on multimedia and multivalence in music defines meaning and form as generative processes, implying that neither meaning nor form preexist their composition into a work. The phenomenon of multivalence conditions music as a construction rather than as an object, as a locus of labor rather than a work on display. In the study of opera for example, both "multivalence" and "multimedia" have been used to shed new light on the relation between text,

³⁶ See Escal, *Espaces sociaux*, 51 ; Fuller, 165; and Philippe Beaussant, *François Couperin* (Paris: Fayard, 1980), 229-47.

³⁷ The aesthetics of the *ballet de cour* has received much attention: see Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (Nendeln, Lichtenstein: Klaus Reprint, 1968 [1947]); Margaret M. McGowan, *L'Art du ballet de cour en France, 1581-1643* (Paris: CNRS, 1978), 11-27; McGowan, "The Arts Conjoined: A Context for the Study of Music," *Early Music History* 13 (1994): 171-98; Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005); Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le ballet de cour de Louis XIV, 1643-1672* (Paris: Centre National de la Danse/Picard, 2005), 137-52; McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 31-60.

music, and staging. As such, both terms are polemical concepts aimed against the interpretations of opera that posit the primacy of a medium or “domain” of any kind. Roger Parker, Carolyn Abbate, and James Webster refute the assumption that text or tonality alone can govern the construction and interpretation of a work.³⁸ James Webster has extended this claim to instrumental music; from this perspective, each parameter may contribute to the structure of a musical piece. Each parameter, whatever its salience might be, stands in a potentially significant relation of difference or congruence with one or several other parameters. Form in instrumental music and meaning in mixed media both involve a double process of acknowledgment and synthesis: acknowledging domains of the aesthetic experience, and making sense of them in the context of the work and the situation of the performance.

National character, as a concept, relies on the construction and valuation of difference. The very indeterminacy of national characters, discussed above, explains the plethora of signs involved in their construction. Effectively deprived of location, national characters want ever more differentiation. Their singularity does not derive from the single ascription to a territory: they float freely, without safe haven or firm anchor, drifting on interpretational whims at both the level of the sign that constitutes the character and the level of the character considered as a whole. The concept of national characters, however, regulates the interpretational labor in two distinct ways. At the semiotic level, the emphasis lies on asserting the salience of certain signs deemed to convey representative marks of a character: in other words, to the reader, listener and spectator, character traits should both stand out and reveal the ordinary, in the very conflation of salience and representativeness Joep Leerssen calls *effets de typique*.³⁹ The recognition of

³⁸ On multivalence, see Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, “Introduction: On Analyzing Opera,” in *Analyzing Opera: Verdi and Wagner*, ed. C. Abbate and R. Parker, 1-24 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1989); Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, “Dismembering Mozart,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2/2 (1990): 187-195, and in the same issue, James Webster, “Mozart’s Operas and the Myth of Musical Unity,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2/2 (1990): 197-218; James Webster, *Haydn’s “Farewell” Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in His Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), especially p. 3-5; Allan W. Atlas, “Multivalence, Ambiguity and Non-Ambiguity: Puccini and the Polemicists,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 118/1 (1993): 73-93; Pieter Bergé, ed., *Musical Form, Forms & Formenlehre: Three Methodological Reflections* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), 121-64. On music as multimedia or mixed media, see Cook, *Analyzing Musical Multimedia*, and Kramer, *Musical Meaning*.

³⁹ Leerssen, 283-4.

commonplaces is certainly the most evident, but not the sole technique to create salience. Within a piece of music, the different parameters of composition, through correlation, establish a sense of regularity and a measure of variance. To a large extent, a piece of music also pertains to a repertoire of works, which may indicate compositional conventions and predetermine listening expectations. A variety of signs, whether verbal or visual, may lead to the consideration of one repertoire or another for this purpose. As in the case of Leidesdorf's *Ecossaise* and German dance discussed above, *effets de typique* also originate in the comparisons between two characters.

The importance of salience in the construction of national characters has specific consequences for the aesthetics of the Concert of nations. The composition of the Concert of nations begins with a conceptual choice: does the Concert refer first and foremost to a plurality of actors or to a performance of harmony? A choir of nations can also be just that: a "simple" choir in which polyphony does not express the unyielding diversity of identities, but stands for a community that transcends and erases national differences. The choir of nations in *Atys* (1676), a *tragédie en musique* by Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, provides a case in point. In Act II, Cybele (in Phrygian mythology, the Earth Goddess) names Atys her High Priest ("*grand Sacrificateur*"), and in essence, Atys becomes a theocrat with universal dominion by divine right: in the words of Celenus, King of Phrygia (Act II, Scene 1):

*Qui pourra l'obtenir [i.e. Cybele's favor] étendra sa puissance
Par tout où de Cybele on revere les loix.*

Whoever can obtain [Cybele's favor] will extend his power
Over all who revere Cybele's laws.

The Act concludes with the nations' celebration of their new ruler in a festival that leaves little room for local color (Act II, scene 4). Quite effectively, national differences collapse in the shared sound of religious obedience: the choir amplifies the significance and reach of a religious ritual. Similarly, Beethoven's "Ode to Joy," from the last movement of the Ninth Symphony, has long been elevated to the status of a universal hymn transcending national identities; the

European Union further institutionalized the symphony in this function when it adopted Karajan's 1972 arrangement as its official anthem.⁴⁰ In other instances, sound might translate, with more or less subtlety, into a hegemonic claim, as in those ballets where a plurality of characters, having performed one after the other, gather for a collective performance on a French tune.⁴¹ The sixth *entrée* of the *Ballet des Nations* in the *Bourgeois-Gentilhomme* by Molière and Lully provides a peculiar illustration, because the general ballet, rather than gathering foreigners, gathers individuals from multiple conditions and origins within France. The Ballet stages—play within a play—an audience in chaos and conflict prior to a performance that accords them in a shared pleasure. In the last *entrée*, then, the audience sings of happiness in the perfectly synchronized enunciation of the homophonic chorus. Significantly, the chorus directly follows the French *entrée* on which it is partially modeled. Retaining the musical style and instrumentation of the French *menuets*, the chorus amplifies the pastoral idyll of the French lovers from the contained world of the fictional stage to the general world of the fictional theatre in which they find themselves. In other words, Molière and Lully show the fictional audience mimicking the stereotypical *entrée* of the *Ballet des nations* in a double apotheosis of social harmony and the French character.

Whenever the construction of plurality takes precedence over unity of performance, however, the Concert of nations takes primarily the form of a series. A Concert of nations can only conjure national difference in international polyphony when distinct semantic associations have first been established. Amidst the joint performance of nations, difference is always a matter of recognition rather than construction. By the end of the 18th century, national hymns

⁴⁰ See Buch (Chapters 9 and 11), and Caryl Clark, "Forging Identity: Beethoven's 'Ode' as European Anthem," *Critical Inquiry* 23/4 (Summer 1997): 789-807. David B. Dennis documents a performance of the Ninth Symphony conducted by Arthur Nikisch two months after the armistice ending World War I, in a concert dedicated to Peace and Freedom; see *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 84. Further examples include the performance of the Ninth Symphony "at the final 'state act' of the East German Government in the grand Schauspielhaus concert hall" (see Serge Schmemmann, "Two Germanys Unite After 45 Years With Jubilation and a Vow of Peace," *The New York Times*, October 3, 1990), or Daniel Barenboim and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra's 2006 tour (see Alan Riding, "Harmony Across a Divide," *The New York Times*, August 20, 2006).

⁴¹ For a visual illustration of the Concert as a metaphor of hegemony, once more under the reign of Louis XIV, see Chapter II.

provided a repertoire-at-hand for the composition of battle music (Beethoven's 1813 *Wellingtons Sieg* has received extensive critical attention in recent years) and peace music (Verdi's 1862 *Inno delle nazioni* for the International Exhibition in London, for example, at least until Arturo Toscanini converted it into a piece of allied propaganda in a 1943 movie).⁴² As a rule, though, composers have constructed sonorous plurality in serial form, which is to say, in a *suite* or collection of well-defined vignettes. The Concert here assumes the familiar guise of successive moments, clearly punctuated, in sound by conventional formulas, in sight by formalized entrances and exits (one might think of ballets, certainly, but also of the ritual staging of instrumental music concerts). Hence, in the frontispiece of Joseph Huglmann's *Polymelos, oder Musikalischer Congress* (1814), the circular chain of instruments, linked together by musical scores (see Figure 1.2), might emphasize unity, but the table of contents still lists titles for fourteen discreet "numbers" or musical segments (see Appendix II for the titles and full text).⁴³ The score develops these titles through the two mediums of notated sound and verbal narrative. Operatic music prefaces and follows the performance of ten distinct national airs from Austria, Prussia, England, Russia (including Cossacks), Bavaria, Switzerland and Scotland. With their references to Roman or religious figures, operatic excerpts aptly symbolized transnational values: a majestic "March from Titus" announces the arrival of the allied monarchs in Vienna while a quartet "from Palmira" symbolizes the union of the four victorious monarchs who had summoned Europe in a congress (in the first coalition against Napoleon, England, Austria, Prussia and Russia constituted the dominating powers). The final piece, for soloists and choir,

⁴² On battle music, see Karin Schulin, *Musikalische Schlachtengemälde in der Zeit von 1756 bis 1815* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1986); Lilian Pruett, "Napoleonic Battles in Keyboard Music of the Nineteenth Century," *Early Keyboard Journal* 6-7 (1988-89): 73-89; and Richard Will, 188-241. On Verdi's *Inno delle nazioni* as the celebration of peaceful cooperation among nations, see Martin Hoffmann, "Giuseppe Verdis *Inno delle nazioni* als patriotischer Beitrag zur Völkerverständigung," *Musik und Unterricht* 63 (2001): 12-19. On the making of *Toscanini* by the Office of War Information, and the performance of Verdi's work, see Ian Scott, "From Toscanini to Tennessee: Robert Riskin, the OWI and the Construction of American Propaganda in World War II," *Journal of American Studies* 40/2 (2006): 347-66, especially 359-60.

⁴³ Nicholas Mathew first brought this frontispiece to critical attention in his dissertation. See *Beethoven's Political Music*, 202.



Figure 1.2 — *Polymelos oder Musikalischer Congress: Ein charakteristisches Tongemälde für das Piano-Forte von Joseph Huglmann. Œuvre 7^{me}.*
 Vienne: Cappi, 1814.
 London, British Library.

once again inscribed the international Concert within the religious domain by borrowing from Giovanni Liverati’s sacred opera *David, oder Goliaths Tod* (1813).

From this perspective, the fact that the *Choix de danses* consists strictly in a collection of musical pieces does not disqualify the publication as a potential composition of the nations in a Concert.⁴⁴ On the contrary, the *Choix de danses* constitutes one of the most “open” forms of Concert, in which international relations and harmony remain a matter for the reader or listener to ponder and specify. Because the collection has no explicit principle of organization (it does not reflect an encyclopedic intent or an alphabetical order), the order of pieces might or might not have significance.⁴⁵ For example, the predominance of German or Austrian pieces, and

⁴⁴ Following this interpretation, Jean-Marc Cara has entitled his recent collection and documentation of national hymns: *Le concert des nations: Le tour du monde en 198 hymnes* (Paris: Editions 1, 2004).
⁴⁵ This question applies, more generally, to the suite as a genre. David J. Buch, in his study of the French Baroque Suite, argued composers could follow a pattern of increasingly fast-paced dances that perhaps also conveyed a sense of social proportion, the opening dances, slow and grave, conforming to the rules of decorum; see David J. Buch, “The Influence of the *Ballet de cour* in the Genesis of the French Baroque Suite,” *Acta Musicologica* 57/1 (1985): 94-109. Michael Robertson, in his recent study (see *op. cit.*, 45-64), contested this reading, based on two conclusions: 1) the term *suite* did not come to designate collected dances in various genres until the end of the 17th

the placement of Austrian, Hungarian, and Russian music at the beginning and end of each volume might make a statement on a hierarchy of powers in Europe. In the absence of statements, however, the matter, as in the case of the suite in general, remains a matter of conjecture. International harmony, in such works, is matter for definition, and a matter of debate.

The Concert of nations as a political genre: Self-evidence as artful *mésentente*. Trouble arises as soon as one endeavors to convey one's interpretation of national character not only to oneself, but also to another. How to say what matters and why it matters among the multiple elements that constitute its performance? How to determine the salience of a parameter, its legitimate identification as a constituent of either form or meaning, and the significance of its combination with other parameters? The dispute between William E. Caplin and James Webster on the value of multivalent analysis is, in this regard, to the point. Caplin summarizes sharply the matter of contention in his response to James Webster's "*Formenlehre* in Theory and Practice."⁴⁶ Caplin is categorical: while a plurality of parameters may "shape a work's form," not all parameters participate in musical temporality, as "expressed through various formal functions":

only a limited number of such parameters have a direct bearing on the expression of formal function. Thus we must be careful when employing a multivalent approach to make sure that our form-functional readings are firmly grounded in parameters such as harmonic progression, cadence, and grouping processes, while observing how other parameters, such as dynamics, texture, and most especially 'thematic content', either support or rub against such a functional interpretation.⁴⁷

While rejecting Caplin's "reductive principles," and more generally, the claim that multivalent analysis wants a proper theory, Webster clearly recognizes the difficulty at hand. In his analysis, he leaves open the list of parameters computed in timelines: "Other parameters could be added; for example, dynamics (...), instrumentation (...)." How parameters combine into form, Webster says, "often remains mysterious." In doing away with analytical rules, Webster's multivalent

century, if not later; 2) tonality alone brought unity to the dances gathered in a suite. Robertson emphasizes diversity, variation and whim as organizing principles, if one may say so.

⁴⁶ In Pieter Bergé, ed., *Musical Form, Forms, & Formenlehre*, 123-39.

⁴⁷ William E. Caplin, "Comments on James Webster's Essay," in Bergé, ed., 144.

analysis reinforces both the object and the author of the analysis. In some sense, the analysis is therefore more objective: the work is repeatedly the object of analysis, as many times as there are identified parameters, and each analysis produces a new representation of the work—a new “object.” But it is also more subjective: the path of the analysis, in its principled indetermination, is potentially singular—unique to each individual. In the end, Webster and Caplin’s difference of opinion amounts to a conflict of analytical subjectivities. Politics in music originates not in the ascription of sound to circumstances, but precisely in such irreducible differences over what music is.

In the last line of *Analyzing musical multimedia*, Nicholas Cook playfully dramatizes this conflict of subjectivities—trading an *I* for an *I* as he overwrites Schoenberg’s definition of *Die glückliche Hand*: “‘What I [Schoenberg] mean is: this is music!’ And of course, what *I* [Cook] mean is: this is multimedia.” Cook explicitly amplifies James Webster’s translation of multivalent analysis from opera to instrumental music.⁴⁸ On the way, he refutes both the “idea of music alone” and the “discourse of analytical unity,” and redefines music as a form of multimedia. Does Cook go too far? Lawrence Kramer, who concurs to a large extent with Cook’s findings, takes pain to undermine the credibility of his radical gesture. In Kramer’s mind, the interpretation of instrumental music sketches a “mixed-media construction” in a figurative sense only, though a later footnote is less categorical:

In a certain sense, therefore, all music can be regarded as “multimedia” (...) or as “texted” (...). These statements hover somewhere between the literal and the figurative, “pushing the envelope” to draw attention to the inevitable implication of music in the general communicative economy.⁴⁹

Kramer’s hesitant concession to common sense perhaps manifests his desire to distinguish hermeneutics from semiotics and axiomatics—discursive disciplines not so subtly blacklisted for their propensity to enforce a “tyranny of ideas.” Kramer’s “exaltation of the ad hoc,”—of “lived

⁴⁸ Cook (*Analyzing Musical Multimedia*, 264-5) refers to Webster’s “The Analysis of Mozart’s Arias” as a precedent for his proposition to equate the ‘domains’ of opera to the parameters of instrumental music, and concludes that concepts of multimedia analysis might be usefully applied in music analysis.

⁴⁹ Kramer, 310, note 26.

experience”—not only condones a soft social determinism that incorporates relations of power in the emergence of musical meaning, but also denies the process its originally political motive. Has not Kramer directly traded the tyrannies of necessity and majority for that of ideas? Interpretation, produced from a gamut of validated subject positions, unfolds in an established space that posits rather than institutionalizes coexistence. Kramer’s hermeneutic subject, seemingly liberated, feels no anxiety at the absence of rules in the construction of musical meaning: “I confess I don’t find it a problem... no such rules [of interpretation] are possible.” But this secure freedom does not imply an absence of norms. Rather, the field of interpretation is already policed. Practical knowledge and the forces of *habitus* keep us from “mistaken positional choice”: “no one can act outside of a subject position; the attempt to do so is one definition of delirium, psychosis, madness.”⁵⁰

Molière and Lully’s *Ballet des Nations* in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670) has fascinated critics in recent years, perhaps precisely because it stages what Kramer deems impossible: the concerted *mésentente* of Jourdain and his family in their interpretation of his Turkish ennoblement and the ballet performed for their entertainment. *Mésentente* refers to a form of disagreement between two parties who, literally, do not hear things the same way and nevertheless recognize their difference—in this case, the irreducible difference between desired and confronted realities.⁵¹ Throughout the play, readers and audiences witness the unfortunate efforts of the bourgeois Jourdain to acquire the quality of a nobleman. Because of his infatuation with aristocracy, Jourdain refuses to grant his daughter’s hand to her lover Cléonte. The latter contrives, in the end with the consent of all (including Jourdain’s wife and daughter), to present himself as the son of the *Grand Turc* (Act IV, Scene 4). In a famous *turquerie*, Jourdain accepts physical and linguistic abuse to emerge “ennobled” to the “dignity” of *mamamouchi*. In the

⁵⁰ Kramer, 167.

⁵¹ On the term and its political significance, see Jacques Rancière, *La Mésentente: Politique et Philosophie* (Paris: Galilée, 1995), 12-13, and 71-91. Rancière excludes the language of legitimization and reproduction from the realm of politics, confining it to a kind of police. Even unchallenged, this language still relies on a double understanding, as Rancière himself shows (78-79). Its active repetition is the sign that the order of things depends on enunciations that only temporarily displace politics.

meaningless word, translated for him as “paladin,” Jourdain endeavors to hear the reality he so desires, while Cléonte “adjusts” himself to the visions of the bourgeois. One might object that Jourdain is simply mistaken—a dupe—but this would ignore the depth of Jourdain’s investment in his own abuse. Indeed, the comedy gives no hint of a postponed realization or return to reality: Madame Jourdain plainly declares her husband mad (Act V, Scene 1), and it is also Madame Jourdain alone who, stubbornly refusing to listen to anyone (Act V, Scene 6), resists the “*mascarade*” for the longest time, until she understands the purpose of Cléonte’s disguise. The very legality of the forthcoming marriage entails that its participants concede Jourdain a certain soundness of mind. In the end, concerted *mésentente* enables the play to end in a “universal embrace” that includes even the disruptive madness of the father-bourgeois.⁵²

The *Ballet des nations* ends the play, ostensibly as a mere ornament, an entertainment to kill time before the wedding (never celebrated on stage). Ordered by Jourdain for the pleasure of a marquise he courts (Act III, Scene 6), but conceived and called forth by Dorante, a (true) noble (Act V, Scene 6), it is now given as a *divertissement* for “His Turkish Highness,” i.e. Cléonte: critics, exerting interpretative license, too often erase the complexity of the ballet’s fictional patrons in order to crown the madman (Jourdain) the festival’s king.⁵³ Instead, the ballet perhaps leaves its audience with the more ambivalent triumph of cunning and duality, symbolized both by the two patrons of the ballet (Jourdain/Dorante) and the duplicity of its dedicatee (Cléonte/*Son Altesse Turque*). Overall, the *Ballet* remains an odd object for critics. On the

⁵² See Ronald W. Tobin, “Fusion and Diffusion in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*,” *The French Review* 59/2 (1985): 234-245, especially 243.

⁵³ See for example Gérard Defaux, *Molière, ou les métamorphoses du comique: De la comédie morale au triomphe de la folie* (Lexington, Kentucky: French Forum, 1980), 280: “En s’ajustant à ses visions, la comédie fait de Jourdain, euphorique et comblé, le roi de la Fête.” Charles Mazouer understands the Ballet as a gift to Jourdain: Charles Mazouer, *Molière et ses comédies-ballets* (Paris: Champion, 2006), 251: “il n’a d’yeux que pour le *Ballet des nations* qu’on lui offre, à lui le nouveau noble.” In *The Triumph of Pleasure*, Georgia Cowart, who refers to Defaux, also implies that Jourdain commands the scene. There is no doubt, of course, that the title *Son Altesse Turque* refers to Cléonte disguised as the son of the *Grand Turc*. Not only Dorante, but Monsieur Jourdain himself use the title to address Cléonte or announce his entrance (Act IV, Scene 4, and Act V, Scenes 3, 4 and 6). While *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* ends as a carnival, it does not necessarily constitute the “ecstatic celebration of folly” (p. 112) that Georgia Cowart and others read into it. Cléonte is a man who knows both the reality and the artificiality of this position. The boundaries of his sovereignty are clearly established: he is a carnival king, rather than crowned folly. See Georgia J. Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV & the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 103-13.

surface, its six *entrées* show no links to the plot, and the justification for its performance is rather gratuitous.⁵⁴ Yet they perhaps constitute the ultimate mirror presented by this *comédie-ballet* to the society it satirizes. Not that the *Bourgeois gentilhomme* provides definite keys as regards its targets: among the likely candidates, Süleyman Aga, the Ottoman envoy sent to France in 1670; Colbert, the bourgeois turned noble in the service of Louis XIV; Louvois, the king's foreign minister; Louis XIV himself, anxious to assert his rank and quality on the international stage; and finally, the genre of court ballet as a symbol of the King's empire over the arts.⁵⁵ In this regard, Georgia Cowart rightly emphasizes the multivalent quality of the text: aptly constructed from stereotypes and conventions, the *Bourgeois gentilhomme* supports a multiplicity of legitimate parallels and allegorical readings.⁵⁶

The *Ballet des nations* playfully replicates the separation between audience and actors (see Figure 1.3). First, the actual audience watches the characters of the *Bourgeois gentilhomme* turn into spectators of a ballet. But this is not all: the fictional stage itself represents a theater, in which people from various provinces constitute yet another fictional audience, competing among themselves for seats and libretti (1st entrée), while three tiresome individuals monopolize the attention of the man distributing libretti, and soon after, the stage (2nd entrée). Without transition, a ballet of three nations begins, successively staging Spanish, Italian, and French characters who

⁵⁴ See, for example, Mark Franko, *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 128-9. In Franko's mind, Molière stresses the exteriority of the final divertissement. The *Ballet des nations* concludes the burlesque ballet of the *Bourgeois gentilhomme* by paying lip service to Louis XIV's control over the genre. It constitutes a somewhat disingenuous restoration of text after the decomposition of language in the *turquerie*: "a radicalized burlesque interlude is reframed by a 'Ballet des nations' that both supports it and explains it away. In response to Louis XIV, Molière exercised a false compliance with textual colonization." Franko does not mention that the *Ballet* is performed as a gift to His Turkish Highness. From a different perspective, Jesse Dickson developed a similar reading of the ultimate triumph of meaning and text in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*; see "Non-sens et sens dans *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*," *The French Review* 51/3 (1978): 341-352.

⁵⁵ The full list is longer: see Defaux, 265-6. On *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* as a satire of Louis XIV, see Daren Hodson, "A Would-Be Turk: Louis XIV in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*," *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 32/1 (2010): 90-101. Despite an overall brilliant allegorical reading of the play, Hodson does not account for Louis XIV's apparent appreciation of the Turkish ceremony that would have particularly derided him. In 1681, Lully successfully requested the position of *secrétaire du Roi* after amusing the King in a repeat performance of the *turquerie*; see Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le ballet de cour de Louis XIV*, 129. For the comparison between the courtly *Ballet des Muses* and the burlesque *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, see Cowart, 104-5.

⁵⁶ Cowart, 84, 86, 93, and 116.

sing in their respective languages (3rd, 4th, and 5th entrée). The French entrée stages a pastoral invitation to free and harmonious love, modeled on nature itself:

*Ce beau séjour
Nous invite à l'amour.*

This pretty abode
Invites us to love.

*Vois, ma Climène,
Vois sous ce chêne
S'entre-baiser ces oiseaux amoureux ;
Ils n'ont rien dans leurs vœux
Qui les gêne ;
De leurs doux feux
Leur âme est pleine.
Qu'ils sont heureux !
Nous pouvons tous deux,
Si tu le veux,
Être comme eux.*

See, dear Climène,
See under this oak
Two birds in love exchanging kisses;
Nothing in their vows
to incommode them;
Of their sweet ardor
Their soul is full.
How happy they are!
We too,
If you so will,
Can be like them.

According to stage directions, all three nations gather in a concerted ballet, which, as discussed above, borrows its musical style from the French entrée, while the audience from different

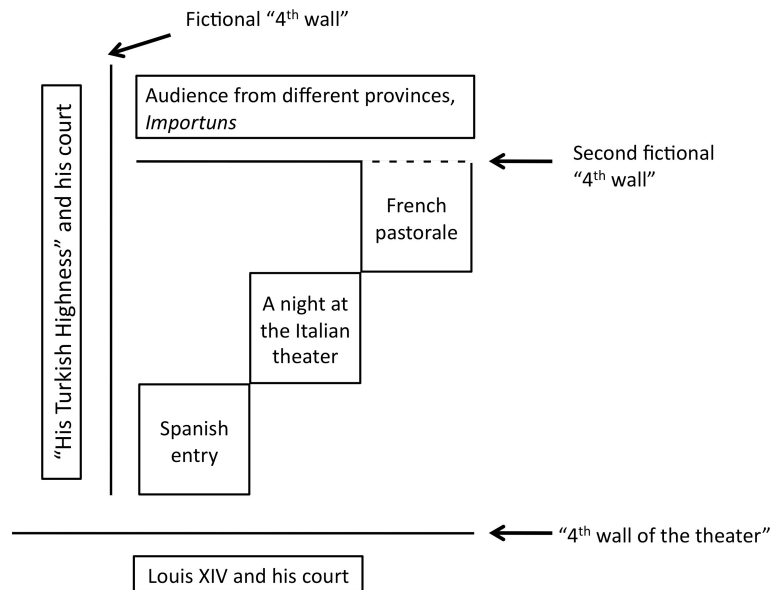


Figure 1.3 — Audiences and characters in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*.

Commissioned by Louis XIV and first performed at Chambort, the first audience of *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* is the king and his Court, and then, soon after, the Parisian audience.

provinces revels in a shared expression of happiness. The collapse of this fictional “fourth wall” between provincial audience and national performers transfigures the social reality represented in the mirror of satire (1st and 2nd *entrée*) into a world of universal harmony, via the consecrated space of pastoral harmony.⁵⁷

In other words, the *Ballet des nations* stages a stunning conversion from civil chaos to universal harmony via the performance of national character. Where critics differ is over who truly partakes in this pastoral harmony embodied by French characters. At first sight, and quite plainly, the ballet inverts the regular terms of courtly patronage: an assembly of commoners, despite its social stratification, unites in pleasures that equal those of Gods.⁵⁸ While this is true, the ballet is performed under the sign of Cléonte’s duality. Cléonte is a fool king who knows his real place. His carnival world remains contingent on the permission of authorities: fictionally, with the blessings of Dorante and (ultimately) the *notaire*, and in actuality, within the confines of theatre. As such, the *ballet* remains a “royal *divertissement*,” and perhaps, in a display of self-referential irony, the royal *divertissement* which Dorante had promised Madame Jourdain (Act III, Scene 6).⁵⁹ In this regard, and because this eventual self-reference in the text reinforces the duality already embodied by Cléonte, *honneste homme* and false monarch, the universal harmony achieved by the French *entrée* might in the end be credited to its actual patron, Louis XIV.⁶⁰ But Molière does not give us a clear statement one way or the other: the sixth *entrée* of the ballet

⁵⁷ On the distinction between comic *mimesis* and the consecrated space of the beautiful and marvelous, see Véronique Sternberg, “Espaces et comédie au XVII^e siècle,” *Études littéraires* 34/1-2 (2002): 201-15, especially 203-5.

⁵⁸ This is Georgia Cowart’s thesis. The blasphemous quality of the Ballet had already been noticed by Philip R. Berk, “Getting Down to Business in Molière’s *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*,” *Contemporary Theatre Review* 6/2 (1997): 57-76 (74).

⁵⁹ *Si Madame Jourdain veut voir le divertissement royal, Je lui ferai donner les meilleures places de la salle.* (“If Madam Jourdain wishes to see the royal *divertissement*, I will arrange for her the best seats in the room.”)

⁶⁰ The topical content of the *Ballet* would have readily allowed comparisons with previous court ballets; see Margaret McGowan, “La danse: son rôle multiple,” in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme: Problèmes de la comédie-ballet*, edited by Volker Kapp, 163-183 (Paris, Seattle, and Tübingen: Biblio 17, 1991), in particular 181.

tears down the fourth wall between provincial audience members and national characters, but leaves untouched the remaining disjunction between His Turkish Highness and the ballet audience, or the theatre's audience and the *comédie-ballet* (the two other "fourth walls" represented in Figure 1.3). The spectator, then, is free to construct the relation between Louis XIV, Cléonte/His Turkish Highness, the French national character and the civil and international Concert that emerges from its spectacular display.

In short, there is a question as to whether or not the King shares in the universal harmony modeled by the French *entrée* and the Concert—both civil and international—that follows it. On the one hand, the firm distance maintained between satirical and real theatre audiences enhances the insignificance of the *divertissement*: it is fiction at an abstract degree of removal. On the other hand, the possibility that the ballet constructed an apotheosis of all but the king would have cast a slur on the absolutist project. If the *Choix de danses* left the notion of Concert as a matter for definition, Molière and Lully's *Ballet des nations* made a riddle of the very subjectivities that composed it. Under the guise of *divertissement*, the *Ballet* laid bare the fragile art of weaving a social fabric, whether civil or international. In the composition and performance of nations in a Concert, the triviality of stereotype—perhaps the multivalent stylistic device *par excellence*—sends the reader, listener or spectator into a vertiginous hunt for the very constituents of political relations, which are also, by virtue of the aesthetic category, the constituents of the Concert's form and meaning. This most inconspicuous type of entertainment, then, also constitutes a locus for political thought, today as yesterday. The second part of this chapter, consisting in a case study of *The Nutcracker*, illustrates this claim with a work that, in the United States at least, symbolizes entertainment as an escape from reality, rather than a work of reflection.

A CASE STUDY

THE NUTCRACKER, OR POLITICAL THOUGHT UNDER THE SIGN OF DIVERTISSEMENT

The Nutcracker as a fantastic children’s tale and a psychological narrative of growth. For the narrators of Hoffmann’s *Serapionsbrüder* and Dumas’s *Histoire de Casse-noisette*, the tale of the Nutcracker is a children’s story—a story *of* children, *for* children, as opposed to the disenchanted world of grown-ups. Hoffmann’s foray into children’s literature has been read as a personal gift to the children of Julius Hitzig, who, like the young heroes of the tale, were named Marie and Fritz. Hitzig, a well-to-do Prussian civil servant, had met Hoffmann in Warsaw in 1804-1805. He led a conventional family life, and while he attended the meetings of the Serapion Brethren, a musical and literary group Hoffmann animated in Berlin from 1814 on, he later wrote critically of his friend’s life in a biography published in 1826. Hoffmann’s *Nußknacker und Mausekönig* has been read as a passionate entreaty to Marie’s imagination in a perhaps otherwise overly stifling upbringing. According to Jack Zipes in a recently published introduction to Hoffmann’s tale,

The question that Hoffmann asks in this tale—and also in “The Strange Child”—is how to infiltrate a good and proper bourgeois home to free the children’s imaginations so that they can recognize and fulfil their desires. In this regard, the title of Hoffmann’s fairy tale is misleading. The story is not about the nutcracker and the mouse king; rather it is about the curious child Marie and the ambivalent, somewhat threatening figure of Drosselmeier, the mysterious artist and teacher.⁶¹

This assumed focus on childhood fantasy and the familial nucleus, insofar as it predetermines the interpretation of the story, is of course not an insignificant obstacle to a political interpretation of *The Nutcracker*—whether, by this title, one refers to the original *Nußknacker und Mausekönig* by E.T.A. Hoffman, the freely adapted translation of the tale by Alexandre Dumas père (1845), or the eponymous Russian ballet first performed 1892 at the St. Petersburg Mariinsky Theater

⁶¹ Jack Zipes, “Introduction: The “Merry” Dance of the Nutcracker: Discovering the World through Fairy Tales,” In: E.T.A. Hoffman, *Nutcracker and Mouse King* and Alexandre Dumas, *The Tale of the Nutcracker*, trans. by Joachim Neugroschel (London: Penguin Books, 2007), xxi-ii.

with music by Pyotr Tchaikovsky, choreography by Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov, and costumes by Ivan Alexandrovich Vsevolozhsky.⁶²

The Nutcracker designates not one text, but a palimpsest, in the making to this very day. It encompasses a series of texts that itself motivated a myriad of musical adaptations—from Tchaikovsky to Duke Ellington and beyond. The diversity of texts complicates the matter of determining what *The Nutcracker* might “really” be about. Hoffmann himself published the text in two different contexts, first in 1816 as part of a collective publication of children’s tales, and then three years later, within *Die Serapionsbrüder*. In the latter work, the tale occurs within the semi-fictional context of Hoffman’s literary club (The Serapion’s Brethren), and is post-faced with a short reflective dialogue on its literary merits. Dumas’s free translation proposes yet another context for the tale—a party in which an author finds himself compelled to tell a story to a mob of children that tied him to his chair. By definition, the ballet’s libretto, being an adaptation of the tale based on Dumas’s translation, turned Hoffmann’s work into a site for interpretative labor. The idea of the adaptation might have originated in 1890 with Vsevolozhsky, then Director of the Imperial Theatres, who also later designed the ballet’s costumes. Marius Petipa, the Theatre’s ballet master, certainly had a hand in conceiving the libretto, which he detailed for Tchaikovsky’s benefit, with some instructions on the music to be composed. Tchaikovsky, although he had appreciated Hoffmann’s “excellent tale”, reluctantly set to work in the face of professional anxiety and personal stress, first demanding confirmation of the interest the imperial family took in his music, then soliciting the postponement of the first performance to the following season.⁶³ As late as August 1891, Vsevolozhsky readily admitted Tchaikovsky had misgivings about the ballet: “I know that you do not find it sympathetic.”⁶⁴

⁶² Carl Reinecke also published in 1870 a series of piano pieces for four hands (op. 46) that sonorously illustrated Hoffmann’s tale. Some numbers were orchestrated for string orchestra by the composer.

⁶³ Like many scholars without knowledge of Russian, and therefore with limited access to primary sources, I am indebted to Roland John Wiley for my discussion of *The Nutcracker*’s genesis. See *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets: Swan Lake, Sleeping Beauty, Nutcracker* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 193-241, and *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov, Choreographer of The Nutcracker and Swan Lake* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 132-149.

Tchaikovsky’s positive appreciation of Hoffmann’s tale dates from 1882; see Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 306 (note 3).

⁶⁴ Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 197.

Soon after the beginning of rehearsals, however, Petipa, too ill to complete the choreographic work, delegated the task to Lev Ivanov. Traditionally judged wanting—for reasons discussed below—this libretto has remained an open work to this very day, adapted and rewritten *ad libitum* by choreographers and directors: it would almost seem that the ballet, in the eye of its critics, could never do full justice to the tale—neither to the letter, nor to its spirit.

Most choreographies, however, retain the first production's re-christening of the main characters after Dumas's *Histoire de Casse-Noisette*. In Petipa's notes and Tchaikovsky's score, Hoffman's Drosselmeier of course spells his name Drosselmayer, *à la française*. Hoffmann's "Stahlbaum" family—a name that would evoke a rather stark "tree of steel"—becomes the "Silberhaus"—the more pleasant "silver house." Moreover, Hoffmann's and Dumas's "Marie" forgoes all biblical allusion, adopting instead "Clara" for her stage name, after a doll who, in the original tale, competes vainly for the Nutcracker's devotion. Even though the substitution of "Clara" for "Marie" might have highlighted the heroine's position at the threshold of adulthood and her erotic relation with Nutcracker, the representation of childhood has remained central to the subject matter of the ballet libretto and its reception. Music historian Roland John Wiley, among others, has sharply criticized the libretto for limiting the choreography to the achievements of children and reducing the part of leading dances to almost nil.⁶⁵ In doing so, he has explicitly renewed the tenor of a critique already formulated in contemporary reviews of the first production:

In general, the new ballet is produced primarily with children for children, and for everything that can have value in their eyes as regards external brilliance; for the woman dancer there is very little in it, for *art* precisely nothing, and for the artistic fate of our ballet—it is yet one more step downwards.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 198. For a review of the critical response to the first production, see also Jennifer Fisher, "Nutcracker" Nation: *How An Old World Ballet Became A Christmas Tradition in the New World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 14-16; and Wiley, *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov*, 139-42.

⁶⁶ *Novosti i birzhevaya gazeta*, 8 Dec. 1892, 3; translated and edited by R. J. Wiley, quoted in *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov*, 140.

Conversely, Soviet critics have precisely praised the work for its novel focus on the psychology and actions of a child.⁶⁷

In the United States, the appearance of children on stage may also partly explain its ritual performance during the Christmas holidays in the second half of the 20th century. The ballet, in its opening scene, stages Christmas Eve at the Silverhaus home: friends and family gather to the familial hearth for the lively celebrations orchestrated by the parents, of which the distribution of gifts to Clara and Fritz constitutes a major segment. As such, the ballet extols the bourgeois family as the predominant structure of a child's social life—at once the origin of community and the source of order. In the United States, this aspect is potentially reinforced by the addition of a final scene in which Clara either awakens or returns from the Land of Sweets to her home.⁶⁸ It is also enhanced by familial and collective participation in yearly amateur performances. In this regard, *The Nutcracker* is both a representation of familial values and a pretext to set them into exemplary practice at least once a year.

True, some productions' emphasis on Drosselmayer may partially disrupt this conception of *The Nutcracker* as an apotheosis of familial order. The maker of automatons and the deliverer of toys, Drosselmeier, in Hoffmann's tale, evokes the arcane but limited figure of a human demiurge whose mechanical creations reproduce a life deprived of life. But Drosselmeier's artful care of the house's clocks is not without magic for little Marie. When the owl on the living room's clock turns into Godfather Drosselmeier himself and ostensibly allows the wondrous battle between mice and toys to take place, Godfather Drosselmeier, as the bringer of the

⁶⁷ Ibid., 199 and 221.

⁶⁸ Jennifer Fisher, 47, and again 86: "Because she is brave enough to defend the Prince against his enemies in the first act, Clara gets VIP treatment from the citizens of the Land of the Sweets. But as good things are over the rainbow, Clara returns to the bosom of her family in many North American versions, because, as Dorothy found out in *The Wizard of Oz*, there 's no place like home." In Jennifer Fisher's rich study of the *Nutcracker* as a symbolic practice, the idea of returning home or bringing something home surfaces in different contexts: in the analysis of the ballet's story, where not only Clara, but Nutcracker, once turned Prince, also travels home—in his case, the Land of the Sweets (p. 5, 35, 136, 139 and 196); in the context of Christmas celebrations, where the *Nutcracker* might serve to ornament one's home as much as to mark the beginning of familial celebrations (p. 132 and 180-1); as the fictional projection of an ideal "Victorian" domesticity regulated by a polite Western identity (p. 45 and 105); as a metaphor for the acculturation and assimilation of the ballet in its new "home"—North America (p. 6, 33, 39, and 192-193); and finally, as the locus of an artistic "family" or "community," where one may feel at home throughout North America (p. xii, 111-24, and 173).

fantastic, expands life itself beyond its ordinary course. Drosselmeier's powers have invited comparisons with the figure of the romantic artist, enabling a series of biographical or aesthetic interpretations of *The Nutcracker*. In his introduction to the tale, Jack Zipes emphasizes, though with a certain caution, the similarities between Hoffmann and Drosselmeier—a fictional double bent on liberating a young child from an overly regulated life: “There was magic about Hoffmann that drew all kinds of people to him, and there is no doubt that the figure of Drosselmeier. . . . bears some of his characteristics.”⁶⁹ In New York, choreographer Balanchine, himself performed the part of Drosselmayer in his 1954 production of the ballet, plainly suggesting a similar parallel.⁷⁰ For good measure, Roland John Wiley also developed a reading of the ballet based on Tchaikovsky's possible identification with the character at a time of personal distress, after the death of his sister Alexandra (aka “Sasha”). The composer would have thus turned the uninspiring ballet libretto into the highly mediated evocation of a lost familial world: “Act II of *Nutcracker* may be perceived as a tribute to Sasha in which Confiturembourg represents an ideal Kamenka, a children's Utopia, and the Sugar Plum Fairy, its benign and maternal sovereign, an image of Sasha herself.”⁷¹

Wiley has indeed consistently criticized the libretto for its insufficient justification of fantastic events, in contrast with Hoffmann's tale:

The crisis precipitated by the Mouse King and his army is not justified in the context of Clara's everyday existence (and we are given no clue to the *Nutcracker*'s prior existence as an animate being); because Clara never returns to everyday existence from Confiturembourg, the audience is left at the final curtain asking what the point of the piece was, and what more it must know for the story to make sense. Above all, *Nutcracker* loses the element of relation to human experience that *Sleeping Beauty* gained in the process of adaptation from story to ballet. As a result, *Nutcracker* remains a simple children's tale, without significance as an allegory or a parable; it is precisely what some critics falsely accused *Sleeping Beauty* of being.⁷²

⁶⁹ Jack Zipes, xx.

⁷⁰ Jennifer Fisher, 28-39.

⁷¹ Roland John Wiley, “On Meaning in *Nutcracker*,” *Dance Research* 3/1 (Autumn 1984): 15.

⁷² Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 198.

Wiley sees in the figure of Drosselmayer the salvation of an otherwise defficient libretto and the key to its successful revision. His criticism, which I believe misplaced, nevertheless makes an interesting point: for the ballet libretto to bear any significant relation to Hoffmann's tale, it must involve more than the supposedly innocent thoughts of a child.

The Nutcracker as a civilizing tale. And indeed, Hoffmann's Serapion Brethren, who entertain themselves with *Nußknacker und Mausekönig*, saw more in the tale than a conventional children's story. In some way, the text even appeared to exceed the regular understanding of children, with its many cultural references and its complex construction. While the tale epitomizes the greater clairvoyance of childhood, the narrator also admits that children might not be able to grasp the meaning of this fantasy. In one of the character's words (Theodore's), "it is impossible that children should follow the delicate threads which run through the structure of it, and hold together its apparently heterogeneous parts. The most they could do would be to keep hold of detached fragments, and enjoy those, here and there."⁷³ Among the references a child might not be aware of, there were of course, the brethren inform us, recent newspaper accounts of fighting and the playful quotation from Shakespeare's *Richard III*: "My kingdom for a horse." Additional references might include the chivalrous ethics of medieval novels, the pageants, carrousel, and ballets of modern European courts, and the memories of recent battles: Hoffmann, residing in Dresden and Leipzig in 1813, would still have had in mind journalistic accounts and personal experiences of the "Battle of the Nations" (*Völkerschlacht*). In between December 1813 and September 1814, Hoffmann successively produced a piece of patriotic literature (*Die Vision auf dem Schlachtfelde bei Dresden*), three political caricatures celebrating Napoleon's demise through allied military action, and a piece of battle music published under a pseudonym (*Deutschlands Triumph im Siege bei Leipzig den 19ten Octbr 1813*).⁷⁴

⁷³ E. T. A. Hoffmann, *The Serapion Brethren*, trans. from the German by Major Alex. Ewing (London: G. Bells & Sons, 1908), 272.

⁷⁴ On these works, see Hartmut Steinecke, *Die Kunst der Fantasie: E.T.A. Hoffmanns Leben und Werk* (Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 2004), 139-53. Hoffmann's battle music is lost, though its composition is

Tying the various strands of the tale together, the romantic interpretation of cosmic harmony informs both text and ballet. In this perspective, *Nußknacker und Mausekönig* is a moral tale with a pronounced Christian overtone. Marie’s spirit of generosity and love—her feeling for the young Drosselmeier—ultimately saves his life and frees him from his ugly condition as a nutcracker. Her devotion also successfully abolishes the borders between reality and fantasy. In both Hoffmann’s and Dumas’s texts, the narrators have little time for inquiries or explanations. In the French adaptation, one moment the parents chide Marie for her lack of discernment, the next they enthusiastically give her hand to Toyland’s king of dolls, the young Mr. Drosselmayer. *Don’t ask, don’t tell* is perhaps the policy of the Silverhaus family: after all, the young Drosselmayer has a golden coach, so Marie’s marital journey is bound to be sweet. In Hoffmann’s text, the parents altogether disappear in the conclusion of the tale. The formal betrothal, announced in the passive voice, is a mere formality that sanctions Marie’s acceptance of the proposal and her transfiguration into a timeless queen:

Marie lifted up the youth and said quietly: “Dear Herr Drosselmeier! You are a kind and gentle person! And since you also rule a graceful land with very cheerful and attractive people, I will accept you as my fiancé!” Marie hereby became Drosselmeier’s fiancée. A year later, we are told, he called for her in a golden carriage drawn by silver horses.⁷⁵

More fundamentally perhaps, the tale of this spiritual and social elevation delineates a vision of war and peace which, in a truly Kantian manner, promotes jointly individual enlightenment and collective submission, and resonates with both liberal and authoritarian thought.

Hoffmann’s *Nußknacker* and Dumas’s *Casse-noisette* open with the moral portraits of two children, Marie and Fritz, not only on the eve, but also literally in the antechamber of Christmas: in the adjacent room, their parents are giving the final touches to the Christmas tree,

mentioned in his diary (August 8-10, 1814); see E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Tagebücher*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (München: Winkler-Verlag, 1971), 459-60.

⁷⁵ For the German, see E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Die SerapionsBrüder*, ed. Wulf Segebrecht, with the collaboration of Ursula Segebrecht (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 2001), 305. E.T.A. Hoffmann’s *Nutcracker and Mouse King* and Alexandre Dumas’s, *The Tale of Nutcracker*, trans. by Joachim Neugroschel (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 61. All English quotes hereafter come from this edition.

and the two children eagerly anticipate the presents they are about to receive. In effect, Christmas sets up an irreducible difference in character between the little boy and the little girl. In French, the contrast in character and gender is explicitly stated, largely amplified and emphatically substantiated: Dumas adds physical and moral specifications that make the point clear from the very beginning: “They were two pretty children, but so different in face and character that no one would have ever believed them to be brother and sister.”⁷⁶ Gender correlates with a disposition toward others, and in particular toward authority, which one might expect from a society ruled by masculine domination (see Table 1.3). Marie’s behavior demonstrates her respect for her elders and her politeness toward others. Her older sister Luise, whom Dumas simply omits, embodies the gentle, subservient young woman she could become. Luise reminds her brother and sister of the religious meaning of Christmas and the value of surrendering one’s desires to His knowledge: “they had to wait,” she recommends, “still and pious, for their Christmas presents.” And while Marie grows pensive with this injunction, Fritz simply brushes off the suggestion of surrendering himself to an external moral authority: “I’d love,” he concludes, “to have a sorrel and Hussars.”

⁷⁶ *The Tale of Nutcracker*, 68.

Table 1.3 — Physical and moral portraits of Fritz and Marie

		FRITZ			MARIE				
		Hoffmann		Dumas		Hoffmann		Dumas	
physical description			N/A	"un bon gros garçon, joufflu"	"a big boy, chubby"	"der jüngern Schwester (sie war even erst sieben Jahr alt worden)"	younger sister, just turned seven	"frère et pale"	"a frail and pallid child"
psychological traits	"du bist ein hartherziger Mensch"	Marie about Fritz: "you are a coldhearted person"		"rodomont, espègle"; self-centered (his pleasure comes first); "un mauvais cœur"; "mauvaise intention" mais endurci dans sa vie de soldat"	"blustering, mischievous, stamping his foot at the slightest annoyance;" "He was convinced that everything in the world was created for his entertainment;" "a nasty heart;" "He meant not harm (...) in his military life his manners have grown a bit crude, and his heart has hardened ever so slightly"	"Marie war gar ein frommes vernünftiges Kind"	The narrator about Marie: "a devout and reasonable child"	"modeste, douce, affable"; "un charmante enfant, ayant tous les instincts du cœur"; "un bon cœur"	"modest, gentle, affable"; "a charming girl with all the instincts of the heart; "a good heart"
presents/toys (dreamt for or received)	"eine Festung;" "Fuchs (...) es ei eine wilde Bestie;" "die neue Schwadron Husaren"	"a fortress;" "a sorrel;" "squadrons of Hussars"			military: horse, castle, cavalry (hussars), soldiers	"einem schönen Garten;" "die zierlichsten Puppen"	"a beautiful park;" "delicate dolls"		pastoral: garden, river, swan, doll, white dove, dress
way of speaking	"etwas rauh;" "fragt (...) mit gedehnten Ton"	"roughly;" "drawled"		"ton doctoral"	dogmatic speech, command, disillusion				voice of reason, silence (to spare her Godfather's feelings)
relation to toys		domination: new Alexander the Great taming the wild Bucephalus; general giving orders			domination: new Alexander the Great taming the wild Bucephalus; general giving orders		caretaker, provider, companion (tea party)		caretaker, provider, companion (tea party)
relation to others		indifference, lack of politeness and sensitivity			self-centered (his pleasure comes first), indifferent to the feelings of Godfather Drosselmeier	"Auch Marie hatte sich sachte fortgeschlichen (...) und mochte es, da sie sehr artig und gut merken lassen;" "Sie wurde, wie es sonst gar nicht ihre Art war, recht böse, als Pate Droffelmeier sehr lachte (...)"	"well behaved and well brought up as she was, she didn't voice her annoyance as did Brother Fritz;" "Contrary to her usual behavior, Marie got quite angry;" defending the Nutcracker against Drosselmeier's laugh.	"miséricordieuse à toutes les douleurs;" Noisette, "contre son naturel, prise d'une grande colère"	"merciful toward all sufferings;" defending the Nutcracker against an unjust attack—"Contrary to her nature, she was inundated by a great anger."
relation to authority		submission to paternal threat only			submission to paternal threat only		natural obedience		natural obedience

The two children's difference in character is redundantly illustrated in their attitudes toward Godfather Drosselmeier and Nutcracker. None of the children have much appreciation for the automatons their godfather has built for them. As they tire of the stultified repetition of the automatons, Fritz loudly asserts the superiority of his fancy over mechanized fantasy, while Marie chooses to discreetly withdraw herself. Fritz's indifference to others' feelings culminates in his mistreatment of the nutcracker. After breaking three of the nutcracker's teeth on an excessively big nut, Fritz claims the nutcracker has no other significance but to fulfil its function, whether or not that entails its demise. This is when Marie blames Fritz for his cold-heartedness: the discord between brother and sister emerges as soon as they confront their disposition toward inanimate objects. Fritz has no other thought for his toys than that of enunciating commands and confirming his domination over them; Marie, on the contrary, establishes a relation of empathy with inanimate objects that ultimately humanizes her toys. Far from wishing the nutcracker's demise, she longs to protect and mend him. In both cases, the intervention of the parents prevents or settles conflicts: in the first instance, the mother softens the children's blow to their godfather's ego with compassionate inquiries on the automatons' mechanisms; and in the second, the father establishes himself as the family's arbiter and judge, rejecting Fritz's claim about the nutcracker's destiny on the basis of military etiquette: the care due to the broken toy, he asserts, is the respect and reward due to a wounded or invalid soldier. With this sermon, Fritz retreats ashamed.

This gendered dichotomy, however, does not imply that Marie altogether ignores violence. Instead, she embodies the ideal of just war: her violence occurs as a last resort, and only for defensive purposes. Consequently, she does not shy away from repeatedly expressing anger at Drosselmeier for disparaging her affection toward the nutcracker and for failing to

support him in the battle of toys against mice. At the moment of highest danger, when she sees Nutcracker's life in peril, she instinctively throws her left shoe at the King of Mice, and her heroic gesture miraculously saves the life of Nutcracker. More radically, she effectively sentences her enemy to death when she welcomes Nutcracker's offer to shield her from the aggressions of the King of Mice, and arms him with a sword lent by her brother. There is a vivid violence in the image of Nutcracker kneeling to present his trophies after his duel with the King of Mice. Holding in his right hand a sword "covered in blood" and in his left hand a wax taper to shed light on the scene, the toy swordsman proudly proclaims his victory: "The treacherous king of the mice lies vanquished and writhing in his gore!" But the sight of blood hardly troubles our soft and modest heroine; "with the keenest pleasure," she accepts from her knight the tokens of her enemy's demise.

Marie's contrasted relations with Fritz and Nutcracker exemplify the conventional containment of male barbarity by female humanity. Accordingly, Nutcracker embodies the ideal of polite valor.⁷⁷ He carries into battle the thought of Marie, wearing as his lady's token the ribbon she once used to mend him. Explicitly inspired to take action by her sacrifices for him, he dedicates to her his victory over the seven-headed King of Mice: Marie is, in some sense, the co-author of his military decisions.

Of Marie's mediated violence, Clara—in the ballet—retains very little. After the mild blow of her slipper, Nutcracker immediately takes advantage of his enemy's distraction to wound him. Later on, the King of Mice does not visit Clara at night to blackmail her for her belongings, and she does not sacrifice her sweets and picture books to protect Nutcracker from the King's

⁷⁷ Joachim Neugroschel, in his translation of the tale, curiously metamorphosed the nutcracker into the idealized *doppelgänger* of Marie's brother by re-christening Nutcracker Fritz right before the battle with the mice (p. 18): "Fritz did not even want to accept and wear Fräulein's ribbon, although it shone brightly and looked very lovely. Good, loyal Nutcracker preferred getting all spruced up with Marie's simple little ribbon." The first name does not appear in the German text.

death threats. In the Palace of Sweets, the introduction of a new character, the Sugar Plum Fairy, turns Clara into a somewhat passive character reduced to observing the *divertissement* her host has organized in her honor. What remains, however, is the clear reversal of the relation between siblings in the first and second acts of the ballet: the welcome the Nutcracker's sisters give him reverses the picture of Clara and Fritz's confrontational relationship in the first part of the ballet. In Act I, the discord between brother and sister climaxes not during, but after the two children's quarrel over the nutcracker.

With—in the words of the libretto—“frightful noise,” Fritz and the other children intentionally interrupt Clara's lullaby to the nutcracker (Act I, No. 5). Clara's lullaby consists in a simple accompanied melody, made of the gently ornamented repetition of short phrases assigned first to the woodwinds, then to the strings. Tchaikovsky denotes musical “racket” through contrasts in harmony, melody, and orchestration: Fritz and the mischievous children storm the stage with toy trumpets and drums. Their strictly monotonous tune consists in seven stubborn repetitions of a rhythmic formula played on one note, with the harmonic accompaniment of a single chord, entirely dissonant in the context of the lullaby (a C Major chord in the context of D-flat Major). The odd duration of their performance (seven bars) also frustrates the expectation the listener might have developed listening to the music of Clara's lullaby. In the libretto's words, “Clara begs the mischievous children to be quiet, and to give the injured nutcracker a chance to go to sleep.” But the lonely Clara vainly attempts to accommodate the children's disruption by reinterpreting their noise as harmony.⁷⁸ Indeed, Fritz and his friends remain quite plainly dissonant and unmoved throughout the scene. In the end then, Clara and the children's conflict is not so much resolved as defused by the father who invites his guests to dance a *Grossvater*, and in doing so, effectively converts the “noisy” (C-Major) chord of the

⁷⁸ The second lullaby, in F Major, assigns *a posteriori* a dominant function to the “noisy” C Major chord.

children into general rejoicing (also in C Major).⁷⁹ The dance temporarily obliterates Clara's appeal, but only temporarily; immediately after the *Grossvater*, the theme of the lullaby becomes the party's motto, and the guests retire, leaving the stage empty for Clara's midnight adventures.

The *Nutcracker*'s gendering has remained significant to the present day: Barbie has easily put on Clara's dress.⁸⁰ Paradoxically though, even this vehicle of social reproduction has been seen as a site of empowerment for women, perhaps in part because of the normative implications it carried for male identity. Some artists who reticently worked under the supervision of English artist Sylvia Holland on *The Nutcracker Suite* at Walt Disney's studios expressed anxiety that their work might appear too effeminate.⁸¹ To a certain extent, *The Nutcracker* has been women's business. According to Jennifer Fisher, while professional dance companies might remain dominated by male figures, women generally take control of all the production's aspects in amateur performances, and perhaps as a result, articulate more clearly to themselves and to others the distinction between their fictional stage character and their personal gender performance.⁸² While Barbie still testifies to the normative power of *Nutcracker* as a tale of morality, its very performers might also set it into question. In such instances, what remains

⁷⁹ This *Kehraus* or *Grossvater-Tanz*, based on a 17th-century song, seems to have frequently been performed to conclude balls in German-speaking countries at the beginning of the 19th century: its function was, literally, to "sweep out" the room. It might be noted in passing that the *Grossvater-Tanz* concluded a masked "ball of the nations" given by Prince Metternich at his Rennweg garden villa on November 8, 1814, during the Congress of Vienna (see Chapter III). See Franz M. Böhme, ed., *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886), I, 184.

⁸⁰ *Barbie: The Nutcracker* (2001), directed by Owen Hurley. This was part of a strategy to inscribe Barbie as a legitimate "performer" of 19th-century fairy tale adaptations: Hurley went on to direct *Barbie as Rapunzel* in 2002 and *Barbie of Swan Lake* in 2003.

⁸¹ Robin Allan, *Walt Disney and Europe: European Influences on the Animated Feature Films of Walt Disney* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 115-21. Allan effectively condones this reading of the *Fantasia* segment: "*The Nutcracker Suite* has a feminine element absent from the rest of the film. Power imagery (podia, rocks, mountains, trees) is lacking and camera movement is predominantly lateral and horizontal, not vertical. The animation is circular, oval, and elliptical. Three women (and eighteen men) are credited with *The Nutcracker Suite*; Sylvia Holland, an Englishwoman, was in charge of story development. With Bianca Majolie and Ethel Kulsar, she contributed much to the delicacy of the musical interpretation."

⁸² See Jennifer Fisher, *Nutcracker Nation*, 157-68.

compelling in *The Nutcracker*, then, is perhaps not so much what the characters themselves stand for as the conception of society which their relations with one another convey.

The Nutcracker, or the morality of war. In this regard, clearly, the family is not the only locus of discord and concord. The fantastic world brought about by Godfather Drosselmayer magnifies social discord to a matter of life and death in the epic battle of the toys and mice.

In the original tale, Marie's innocent foray into a fantastic world marks, paradoxically, her entrance into the political realm, and at a personal cost; wounded, Marie faints, and taken ill, she remains confined to her bed for several days. *The Tale of the Hard Nut*, which Drosselmeier narrates at her bedside, clarifies *a posteriori* the meaning of the battle Marie has observed. The war of the mice against the toys is the accidental and belated outcome of a conflict between, on one side, the King and Queen of a neighboring land, and on the other, Frau Mouserink and her seven sons. *The Tale of the Hard Nut* chastises the mice for their voracious appetite for bacon, which ruins the sausage feast the King intended to offer the princes and potentates gathered at this court; but it also chastises the King's rashness. Lacking moderation, the King condemns Frau Mouserink's seven sons to death. In doing so, he drives Frau Mouserink herself away from his court—a "site of terror" (*den Ort des Schreckens*)—and turns her into the relentless enemy of his own descendent, Princess Pirlipat. Frau Mouserink effectively transforms the lovely child into an awful sight till the day the very nephew of Christian Elias Drosselmeier successfully frees the princess from her curse. In the process, however, the young Drosselmeier accidentally crushes to death Frau Mouserink and brings the princess's curse onto himself. Princess Pirlipat ungratefully expels the metamorphosed Drosselmeier from her sight, and the ugly nutcracker finds his future freedom indissolubly tied with the destiny of Frau Mouserink's last son, the

seven-headed Mouse King: in the tale's prophetic words, "that son would have to be felled by his own hand, and a lady would have to fall in love with him despite his defects." In a nutshell—the war of dolls and mice is, for the Mouse King, a war of revenge, and for Nutcracker, a war of liberation. In Drosselmeier's fantastic world, political relations remain strictly determined by individual and dynastic motivations, even when the battle seemingly pits masses against one another.

The ballet libretto omits this central segment of the original tale: there are no excessive kings and no ungrateful princesses in *The Nutcracker* of St.-Petersburg. But the ballet's authors nevertheless clearly denoted the political significance of the fantastic battle between mice and toys. Indeed, the costumes designed by Vsevolozhsky situated the action toward the end of the 18th century, at the time of the Directory and the Consulate. Both the dress fashion of the party's guests and the French nationality of the soldier automaton offered by Godfather Drosselmeier as a Christmas gift signaled as much. In the words of a Russian dance journalist who had leafed through Vsevolozhsky's sketches and wrote one year after the Director's death:

The late director of theatres illustrated the gentle work of the composer's muse with 101 water-colour drawings of costumes, having them, according to Hoffmann, coincide in period with the Directory. All the characters are dressed and coiffured in the fashion of the end of the eighteenth century, including the eccentrics, the *incroyables* and *merveilleuses* with capricious veils and classical tunics, *fichus* and *dormeuses* on their heads, from under which show long curls and locks. Even the tin soldiers who do battle with the Mouse King—the infantry and artillerymen—wear the uniform of soldiers of the First Consul.⁸³

Other elements in the libretto and preparatory drafts also indicate a conscious effort to inscribe political references within the ballet's action:

One sketch for Act II is a list of dances which includes the *carmagnole*, a song and dance popular at the time of the French Revolution. In his commentary on the

⁸³ Quoted in Wiley, *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov*, 148, from *Novoe vremya*, 31 Dec. 1910, 6 (no name of author indicated). A very small selection of these drawings is reproduced in Galina Dobrovolskaia, "Shchelkunchik": *shedevry baleta* (Saint-Petersburg: MOL, 1996), insert in-between p. 64-65.

sketches, Fedor Lopukhov suggests that the change in title of Clara's father from "Counsellor" in the story to "President" in the ballet reflected the terminology of revolutionary France, and that the phrase "refuge of harmony," which Petipa uses in the same list, recalls Robespierre's Festival of the Supreme Being.⁸⁴

If the costumes signaled to the first audience the political purport of a seemingly innocent children's story, Tchaikovsky's battle music specified its political meaning.

In a recent staging at the Mariinsky Theater, Mihail Chemiakin, in a reference to Vsevolzhsky's costumes, dressed his anthropomorphized rats as Bonaparte's soldiers. Indeed, throughout the ballet, the signs of Bonapartist allegiance double and reinforce an association with evil. At the Christmas Party, Fritz wears a French cockade on his cocked hat, while the peg-legged and philistine friend of Grandfather also betrays his treacherous political leanings.⁸⁵ The King of Mice, with his high wig, harbors Ancient Regime fashion, but his general quite plainly looks like the plump Emperor Napoleon with a long nose.⁸⁶ In the finale, Chemiakin indicates that, "as an homage to Petipa, the rats take their bows in 'sans-culottes' caps to the music of Carmagnola."⁸⁷ In other words, the costumes of this production wove into the battle music of *The Nutcracker* the patriotic import of Tchaikovsky's other battle work, the *1812 Overture*, first performed in 1881, a decade before the composition of the ballet. Identifying the mice with the French invader, the costumes suggested *Nutcracker* as an allegorical double of Europe's Russian liberator, Tsar Alexander I. Thus framed, the battle of Toys and Mice stood as a war of foreign invasion and patriotic liberation, the fantastic reenactment of Napoleon's campaign in Russia, with its stunning successes that brought his army, hundreds of thousands strong, to Moscow, only to be suddenly overcome by a want of logistics, a dreadful winter, and the tenacity of the Russian armies.

⁸⁴ Roland John Wiley, "On Meaning in *Nutcracker*," 27, note 8. The work Wiley refers to is: Marius Petipa. *Materialy, vospominaniya, stat'i*, ed. Yurii Iosifovich Slonimskii *et al*, Leningrad, 1971, 207. Vsevolzhsky's historical situating of the tale at the very end of the 18th century derives from the circumstantial frame provided by its inclusion in *Serapionsbrüder* rather than from the tale itself.

⁸⁵ Mihail Chemiakin, *Staging "The Nutcracker"* (New York: Rizzoli, 2001), 44 and 41.

⁸⁶ *Idem*, 97.

⁸⁷ *Idem*, 148.

With anachronistic but compelling references to an Orthodox hymn, a Russian folksong, *La Marseillaise*, and *God save the Tsar*, Tchaikovsky constructed in the *1812 Overture*, on a similar pattern to Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg* (see Table 1.4), a musical narrative of struggle and liberation which fused the celebration of the Tsar and the military victory against the enemy in a single musical apotheosis. While *The Nutcracker*'s battle music (Act I, Scene 7) does not carry any patriotic reference, similarities exist in the construction of a musical trajectory that defines two groups, pits one against the other, and culminates with an inclusive and transcendental symphony of victory (see Table 1.4).⁸⁸ Indeed, the *1812 Overture*, while pertaining to the genre of battle music, had been commissioned for the dedication of the Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer in Moscow, a religious ceremony that concluded the festivities for the coronation of Alexander III.⁸⁹ In the overture, Tchaikovsky dramatizes the relation between religious faith, popular patriotism, and military struggles, in the end conflating works of faith and battlefield victories in the collective praise song of the Tsar. The first section presents the disruption of a self-contained, peaceful prayer and culminates in the taking of arms. In the battle that ensues, fanfare calls from *La Marseillaise* largely dominate the texture, while the peaceful theme and folk tune that follow contrast starkly, as if miles away from the battlefield. The third time, however, the folk tune provides a subdued counterpoint to the French fanfare calls, and this time *La Marseillaise*, still wanting completion, vanishes in an orchestral whirlwind. The Christian Orthodox hymn with which the overture begins now returns triumphant, all bells tolling, making way for the Russian military triumph and the rise of a new patriotic theme: *God Save the Tsar*. The entrance of the imperial emblem brings to completion the work of faith, transfiguring the Tsar into the people's savior and the hand of God. It also constructs just victory as collective harmony, erasing the memory of pain, fear, and disruption—quite literally. The return of *God, Preserve Thy People* amplifies but also, in some sense,

⁸⁸ I borrow the description of Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg* and the structure of the table from Richard Will, 192.

⁸⁹ On the circumstances of the composition and the coronation, see Richard Wortman, "The Coronation of Alexander III," in *Tchaikovsky and His World*, ed. Leslie Kearney, 277-99 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), especially 293-6.

recapitulates the opening of the overture. From this perspective, the lyrical theme to which the march provided counterpoint in the first part has been transfigured from a gentle melody for the lush sound of violins and violas to an imperial anthem carried far and loud by the horns,

Table 1.4 — Battle music and the narrative of transcendence

Beethoven, <i>Wellingtons Sieg</i> , Op. 91 (1813)	Calls and Marches <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Rule Britannia” • “Marlborough” (each preceded by drum & trumpet signals)	Battle <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • trumpet signals • <i>Allegro</i> • <i>Meno allegro</i> • <i>Sturmarsch</i> • <i>Presto</i> • “Marlborough” reprise, <i>Andante</i> 	Victory Symphony <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrada • <i>Allegro con brio</i> (march-like) • “God Save the King” (<i>Andante grazioso</i>) • Tempo I • “God Save the King” (<i>Tempo di minuetto moderato</i>) • Fugato (based on “God Save the King”)
Tchaikovsky, <i>1812 Festival Overture</i> , Op. 49 (1881)	From prayer to arms <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Largo</i> (3/4), “God, Preserve Thy People,” Orthodox Hymn • Musical disruption, with progressive acceleration of the tempo, opposing plaintive (<i>piangendo</i>) woodwinds and strings to winds • <i>Andante</i> (C) (military call and march, combined with lyrical melody) 	Battle <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Allegro giusto</i>, “Marseillaise” fanfare quotes • New lyrical theme, with lulling harmony • “At the Gates,” Russian folk song (tambourine) • Reprise of the <i>Allegro giusto</i>, “Marseillaise” fanfare quotes • Reprise of the lyrical theme • Reprise of “At the Gates” • Combination of short quotes from “Marseillaise” and “At the Gates.” Final fanfare quote of the Marseillaise, in the midst of cannon shots, cut short. 	Victory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Largo</i>, “God, Preserve Thy People” (Bells tolling) • <i>Allegro vivace</i>, Reprise of the military march from the first section’s <i>Andante</i> (topical percussion of Turkish music), soon after combined with “God Save the Tsar” (cannon shots)
Tchaikovsky, <i>The Nutcracker</i> , (Act I, Scenes 7 and 8), Op. 71 (1892)	Calls and Marches <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Allegro vivo</i>, Sentinel calls and alarm • <i>Pochissimi più mosso</i>, Armies in order 	Battle <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Battle of the mice and gingerbread soldiers • Nutcracker’s calls; Arrival of the Mouse King • Second Battle; Clara throws her shoe and faints 	Christmas Woods <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Andante</i>, continuous orchestral crescendo and melodic expansion • Reprise of the opening theme, <i>fff</i>, first by the strings with ornamental trumpet fanfare, then <i>marcatissimo</i> by the trumpets themselves, culminating in C-Major PAC, <i>con tutta forza</i> • Coda

trombones and bassoons. The quasi-recapitulation, however, entirely omits the middle segment of musical disruption: in the sacred struggle for liberation, there is no room for the plaintive line of a solo oboe and its heightened reprise by cellos and bassoon. Dispellled, the hurried march of ever more numerous orchestral forces (strings and woodwinds, mm. 53-56; brass and low strings, mm. 66-68) and the ominous harmony of instruments dark and low in register and color (trombones, basses, horns, mm. 58-62): the power of orchestral masses, which once belonged to the enemy, appears now harnessed within the strong metric and harmonic frame of the imperial theme. Victory is the silencing of the enemy, the harmony of patriotic unity.

This harmonious construction of war is not unique to Tchaikovsky; in a sense, it pertains to the genre. True enough, recent scholarship on battle music, *ballet de cour*, and pyrrhic dance has emphasized the experiential significance of formalized and formulaic representations. While 17th-century balletic battles offered a ritual site for physical and moral combat training, 18th- and 19th-century battle music mediated the noise of war from battlefields to salons and theatres.⁹⁰ Conventional gestures effectively provided audiences, musicians, and dancers with a substitute for military violence—“a vicarious access to the events of war,” in Nicholas Cook’s words.⁹¹ Very concretely, sound could provide not so much a metaphor as a metonymy of the battle, as in this journalistic report from 1792:

[The Austrians] were barely four hundred paces from the ball when the grenadiers, officers, etc., made as if to flee. The Austrians profited from the advantageous situation, marching quickly forward. But another music, placed in ambush, played a less melodious tune. A hail of fire poured into the band of bears, which was speedily dispersed and chased back to its lairs. Our young women, our grenadiers, continue to dance, the music follows its course, our musicians in ambush fill the

⁹⁰ See in particular Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*, 105-24, and 187-234; and Martin Kaltenecker, *L'air de la bataille* (Paris: Fayard, 2000). Further references, notably on Beethoven’s *Wellingtons Sieg*, appear below.

⁹¹ Nicholas Cook, “The Other Beethoven,” 16. As he makes this point, Cook refers to Thomas Röder, “Beethovens Sieg über die Schlachtenmusik: Opus 91 und die Tradition der Battaglia,” in *Beethoven zwischen Revolution und Restauration*, ed. Helga Lühning and Sieghard Brandenburg, 229-258 (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1989).

forest with the sounds of their instruments, for the fourth time in a week the forest is purged of its wild beasts.⁹²

Richard Will, in his study of Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg*, details musical techniques that contributed to this effect.⁹³ With the battle, superimposed rhythms (triplets of eighths and groups of sixteenths) follow the unity of movement in the marches previously performed—in the context of the Battle of Vittoria (1812) here represented *Rule Britannia* for the Allied forces commanded by Wellington, and *Marlborough* for the French armies. Repeated syncopations suggest a sense of tension and disjunction, soon amplified by the rattle of “muskets” and the shots of “cannons” at irregular intervals. Harmony further contributes to the performance of unpredictability, by temporarily obfuscating the direction of motion, and occasionally eliding transitions in modulations. Trumpet calls from the two armies emerge in different keys, pitted against one another without a sense of continuity or development. Beethoven's performance instructions compel attention to the number and disposition of the musicians on stage. Sheer volume, obtained through the appropriate proportion of musicians to the room, would have echoed the overpowering roar of battle. Both in sound and in sight, the distribution of two ensembles on opposite sides of the stage would have clarified the dramatic performance of conflict in the music. Physically challenging for the performer, the music would have also provided—Will perceptively suggests—the sight of physical effort beyond the threshold of exhaustion.

Wellingtons Sieg, like Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*, also goes beyond the sonorous mediation of grim realities. Both Nicholas Cook and Nicholas Mathew emphasize the elaboration of a compositional perspective that exceeds the sonorous clash of armies. In

⁹² *L'Ami Jacques, ou l'Argus du Département du Nord*, 29 August 1792; quoted in Ian Germani, “Staging Battles: Representations of War in the Theatre and Festivals of the French Revolution,” *European Review of History—Revue européenne d'Histoire* 13/2 (June 2006): 206.

⁹³ Will, 193-200.

Mathew's mind, the *Sieges Sinfonie* (Symphony of Victory) emerges from the previous conflict as a "monumental culmination" that significantly intensifies the rendering of "God Save the King": as in other compositions by Beethoven, the compositional treatment of the tune allows the listener to deduce a discourse or commentary on the tune, though the meaning of this "authorial perspective" might be a matter for debate (some have heard Beethoven's approach to the anthem as humorous or irreverent).⁹⁴

Cook goes further in qualifying the perspective as specifically "European," because this perspective is in the end neither uniquely French nor solely British. Cook specifically points out that the defeat of the French army occurs in a key (F-sharp minor) not only distant from the original French tonal inscription (C Major), but also emphatically different from the tonality associated with British music (E-flat Major).⁹⁵ The same might be said of the *Sieges sinfonie* (in D Major). From the perspective of tonality, battle and victory constitutes specific spaces, distinct from the previous expressions of national identity.⁹⁶ Significantly enough, Beethoven insists in his instructions that there are still two choirs of wind instruments in this celebration of victory, and that the second one (i.e. the French choir, which enters second at the beginning of the piece), does not play in soft and solo passages. What this means, *a contrario*, is that the French choir participates in the opening D-major victory music right from the beginning of the movement, and progressively joins in the performance of "God Save the King", first on the mode of a call and response (*Tempo di Menuetto*), then in the form of a fugue that spreads the tune from instrument to instrument and culminates in a homophonic orchestral *tutti*. Beethoven's depiction of the

⁹⁴ Mathew, "History Under Erasure," 43-48, and Cook, "The Other Beethoven," 8.

⁹⁵ Cook, "The Other Beethoven," 17. According to Thomas Röder (248), "Marlborough"—a French song ironically named for an Englishman—would have referred to the fate of soldiers in general rather than to a specifically French sensibility. The march, while used as a symbol of national identity, also transcended the conflict it served to establish.

⁹⁶ The battle begins in B Major, and the French defeat occurs in f-sharp major; the victory begins unmediated in D, related to the previous keys by common tone.

French masses rejoicing not only in the Allied victory, but also in the celebration of monarchical rule, implicitly dissociates Napoléon and the French nation. As such, *Wellingtons Sieg* establishes the Battle of Vittoria as an episode in a European war of liberation against the Corsican tyrant. However grim, the music of just war also remained music: a harmony, certainly imperfect, but a Concert of nations nonetheless.

Certain notions of conflict and harmony in international relations obfuscate the conception of war as a Concert. In *After Hegemony*, for example, Robert Keohane defined the concept of harmony as “a situation in which actors’ politics (pursued in their own self-interest without regard for others) *automatically* facilitate the attainment of others’ goals.”⁹⁷ Pursuing the image further, it could be said that Keohane’s notion of harmony posits the enharmonic unison of seemingly discordant interests. In modern music theory, one sound is potentially spelled in different ways for the purpose of fulfilling different functions; likewise, one can in the end respell one’s interest as that of another. Harmony, then, does not require any act of communication, and “is apolitical.”⁹⁸ In Keohane’s theory, harmony differs from cooperation, or the deliberate attempt of a power to address a conflict of interests by coordinating one’s policies with the objectives of another. Discord, then, is the opposite of harmony: it means “governments regard each others’ policies as hindering the attainment of their goals, and hold each other responsible for these constraints.”⁹⁹ With this definition of harmony, Keohane explicitly sought to place the reflection on cooperation within a Realist frame: in his mind, cooperation can occur whether or not participants have been defined as equals, which is to say that it exists independently of liberal institutions. In short, Keohane’s definition serves first and foremost as

⁹⁷ Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 51 (the author’s emphasis).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

an argumentative strategy for legitimizing the study of international cooperation and regimes rather than a heuristic purpose. Music historians and theorists, who typically face multiple definitions of harmony, will quickly recognize the vacuity of this rhetorical gesture beyond its circumstantial value in the debate between Realists and Internationalists.

Ideas of harmony and discord, instead, pervade both peace and conflict, at least as soon as one constitutes the parties involved as a coordinated ensemble. The perception of harmony and discord reveals a particular standpoint rather than a fixed relation. Music and ballet, then, provided a repertoire of ideas and images with which to conceptualize not only peace, but also war. Such representations, whether positively or negatively connoted, embedded the Concert as a third term between war and peace. Under the title *Groß Europisch Kriegs=Ballet / getanzt durch die Könige und Potentaten / Fürsten und Respublicken / auff dem Saal der betrübten Christenheit*, a 17th-century leaflet, printed after 1643 and no later than 1645, captures the Thirty Years' War as a war ballet of kings, potentates, princes and republics.¹⁰⁰ The picture, complete with a rhymed textual comment, features both deceased and current rulers who played a part in the armed conflict, including the young child Louis XIV. Angels of peace and discord strew both olive wreaths and apples on the European dance floor, while Pope and cardinals provide music for the two lines of dancers that face one another. The balletic Concert brought to the fore an underlying harmony between the parties at war, but what does it mean? Gerd Dethlefs emphasizes the constitution of Europe as a space for national action under the moralist gaze of a critical public. Denoted by the musical performers, the religious question and the future of

¹⁰⁰ The etching, which belongs to the *Kunstsammlung der Veste* in Coburg, is listed with a short description in Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, ed., *1648: War and Peace in Europe: Exhibition Catalog, Münster/Osnabrück, 24.10.1998 – 17.1.1999* (Münster: Verlagsgesellschaft 350 Jahre Westfälischer Friede, 1998), 394 (No. 1145). It is reproduced and discussed p. 161-3 in Gerd Dethlefs, "Schauplatz Europa. Das *Theatrum Europaeum* des Matthaeus Merian als Medium kritischer Öffentlichkeit," in *Europa im 17. Jahrhundert: Ein politischer Mythos und seine Bilder*, ed. Klaus Bussmann and Elke Anna Werner, 149-79 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004).

Christianity further unite the performers of the ballet. But the caption also highlights the disjunction between on one side, a society of princes driven by interest and envy, and on the other, the people and lands they condemn to suffering for the performance of this political ballet. The representation of the Thirty Years' War as a ballet asserted a community of existence from which the idea of Europe springs, but it also criticized a destructive connivance among national rulers. Vice versa, the Concert could symbolize the conduct and purpose of just war. Constructed as a symbol of the European war of liberation against Napoleonic tyranny, the 1813 "Battle of nations" (*Völkerschlacht*) fought in Leipzig—mentioned above as a noteworthy event in the life and work of E.T.A. Hoffmann—elicited positive images of a European theatre peopled with princely characters from various nations under the gaze of public opinion. Alliance thus replaced connivance in this playful "Concert announcement" (*Concert-Anzeige*):

Nach hohem Übereinkommen hat die nordische Gesellschaft unter der Direktion von Franz, Kaiser von Österreich, Alexander, Kaiser von Rußland, und Friedrich Wilhelm, König von Preußen, zum Besten der Bewohner aufgeführt: ‚Die Befreiung von der Sklaverei‘, eine Kantate von Alexander, die Musik ist von den verbündeten Mächten.

Die Springmärsche der ihrem Vaterlande zueilenden Weltbezwinger gewähren im Auge des Zuschauers einen belustigenden Anblick.

Da die hohen Unternehmer bereits den vollkommensten Beifall mehrerer Höfe erhalten haben, so erwarten sie mit Zuversicht auch am linken Rheinufer, wo der zweite Akt dieses unsterblichen Werkes gegeben wird, den geneigtesten Zuspruch zu finden.¹⁰¹

By high agreement, the Nordic society, under the leadership of Franz, Emperor of Austria, Alexandre, Emperor of Russia, and Friedrich Wilhelm, King of Prussia, has performed for the benefit of the inhabitants: "The Liberation from Slavery," a Cantata by Alexander; the music is by the Allied Powers.

The spring marches of the world conquerors hastening to their homeland offer the spectators an entertaining sight.

As the high entrepreneurs have already obtained the highest approbation of several courts, they confidently expect the most gracious reception on the left bank of the Rhine as well, where the second act of this immortal work will be given.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in Michael Ladenburger, "Der Wiener Kongreß im Spiegel der Musik," 276-7, and in F. J. Grobauer, *Ein Kämpfer für Europa: Metternich* (Wien: Union Verlag, 1961), 129ff. On the general significance of the Battle in German political culture, see Kirstin Anne Schäfer, "Die Völkerschlacht," in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, ed. Etienne François and Hagen Schulze, vol. II, 187-201 (München: Beck, 2001).

What, then, of Tchaikovsky's music for the battle of mice and toys (see Table 1.5 for a summary chart)? It carries less particular, but perhaps more tragic semantics than the *1812 Overture*. From the beginning to the end of the scene, there is little to no sense of stability or direction: not one cadence secures a tonal center or brings a clear sense of closure. The spectator must instead actively make sense of the continuous succession of events, combining visual and auditory cues. The scene begins, according to Petipa's indications, with the sentinel call of a toy and the iconic sound of gunfire. The sentinel reiterates its call, this time to wake the rabbit drummers who sound the alarm. Both the mice and the gingerbread soldiers put their forces in order, and the first entrance of the Tam-Tam sets the battlefield ablaze. The spectator can recognize the curious motive of the mice, first heard emerging from the silence of the night in the previous scene (Scene 6, *Più allegro*)—fast-paced runs and trills across two registers, the low sounds of the bass clarinet and bassoons, and the high pitches of flutes and piccolo. Set against this material and in the middle range, the fanfare-like motives of the oboe must represent, by inference, the gingerbread soldiers. It is the same figure that later symbolizes, according to the libretto, Nutcracker's personal call for his old guard to take arms (mm. 56-63); in the two wind choirs of this segment (oboe, English horn, clarinets, opposed to clarinets, bassoons, and trumpets), one hears not only Nutcracker's call, but also the guards' response. Performed beneath these calls, the descending conjunct line and its almost rootless harmony might have been associated with the mice's victory over the gingerbread soldiers (mm. 63-65); they also accompany the Mouse King's entrance a moment later. Rehearsal instructions recorded in the *répétiteurs* assign a different significance to this passage, however, by having the toy cavalry enter at that very moment.¹⁰² One way or another, with this progressive identification of the sonorous semantics, the exact reprise of the music of the first battle perhaps confers a more poignant character to the second battle. Indeed, the chromatic progression that now prolongs this episode heightens the sense of tension and disarray: the stepwise progression (mm. 97-105),

¹⁰² Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 211.

according to a *répétiteur*, accompanied the duel of Nutcracker with the King.¹⁰³ Preventing the death of Nutcracker, Clara's heroic shoe-throwing hardly clarifies the situation. She faints, and the pizzicatos of the bass and cello remain pregnant with uncertainty.

Mice and toys—whatever actual nation they might visually duplicate—constitute relatively abstract communities. The melodies that signal their distinct identities, in particular, amount to short, almost impersonal motives that hardly qualify as rallying songs: fanfare calls for the toys, and disjointed turns whirling in the lower and upper registers (see Example 1.2). But Tchaikovsky's battle music for *The Nutcracker* comes close to dissolving tonal direction. This is not to say that chords do not potentially fulfill a tonal function in the battle scene, but that the motion from one chord to another does not follow the patterns of tonal "progression." This is partly due to the fact that tonal centers are not clearly articulated by cadences, but rather suggested by way of repetition. It also results from the gradual erasure of regular voice leading, leaving instead jerky chord relations that are in turn overtaken by chromatic motion (see Examples 1.3 and 1.4 illustrating these processes at the height of the struggles). Reinforced by rhythmic tension, the effect is at least one of bewilderment, if not confusion and anxiety. In this context, the peaceful establishment of a new key (C Major, Scene 8) amounts to an apparition emerging from the silence of the night and Clara's temporary unconsciousness—an apparition as magical as the sudden change of scenery, and Clara's awakening in Christmas Woods. Retrospectively, this new key can certainly appear the concealed goal of the battle's chromatic motion, most notably the antagonistic stepwise progression that concludes the second battle. Similarly, the dominant chord that marks Clara's intervention retrospectively announces the new key, or calls it forth. More accurately, however, the new key accommodates a normalizing reinterpretation of conflict as leading to stable harmony. It offers the possibility to "re-harmonize" *a posteriori* the perceived disjunctions of the battle scene.

¹⁰³ Idem.

Table 1.5 — The battle of the mice and toys in *The Nutcracker*

mm.	Form		Narrative	Tempo	Orchestration	Polarizing chords
1-6	A	A	"Who goes there?"	Allegro vivo	Oboe call	e [NB. No key signature throughout the scene]
7-12		a'	Sentinel wake-up call			
13-24		B	Armies in order	Pochissimi più mosso	violins, woodwinds, drummer rabbits	
25-32		C	Battle of the mice and gingerbread soldiers		Tam-tam, children's drums	F / d
33-37						(B-flat / g)
38-41						(g, increasing chromaticism)
42-51						
52-56	D	Triumph of the mice who devour the gingerbread soldiers	strings and children's drums		(d)	
56-63	B	E	The Nutcracker calls for his old guard [a direct reference to Napoleon's imperial army?!]		strings and children's drums	(d, b, c-sharp, a-sharp / b-flat)
		F	The Mouse King arrives and his army acclaims him	strings, with winds and brass for acclamations	(g-sharp minor)	
63-72		c'	Second Battle	Tam-tam, children's drums	F / d to (g)	
73-97 identical to 25-49					(g, a-flat, a, b-flat, b)	
97-105						
105-113		G	Clara throws her shoe and faints.	Decreasing orchestral texture, fall to lower register, decelerating rhythm	Abrupt progression: 7 th -chord on e-sharp with flat third, foreshadowing dominant 7 th on G?	
						a minor chord, transitioning to dominant 7 th on G
114-121						
Scene 8		Christmas Woods	Andante	Harps	C Major	

Example 1.2 — The mice's motive in *The Nutcracker* (Scene 6).

This motive, divided between the registers of the bassoons and the piccolo, first occurs in Scene 6, when Clara hears the mice for the first time, emerging from the silence of the night. It reoccurs in the battle scene (Scene 7).

Example 1.3 — Reduction of the Battle scene from *The Nutcracker* (Scene 7), mm. 42-53, omitting the tam-tam and toy drum.

Primarily centered on a g-minor chord, the harmony of this passage is at first limited to a i-V motion over eight bars (upper system). The wide variations in orchestration and register accentuate the absence of any real voice leading. A chromatic line (lower system), which grows in register and volume in the course of this passage, ultimately overtakes the harmony, just as the mice overcome the gingerbread soldiers; mm. 52-53 expands a diminished seventh chord on C-sharp, mostly through stepwise and chromatic voice-leading.

Musical notation system 1: Treble and bass clefs with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature. The treble staff contains a few notes, and the bass staff contains a more active line.

Musical notation system 2: Treble and bass clefs with a key signature of one sharp and a 4/4 time signature. Both staves contain active melodic lines.

Musical notation system 3: Treble and bass clefs with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature. The treble staff contains a few notes, and the bass staff contains a more active line.

Musical notation system 4: Treble and bass clefs with a key signature of one sharp and a 4/4 time signature. Both staves contain active melodic lines.

Musical notation system 5: Treble and bass clefs with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature. The treble staff contains a few notes, and the bass staff contains a more active line.

Musical notation system 6: Treble and bass clefs with a key signature of one sharp and a 4/4 time signature. Both staves contain active melodic lines.

Example 1.3 (continued)

The musical score is divided into four systems. The first system consists of two staves: a treble staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature, and a bass staff with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a common time signature. The second system consists of four staves: two treble staves and two bass staves, all with a key signature of two flats and a common time signature. The third system consists of three staves: a treble staff with a common time signature, and two bass staves with a key signature of two flats and a common time signature. The fourth system consists of two staves: a treble staff with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature, and a bass staff with a key signature of two flats and a common time signature. The score includes various musical notations such as chords, arpeggios, and melodic lines.

The image displays a piano reduction of the Battle scene (Scene 7) from *The Nutcracker*. It consists of four systems of musical notation, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system begins with the instruction *sempre ff* (sempre fortissimo). The music is characterized by dense, chromatic textures. The first system features a complex interplay of eighth and sixteenth notes in both hands, with many notes beamed together. The second system continues this dense texture, with the bass line showing a prominent eighth-note double turn. The third system shows a shift in texture, with the right hand playing sustained chords and the left hand moving in a more rhythmic, eighth-note pattern. The fourth system features a rapid sixteenth-note run in the right hand over a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the left hand.

Example 1.4 — Piano reduction of the Battle scene (Scene 7) from *The Nutcracker* (Leningrad: “Musique,” 1982), mm. 98-105.

For this second battle, harmonic motion is primarily guided by chromatic progression (through g minor, a-flat minor, a minor, b-flat minor, b minor). The emphasis on f-sharp minor, primarily generated by an eighth-note double turn in the lower register (E-sharp; F-sharp; G; F-sharp) clashes against the upper register double turn (F-sharp, G, A, G). The last chord on E-sharp (Clara throws her shoe) may be read as an interrupted assertion of f-sharp minor (the chord would be, in this reading, a diminished seventh with a flat third). Since E-sharp sounds as F-natural, of course, the chord might *a posteriori* be understood as foreshadowing the dominant seventh on G which ends the scene and leads into the new key of Scene 8 (C-Major).

In sum, the Battle of the mice and toys does not lack harmony, but it wants a unified perspective from which to make sense of it. This perspective is that of a toy world freed from the threat of mice. Of this world, Christmas Woods is but the first image and the gateway: the second act, devoted to the peace festivities in Confiturembourg, celebrates in its entirety the restoration of a sovereign order. As such, the Battle precedes the marvelous peace of Christmas Woods as both its opposite and its condition in a war of liberation. Like *Wellingtons Sieg* or the *1812 Overture*, the *Nutcracker* presents discord as a moment of imperfect harmony in the Concert of nations, but harmony nonetheless. What does this mean? The *Nutcracker* does not stage war as an accidental evil, but as a moral trial. The mice, in this regard, play not so much a distasteful as a necessary part in the institution of harmony: because of them—but also thanks to them—Clara must choose where she stands. The children from the Life-Guards Finnish Regiment involved in the first performance of this battle would not have gained from their theatrical experience an appreciation of war's evils.¹⁰⁴ Instead, the *Nutcracker* presents the magical annihilation of the mice as both necessity and justice. No wonder, then, that the Nutcracker easily puts on the garments of patriotism, clothed *ad libitum* by figurine makers as a Canadian Mounted Policeman, a soldier guarding the Capitol, Uncle Sam, various U.S. presidents, a Civil War soldier, an “Operation Desert Storm” soldier, and after 2001, a “Champion of Freedom”.¹⁰⁵ No surprise, either, in the fact that the Mouse King often bears the burden of xenophobia, occasionally dropping the ancient Napoleonic act for up-to-date “Arabian gear,” complete with “Middle-Eastern pantaloons and vest.”¹⁰⁶

There is, however, one puzzling indication about the first production that would have made the interpretation of the Battle of the mice and toys a more complex matter. Vsevolozhsky did not assign French military costumes to the mice, but to the toy soldiers—not to the oppressor, but to the liberator. What then of the patriotic interpretation of the Nutcracker's just war?

¹⁰⁴ On the participation of students from a military academy in the performance, see Wiley, *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov*, 138 and 142.

¹⁰⁵ Jennifer Fisher, *Nutcracker Nation*, 86-87, 80, and 132-3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

Perhaps Vsevolozhsky and Petipa instead sought to valorize France's revolutionary history in the eyes of the Tsar and the Imperial Theater's audience: indeed, the years 1891-1892 mark a sharp reversal of Russia's international alliances and a rapprochement with the new French Republic, which led Alexander III to welcome a French fleet at Kronstadt in 1891 and to sign an alliance treaty with France in 1892. As a former diplomat and a Francophile artist, Vsevolzhsky would have been sensitive to this political shift. Still, an open celebration of the French Republican army seems highly unlikely eleven years after the assassination of Alexander II by Russian revolutionaries. In a way, Vsevolozhsky's costumes cast doubt on the very idea of just war. They introduce a visual dissonance, and an element of relativism: like Alexander I's armies in 1812, the French armies had initially legitimized their wars of conquest as wars of liberation. In this regard, Vsevolozhsky perhaps resisted Hoffmann's acceptance of just war as a component of the harmonious world the writer imagined in his tale.

Hoffmann's *Nutcracker and Mouse King* as a harmonist tale. Marie's visit to the Kingdom of Dolls is indeed no escape from politics. Discord and conflict are not absent from the beautiful place, but are woven into a moral discourse. Indeed, the first conflict is mainly an opportunity for Nutcracker to exhibit the virtue of international cooperation in the defense of his territory: in Bonbonville, the Nutcracker explains,

. . . . a shipment has just arrived from Paper Land and from Chocolate King. A short while ago, the poor Bonbonvillers were harshly threatened by Mosquito Admiral's navy. That's why they've covered their homes with the gifts of Paper Land and why they're constructing proficient works sent them by Chocolate King.¹⁰⁷

In *Confiturenhain*, or Jamburg, the kingdom's capital, the silver soldiers can barely defend the city against internal and external threats. As Marie arrives at the enchanted palace, she observes the construction work on the rooftop of the Castle. Nutcracker immediately goes on to explain

¹⁰⁷ *Nutcracker and Mouse King*, 50.

that the Giant Sweet-Tooth has recently bitten off the rooftop, and that only the sacrifice of a city district spared the Castle complete destruction.

Before arriving at the Castle, Marie also witnesses internal upheavals. The “merry uproar” that commands Marie’s attention as she enters the city is nothing else but a Concert of nations—“many very fine voices bursting through one another, exulting and laughing for joy, playing and singing,” voices whose varied geographical and social origins make up an eclectic list of characters:

There were elegant ladies and gentlemen, Greeks and Armenians, Jews and Tyroleans, officers and soldiers and preachers and shepherds and buffoons—in short: every kind of person to be found in the entire world.¹⁰⁸

In the marketplace, the city’s “confusing uproar of wonderful voices,” however, turns sour. To the sounds of cosmopolitan urbanity succeeds a “wild,” angry, and violent racket. Under Marie’s eyes, the Grand Mogul, the fishers’ guild, the Turkish Grandee, and the “huge pageant of *The Interrupted Sacrificial Feast*” literally run into each other, and in no time, fighting ensues. With this reference to Peter Winter’s opera *Das unterbrochene Opferfest* (1815), Hoffmann both evokes the ritual procession of Incas in Peru and reinforces the notion of a cultural clash. Civilizations, as they meet in the marketplace, fall into a state of anarchy or wildness (*toll* is the adjective Hoffmann uses).¹⁰⁹

As quickly as it began, the tumult fades away, after the mayor rings a bell three times and repeats the name of the “Confectioner” as many times. The inhabitants of Jamburg are a religious

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 54.

¹⁰⁹ Hoffmann reviewed a performance of Winter’s opera on September 9, 1815, not long before the first publication of his tale; see E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Schriften zur Musik Nachlese* (München: Winkler-Verlag, 1963), 290-3. On this opera, see Malcolm S. Cole, “Peter Winter’s *Das unterbrochene Opferfest*: Fact, Fantasy, and Performance Practice in Post-Josephinian Vienna,” in *Music in Performance and Society: Essays in honor of Roland Jackson*, ed. Malcolm S. Cole and John Koegel, 291-324 (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997). The opera centers on Murney, an Englishman who, after a shipwreck, benefits from the generosity of the Inca of Peru. He is now helping his rescuers successfully fight off Spanish invaders. Act I ends with a great religious procession celebrating the sun. Wrongly accused of blasphemy by a corrupt priest, Murney is sentenced to death. In the end, the truth comes to light; the Englishman requests clemency for the conspirators, and is elevated to a rank of honor.

crowd, quick to absorb themselves in private contemplation, leaving empty the public space they had just rowdily invaded:

“Confectioner” is our name for an unknown but very ghastly power that we believe can do whatever [it] likes to a human being. *It is the doom hanging over this small, cheerful nation.* And this little nation is so frightened that the mere mention of its name can silence the loudest tumult, as was just proved by the mayor. Each man then stops thinking about earthly matters, about pokes in the ribs and bumps on the head. Indeed, he draws into himself and says” “What is man and what can become of him?”¹¹⁰ [italics added]

Es ist das Verhängnis , welches über dies kleine lustige Volk regiert—or to speak plainly of Jamburg’s government: the Kingdom of Dolls is a theocracy where civic authority, in invoking a transcendental power, can expect from its constituency the self-enforcement of public order. Dumas found himself little convinced by so severe and mystical a political theory, and preferred to have the inhabitants’ motives for their policed behavior lie in experience, vanity, and self-interest:

. . . . on the basis of their experience, the people of Marmaladeburg believe in metempsychosis. They live under the influence of a prime cause known as “Confectioner”—a principle that, according to caprice, gives them the shape they desire. And they acquire that shape by being baked for a more or less prolonged time. Now since everyone feels that his shape is the best, no one ever cares to alter it. That’s what gives the word “Confectioner” its magical power over the inhabitants.¹¹¹

Marie’s heroic gesture, then, is but a step in a psychological conversion. Returned to her home and awakening in her bed, Marie refuses to dismiss the Kingdom of Dolls as a dream. She faces the successive laughter of her parents, her brother Fritz, and her sister Luise. Godfather scowls upon hearing her tale, and her father forbids her to utter a word on the matter. In the end, her brother ostracizes her. Left alone with her visions of wonders, retreating from the familial sphere into daydream, Marie expresses her care for Nutcracker almost unaware of herself: the

¹¹⁰ *Nutcracker and Mouse King*, 54.

¹¹¹ *The Tale of the Nutcracker*, 147.

words “blurt out,” and she faints in the commotion of Nutcracker’s metamorphosis into the very real ruler of a fantastic kingdom.

Discord, thus, does not vanish with the mice, but its resolution now ranges from physical confrontation to spiritual retreat. From this perspective, the tale outlines, despite the resilience of dissonance, a trajectory of social transfiguration, from the shortcomings of familial harmony, through the battle of the mice and toys, to the utopia of universal harmony. The transformation of sound, in particular, delineates this trajectory in Hoffmann’s narrative (See Table 1.6 for a listing). There is a wide range of sounds in this tale, including, through to the end, unpitched sounds and noise, or in other words, sound with a negative connotation. Some sounds, such as laughs of Marie’s family or the “crack” of the nutcracker, have a seemingly variable meaning, sometimes positive, sometimes negative, and sometimes neither quite one or the other. The steadiest semantics, then, are the fantastic rings of clocks, chimes, and glockenspiel marking the happy hour of Christmas and announcing the harmonious world of toys. Tchaikovsky’s score certainly carries the trace of Hoffmann’s narrative when the composer features the celesta in accompanying the dance of the Sugar Plum Fairy (Act II, No. 14); indeed, Tchaikovsky carefully controlled the introduction of this new instrument in St.-Petersburg in order to secure for the ballet’s music an effect of novelty and uniqueness.¹¹²

In the end, music, in Hoffmann’s narrative, bears a transcendental quality (see, in Table 1.6 the last column to the left.) From the very first scene, it carries religious and visionary connotations, marking Marie’s vision of beauty and the coming of the Christmas child. The Kingdom of Dolls combines natural and artificial harmonies in a continuous concert. In Christmas Forest, nature’s harmony resounds in “jubilant music” while “shepherds and shepherdesses, hunters and huntswomen” perform a pastoral ballet at Nutcracker’s command. The Lake of Roses carries the song of swans, the dance of fishes, and the Turkish music of “little Moors.” The “uproar” of cosmopolitan urbanity, mentioned above, includes the operatic

¹¹² On the use of the celesta, ordered from the inventor in Paris and carefully concealed from any ears until the performance of the *Nutcracker* music, see Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 228-9.

performance of religious ritual. By the end of the journey, in the Marzipan Castle, the sounds of everyday life all turn into music, transfigured by Marie's spiritual uplift: "Marie pounded away so cheerfully that the mortar resounded, graceful and charming, like a lovely tune."

Table 1.6 — The soundscape of Hoffmann's *Nutcracker and Mouse King*.

The table lists references to silence, unpitched sound, and pitched sound in the narrative. The intermediary category between pitched and unpitched sounds is a grey zone in terms of positive or negative connotations, of course subject to discussion. Mice are generally associated with unpitched and negatively connoted noise. The sounds of toys elicit a wider spectrum of emotions, but chiming consistently evokes the marvellous (Christmas presents, Drosselmeyer's mechanical castle, the toys' coming to life), while singing is the sound of utopian beauty and happiness (the songs of swans, the crooning of dolphins, the fine voice of young Drosselmeyer, the inhabitants of the kingdom's capital even the mortar resounding as Marie pounds away in the kitchen of the dolls' castle).

The tale's timeline	Silence	Unpitched sounds / Noise	Intermediate sounds	Pitched sounds / Music
<i>Christmas Eve</i>				
Portrait of Drosselmeier fixing clocks			Clocks "humming, striking."	The chime of clocks
The children's dreams		Fritz imagines cannons booming, soldiers marching		Marie imagines swans "singing the loveliest songs."
Christ Child			It sounded as if rustling wings encircled them	It sounded (...) as if they could catch a very distant and very splendid music (...). At that moment, they heard a bright silvery chime: Klinging, klinging!"
<i>The Gifts</i>				
Announcing Drosselmeier's gift				"the doorbell rang again"
Drosselmeier's mechanical castle				"a glockenspiel resounded (...). The middle had (...) children (...) dancing to the sound of the glockenspiel."
<i>The Protégé</i>				
		"a double crack" (the breaking of the teeth); "Marie wept"; "Fritz cried"; "Marie began sobbing hard"	"Crack! Crack!"; "the pleasurable cracking of nuts"; "Fritz roared with laughter at the quaint manikin."	
<i>Marvels</i>				
Turn to the fantastic		"And the noises grew louder, and words could be made out (...). And the humming resounded dull and hoarse twelve times!"		

Table 1.6 (continued)

Mice, and the broken panel	After Marie had broken the glass pane of the cabinet, "she heard no squeaking or piping; everything was very still."	"a wild giggling and whistling"; "the room reverberated with trot, trot, and hop, hop"; "the room began to whistle so sharply and so outrageously that she had to shudder"; "Hott, hott, trott, trott, it headed straight toward the cabinet (...). Marie's heart had beaten so loudly in fear and terror that she thought it might burst out of her chest."	"a soft whispering and murmuring and rustling all around"; Marie breaks the panel: "klirr, klirr, purr, purr"	
Toys come to life			Two zitherists and one drummer among others answer the Nutcracker's call.	"Right behind Marie, strange noises were now heard from the cabinet, and very fine voices resounded (...). And harmonious chimes jingled sweetly and gracefully."
Nutcracker			"shouting: 'Crack, crack crack! Foolish mice pack! Crick, crack, real sack!'"	
<i>The Battle</i>				
Toys		Yells of the Nutcracker; cannons; "Drummer instantly rolled the drum so artistically that the panes of the glass cabinet shivered and shuddered"	"Pantaloon crowed so piercingly that it sounded like a hundred bright trumpets blowing cheerfully away"; fife and drum; the Nutcracker's "tremendous voice"	
Mice		The mice overtake the cannons, "which sounded—prrr—prrr—prrr"; "And Mouse King and mice squealed and shrieked"; the Mouse King "triumphantly squealing out of seven throats"		

Table 1.6 (continued)

Overall sound of struggle		"general uproar: Prr—pr—pudd—pidd—taratantara—taratantara—boom—boom—boom—all tangled up		
Marie		Sobs		
<i>The Illness</i>				
Marie's bedside		Drosselmeier's "snarling and monotonous voice"	Fritz's loud laugh	
<i>The Tale of the Hard Nut</i>				
The king's banquet		The king "loudly groaning and groaning, weeping and wailing"; yells	the King "exulted loudly, (...) and kept hollering"; Frau Mouserink's "very fine whispering"; public dinner, with "drums beating and trumpets blasting"	
<i>Continuation of the Tale of the Hard Nut</i>				
Pirlipat changes into a nutcracker		the queen "weeping and wailing"; Drosselmeier "weeping bitterly"; the king "roared in a lion's voice"	"the princess delightfully cracked nuts"	
<i>Conclusion of the Tale of the Hard Nut</i>				
Drosselmeier cracks the hard nut		Frau Mouserink, "in peril of death, (...) squeaked and squealed lamentably"; yell of the princess as she sees the ugly Nutcracker	"Christoph Zacharias had often snapped his fingers, whirled around on one foot, clicked his tongue, and cried out: "Hm, hm, I, Ei, O—the devil take it!"; "The boy tugged at his queue and—crack, crack, crack (...). Drums and trumpets joined the loud jubilation of the people."	
<i>Uncle and Nephew</i>				
Marie's tale			"the family sat around, talking about all kinds of cheerful things." Marie's tale of the battle "interrupted by the noisy laughter of Luise and the mother."	After Marie declares to the Nutcracker her desire to help him, "Marie felt as if a gentle sigh were breathing through the glass cabinet, whereby the panes resounded—barely audible, but wondrously charming—and a faint chimelike voice appeared to be singing"

Table 1.6 (continued)

<i>Victory</i>				
<p>The Mouse King's blackmail, and the final duel</p>	<p>Marie is unable to wake up her mother: "every sound stuck in her throat"</p>	<p>"a strange knocking (...). It sounded like small stones being hurled and rolled to and fro, with a quite repulsive squeaking and squealing in between. (...) Marie shouted in horror." The Mouse King's "squeaking," squealing," "whistling between his teeth," "hissing with terror and horror." Marie sobs. The duel: "a bizarre racket, a roaring and jangling"</p>	<p>Laughs of Fritz and the mother</p>	<p>Nutcracker victorious: "there was a soft, soft tapping on the door, and a very fine voice was heard: (...) Marie recognized the voice of young Drosselmeier."</p>
<i>The Kingdom of Dolls</i>				
<p>Traveling</p>			<p>"six monkeys in red jerkins were playing the most beautiful Turkish military music"; the "jubilant music" of Christmas Forest; a ballet of shepherds and shepherdesses, "whereby the hunter blew their instruments quite decently"; "plashing and splashing" of the Lemonade River; the "wild, joyful uproar" of Bonbonville receiving from Paper Land and from Chocolate King gifts to protect their homes against Mosquito Admiral's navy</p>	<p>Christmas Forest: "Stems and stalks had decorated themselves with ribbons and bouquets like merry marital couples and cheerful wedding guests. And when the orange scents billowed like zephyrs, then the twigs and leaves all hummed, and the tinsel flapped and fluttered so thoroughly that it all sounded like jubilant music, which had to accompany the sparkling lights, the hopping and dancing." The Lake of the Roses, the "loveliest songs" of swans, and the "merry dance" of tiny diamond fish</p>

Table 1.6 (continued)

<p>The Capital</p>	<p>The Confectioner "is the doom hanging over this small, cheerful nation. And this little nation is so frightened that the mere mention of this name can silence the loudest tumult, as was just proved by the mayor"</p>	<p>"tumult," "racket": clash of the Grand Mogul and the Turkish Grandee; the pageant of the opera <i>The Interrupted Sacrificial Feast</i></p>	<p>the "bizarre beat" and singing of twelve little Moors; "a confusing uproar of wonderful voices";</p>	<p>Dolphins, as "the crooning of two fine and graceful voices"; the Capital, where "every kind of person (...) in the world" was to be found: "many very fine voices bursting through one another, exulting and laughing for joy, playing and singing</p>
<p>The Enchanted Castle</p>			<p>Marie crying out in loud admiration. The vision fades away: "a bizarre singing and whirring and whizzing, which vanished in the distance"</p>	<p>"a very gentle and pleasant music could be heard"; "Marie pounded away so cheerfully that the mortar resounded, graceful and charming, like a lovely tune."</p>
<p><i>Conclusion</i></p>				
<p>Marie's return home</p>	<p>The father reduces his daughter to silence. Marie's self-absorption.</p>	<p>"Both parents burst into noisy laughter. (...) Marie went on almost tearfully." Luise's and Fritz's "vociferous" laughter. The father scolds his daughter.</p>	<p>"Prr!Puff! Resounded. Marie plunged down from an immeasurable height."</p>	<p>"Though Marie was not allowed to talk about her adventures, the images of that wondrous fairyland hovered around her in sweetly rushing billows and gracious, charming sounds."</p>
<p>The young Drosselmeier's return to life</p>			<p>"a whack and boom"; the "crack" of a nut cracking</p>	<p>"Twenty-two thousand of the most brilliant figurines danced amid their adornments of pearls and diamonds."</p>

The Nutcracker as a harmonist ballet. While the ballet simplifies the tale's plot, the oft-decried contrast between the first and the second acts produces precisely the same utopian transfiguration of harmony. The two acts have long been criticized for excessive difference. While the first tableau in particular consists primarily in pantomime, the second act ultimately compels the main characters to make room for a series of dances with little to no contribution to the plot. The second act, located in the city of Confiturembourg, conveys virtually no information as regards Clara's future life, or any kind of rationale for the fantastic events she has been witnessing. After Nutcracker's pantomime narrative of the battle, the Sugar Plum Fairy commands a *divertissement* to honor her guests. Seemingly gratuitously, an "apotheosis" follows this "enchanting spectacle," which "represents a large beehive with flying bees closely guarding their riches." Lacking an explicit relation with the ballet's plot, this visual finale is nowadays generally elided. From a general perspective, however, the ballet scenario has more meaning than its detractors claim. Dance critic Edwin Derby, in two articles dated 1944 and 1954, already perceived that the seemingly disarticulated tableaux of the first and second acts enabled a significant parallel between the opening party scene and the festivities at the Fairy's palace.¹¹³ He pointed out that pantomime and social dances offer classical dance a bodily backdrop—"unembellished," "*terre-à-terre*"—against which the dancers' elevated virtuosity emerges as yet another fantastic apparition. In the second act, the suite form, with its series of discrete dances, multiplies almost mechanically this effect of apparition: each dance, with its specific character and gestures, takes shape for a moment, almost gratuitously, before receding from the stage. In

¹¹³ See Edwin Denby, "Meaning in *The Nutcracker*" (December 10 and 17, 1944) and "*The Nutcracker*" (Center, March 1954), in *Dance Writings*, ed. Robert Cornfield and William MacKay (New York: Knopf, 1986), 272-5 and 445-50; and Jennifer Fischer's commentary in *Nutcracker Nation*, 186. The second article reviews Balanchine's choreography of *The Nutcracker*. Jennifer Fisher (174) points to other readings that prolong the interpretation of *The Nutcracker* as a performance of "social harmony," most notably Christian: "For some participants, it seemed fortuitous that *The Nutcracker* includes a family Christmas party in the first act, angels in the second, and 'right triumphing over might' in between." Dancer-choreographer Vigi Prakah, in an Indian reconstruction of the ballet, also has the Sugar Plum Fairy explain that the Land of Sweets knows "no anger, no jealousy" (94).

sum, “*The Nutcracker* is (...) the story of a child’s presentiment of handsome conduct, of civilized society,” as embodied in the “heavenly manners of the Fairy’s palace, the graceful behavior of classic dancing.”¹¹⁴

But social harmony in *The Nutcracker* extends beyond the familial sphere, to encompass the political realm. Read as a Concert of nations, the ballet’s scenario makes a great amount of sense—almost crudely so. Indeed, it echoes the soundscape of Hoffmann’s tale with harmonist art forms perhaps borrowed from the French *ballet de cour*. Vsevolozhsky had already expressed his interest in French court culture with *Sleeping Beauty*, a ballet not only modelled on Perrault’s tale, but also inspired by historical forms: “I want,” Vsevolozhsky then wrote to Tchaikovsky, “to do the *mise-en-scène* in the style of Louis XIV.” In *The Nutcracker*, the Waltz of the Snowflakes, for example, might have conjured the same idea of natural harmony as the Christmas Forest described by Hoffmann in his tale—an idea discussed above. Ivanov’s original choreography included “geometrical designs which the dancers formed from time to time, including a cross rotating in one direction within a circle moving the opposite way, and a pattern resembling a snowflake.”¹¹⁵ A critic noted that the scene could be “viewed particularly effectively” from the fourth balcony, and admirers went there “specifically to admire the production.”¹¹⁶

In Hoffmann’s tale, *Nutcracker* offers Marie a pastoral *divertissement*, but Petipa and Vsevolozhsky immediately assumed that *The Nutcracker* would include a *ballet des nations*. First projected in the opening scene, where the children could have received and tried national costumes as Christmas gifts, the *ballet des nations* turned into the central *divertissement* of the

¹¹⁴ Denby, “*The Nutcracker*,” 448.

¹¹⁵ Wiley, *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov*, 147.

¹¹⁶ Quoted in Wiley, *Idem*. On the waltz, see Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 211-2 and 390-400.

second act.¹¹⁷ In the most conventional manner, it featured the four parts of the world with its Spanish dance for Chocolate, its Arabian dance for Coffee, its Chinese Dance for Tea, and the Russian Trepak. With the Mirlitons, Mother Gigogne, and the Flowers, however, this *ballet des nations*, as in the 17th century, extends to allegorical and comical characters. Each dance begins with the performance of a distinct rhythmical accompaniment that marks difference even before the main melody has been heard. Overall, Roland John Wiley has found the music of the *divertissement* puzzlingly disjointed from the narrative of the ballet, at once “innocuous” and “provocative”.¹¹⁸ Thus, the first two dances open in keys entirely conventional in their relation to the ballet’s opening and closing tonality (B-flat Major), hardly heard before and never heard again (E-flat Major and g minor). More troubling, certain keys would allow for relations that do not yield any obvious allegorical signification. What relation might Tchaikovsky have intended, for example, between the Chinese Dance, and the ballet’s Overture and Finale? Most likely none—difference, in the *ballet des nations*, does not only result from the distance between one character and the other, but from the eventual polysemy of musical symbols. No wonder, then, that Tchaikovsky borrows melodies freely to signify exoticism or signal a character: the stereotypical Arabian dance derives from an equally estranged Georgian lullaby, while the comic “La mère Gigogne et les polichinelles” (Mother Ginger and the Clowns) features two French popular songs, “Giroflé, Girofla” and “Cadet Rousselle.”¹¹⁹ This disjointedness of the character suite, however, would have again starkly contrasted with the tableau of an international ball offered by the choreography of the final waltz. In *The Nutcracker*, waltzes fulfill an important structural and symbolic function: placed at the end of large sections in both the first and second

¹¹⁷ See Petipa’s instructions to Tchaikovsky (Act I, No. 6), later crossed out, in Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 371.

¹¹⁸ Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 240.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 234. On orientalism in *The Nutcracker*, see Jennifer Fischer, *Nutcracker Nation*, 96-106, and by the same author, “‘Arabian Coffee’ in the Land of the Sweets,” *Dance Research Journal* 35/36 (2003-2004): 146-63.

acts, the Waltz of Snowflakes and the Waltz of Flowers stand as allegories of universal harmony. In this *grand ballabile*, all the nations would have returned to the stage, each couple ultimately “enclosed by a garland from the Waltz of the Flowers.” The marital image might once more remind Hoffmann’s reader of the Christmas Forest: “Stems and stalks had decorated themselves with ribbons and bouquets like merry marital couples and cheerful wedding guests.”¹²⁰ More to the point, it reinforced the performance of international harmony. Music and choreography mirrored each other when the couples raised the traditional symbol of their erotic bond on the final chord of the dance that brought all the nations together. According to the libretto, this vision of international harmony prefaced the allegorical celebration of autocratic order in the tableau of the beehive; the allegory might have evoked, to the first audience, a representation of the Tsar’s rule in particular. Private, international, and national spheres, then, accorded themselves in a series of artful parallels—parallels that a spectator familiar with the genres and aesthetics of the Concert of nations can willingly draw.

Presented as a *divertissement* within a *divertissement*, *The Nutcracker’s ballet des nations*, like that of the *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, conceals its depth in plain sight, under the guise of triviality and convention. Indeed, the ballet as a whole presents multiple concepts of familial, social, and political harmony, potentially setting into question the spectator’s valuation of war, conflict, and peace. Masquerading as a thoughtless act, the Concert of nations and its aesthetics of multivalence invite interpretative labor and political reflection beyond the illusions of self-evidence, irrelevance, and innocence. In the context of the Cold War, when the Christmas performance of *The Nutcracker* arose as a ritual in the United States, the work’s Russian origin could have further enhanced the symbolism of the utopian transfiguration of international relations; and perhaps this delightful American Christmas ritual—this charming apology for the

¹²⁰ *Nutcracker and Mouse King*, 49.

fluffiness of being—, while it could legitimize the struggle against evil as a labor of harmony, would have also brought the Christian promise of a world at last in *good* harmony, triumphant over international discord. The point here is that, though it can play its part with other arts in shaping political myth (more on this matter in Chapter III), music can also constitute a distinct form of political thought. As such, if it differs from writings, it is not because its meaning is obscure, unshaped, or even ineffable, but because it radicalizes the process of interpretative interrogation. In the query for meaning, the “reader” recomposes a thought. Consequently, the meaning of the Concert of nations, even when it presents itself as self-evident, exceeds its apparent fixity. *The Nutcracker* already suggests that the equating of harmony with peace does not account for certain understandings of war and conflict. The next chapter also examines competing definitions of the Concert of nations and its origin, this time vis-à-vis hegemony, morality, and reality in the 17th and 18th centuries.

CHAPTER II

NATIONS IN CONCERT: FOLLOW THE MUSIC.

Authority in the Concert of nations. An old tree thrusts itself toward the sky, its top exceeding the limits of the pictorial frame. It bears few leaves, but hosts an extraordinary variety of birds, some exotic in the surrounding European landscape (see Figure 2.1). On the left, a parrot from the New World sits on a dead trunk—a visual oxymoron of regeneration and decay: “in this aviary, whose inhabitants come from the Old World and the New, predator birds commingle with their putative prey.”¹ This is the *Bird Concert* by Jan van Kessel the Elder (1626-1679)—one Flemish painting among several which depicts birds gathered around an owl perched on a book. In Richard Leppert’s words, this is “an Eden without human—but not without the trace of humans.”



Figure 2.1 — Jan van Kessel the Elder, *Bird Concert*, Oil on canvas, 20 ¼ x 27 ¼ in., Photo copyright Frick Art Reference Library.

¹ For the attribution to Jan van Kessel the Elder, and a discussion of the painting, see Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the Body* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 39-41.

The birds Van Kessel groups at the base of the tree take their cue from the open book. While the hymnal betrays an anthropocentric worldview, the pictorial composition makes visible an artful and mythical authority that “conducts” the harmony of bird songs. The tree links the heavens and the earth: perhaps the invisibility of the top adds to the sacred nature of the owl. As a symbol of Minerva, the owl carries all the compelling power of a social institution. To Leppert, the book symbolizes the human coercion of natural sounds:

It is no longer Orpheus who charms the animals but man’s rule that classifies them. I would go so far as to suggest that the musical text at the base of the tree, on the banks of a river, is more than a little akin to the passenger list for the Old Testament Ark; it is hardly accidental that most of the birds are shown in pairs. Music is charged with providing the aestheticized cover for what is metaphorically the determinate text for survival.

From this perspective, the painting provides a symbolic representation of harmonious government, and illustrates the domestication of nature. A comparison with Jan Fyt’s *Bird Concert* (presumed to have been painted in 1658-1661) clarifies the point (see Figure 2.2). Now the book, though clearly printed with musical notation, does not command the birds’ attention. Its soft binding provides little structure for it to stand open on its own, and wanting proper support against the tree, the pages lie half open and half folded upon themselves. Instead of the traditional owl presiding over the Concert, a bird of prey is perched slightly above the book; head bent, the bird might be the only one looking at the pages’ content, but it might also be observing the rock dove which, like the other dove already in the air, is taking flight away from the tree. The use of perspective in the painting indicates that the scene occurs at a fair elevation from the ground, and this height, which might evoke a spiritual elevation, starkly contrasts not only with the species of birds represented, but with their physical attitude. Indeed, each bird holds firmly its ground (or rather, its branch), both literally and figuratively—feet prominently and aggressively displayed, the rooster pitted against the parrot, the peacock against the heron. The Concert, here, is an ironic display. The painting captures the disruption of harmony and cooperation, the re-emergence of territoriality and conflict.



Figure 2.2 — Jan Fyt, *The Bird Concert*, Oil on canvas, 135 x 186 cm, Photo copyright © KBC Rockoxhuis, Erwin Donvil

With this comparison in mind, a second look at van Kessel's painting indicates that there is more to it than a straightforward message of concord. While most of the birds look in the same direction (toward the book), two parrots perched on the tree constitute a notable exception. Both are made remarkable by their relative size and the orientation of their heads: one faces the viewer, the other turns in the opposite direction of the book. Are they listening or singing? What does it mean that they neither need to see a cue, nor the markings of the score? The same question applies to the birds in the sky and the river. Are they silently approaching the locus of the concert? If not, are they so far away that we would not hear a dissonance between their calls and the musical performance? In other words, is the Bird Concert, on the left of the painting, making visible the invisible order of nature depicted on the right, or do the two orders stand in a relation of opposition, like civil and natural orders? The viewer cannot really tell. Nothing

suggests the nature of the sounds—consonance or dissonance—registered in the pictorial frame. One has to make a decision as to the territory of concord and the sovereignty of the owl. Is the river a border delimiting two soundscapes, dividing not only the earth but also the air? Does the book represent the terrestrial artificiality of concord, or the celestial gift of natural law? The different geographical origins of the birds, especially the discordant presence of parrots within a European aviary, confer to the allegory not only a civil, but also an international import. Painted in the midst of the Thirty Years War, the image may prefigure the international order soon sanctioned by the Peace of Westphalia—a multitude of autonomous states existing together in peace—, or it may recall the primacy of Christianity as a source of accord. The discursive ambiguity of van Kessel's *Bird Concert* sends each viewer back to his/her own personal reflections. The status of the conductor-legislator (the owl) as the author of 'denaturalized' creatures (the other birds) or the embodiment of transcendental injunction is a matter of theoretical uncertainty and international conflict.

Questions of authority are not incidental in the composition of the Concert in general; they are at the core of a theoretical divide on the circumstances required for the Concert's advent in international relations. The Concert, it would seem, demands that one partially renounces one's identity for the sake of creating a new order—demands a certain "denaturalization" of the self: the birds of prey peacefully perch beside the birds they prey upon, and alien birds innocuously join indigenous birds in a European landscape. From an individual perspective, forming a Concert would amount to no less than an existential conversion. Why, then, do autonomous entities agree to this change in character? From a realist perspective, one in which self-interest governs the decisions and behaviors of individuals and states, sustained cooperation constitutes a relative anomaly that is best explained by common interest, common threat and/or hegemonic domination. From this perspective, the hypothesis of a change in character places unnecessary emphasis on superficial factors (such as discourses and representations) in explaining a temporary situation. Conversely, constructionists retain the possibility of a genuine transformation in the constitution and purposes of international agents, and the possibility that

such a change might occur at the system-level, which is to say that it might affect several agents simultaneously.²

For decision makers, this theoretical question has a very practical outcome as regards the representation and perception of their policies; in the end, it potentially affects the disposition of their constituencies and the conduct of their partners. A French almanac printed in 1679 (see Figure 2.3), for example, spins the Peace of Nijmegen that concluded the Franco-Dutch War (1672-78) as the happy product of Louis XIV's magnanimity. The war, however, had been declared by the French King against the United Provinces (Holland), initially in conjunction with the English King Charles II, mainly with the intent of weakening an economic and political competitor. Military operations quickly involved the main European powers, Spain, Lorraine and the Empire joining forces with Holland, while Sweden sided with France, and England sought to present itself as a mediator. Victorious on the battlefield, France succeeded in imposing its terms on its enemies and retained conquests made in Spanish territories.³ *A posteriori*, the Peace of Nijmegen marked the apex of Louis XIV's bellicose policy, and as a symbol of the King's glory, the Franco-Dutch War later constituted the main topic of the grand gallery at Versailles.⁴ The almanac, most likely conceived to decorate dwellings and shops, but also occasionally addressed to foreign princes and high dignitaries, depicts a myriad of nations and musicians, including an American character denoted by his crown of feathers, singing in concert the glory of the French King, with Holland providing the supporting harmony at the harpsichord and Spain playing the lute.⁵ France, on a pedestal, sits at the center of the picture and dominates the crowd. Engraved on the pedestal, the main title of the image reads: "The Accord of the nations by means of

² For reviews of the distinctions between (neo)realist, (neo)liberal, and constructionist approaches to international institutions and regimes, and more specifically the 19th-century Concert of Europe, see Korina Kagan, "The Myth of the European Concert: The Realist-Institutionalist Debate and Great Power Behavior in the Eastern Question, 1821-41," *Security Studies* 7/2 (winter 1997/1998): 1-57, especially 6-13.

³ François Lebrun, *La puissance et la guerre: 1661-1715* (Paris, Seuil, 1997), 151-7 in particular.

⁴ See Gérard Sabatier, *Versailles ou la figure du roi* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1999), 192-240, and 342-85, and Andreas Nijenhuis, "La Guerre de Hollande (1672-1678) et la glorification de Louis XIV à Versailles," *Biblio* 17/167 (2006): 293-321.

⁵ On illustrated almanacs and musical iconography, see Alberto Ausoni, "Musique et propagande monarchique dans les almanachs illustrés sous le règne de Louis XIV," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 129 (1997): 43-56.

peace.” Immediately below, a bas-relief shows “plenipotentiaries” signing the Peace Treaty at Nijmegen. On the documents the diplomats hold, one may read one identical line: *Vive Le Roy qui nous donne la paix* (“Glory to the King who gives us peace”). A quatrain by “M. D. M.” clarifies the meaning of both the “treaty” here signed and of the musical event in the foreground:

*Puis que Louis par un heureux effort
 Pour finir la Discorde a cessé la Victoire
 Que nos accorts chantent la Gloire
 Du Heros qui nous reigle, et qui nous met d’acort.*

Since Louis in a successful effort
 To end Discord has ceased Victory,
 May our harmony sing the Glory
 Of the Hero who brings us into line and in harmony.

Thus in the almanac, the King’s glory is a matter of both universality and unanimity. The score to which the *batteur de mesure* points sets words by the same “M.D.M.” to a French air signed “du Parc”: *Vive le Roy qui cesse la guerre. Vive le Roy qui nous donne la paix. Ne Nous occupons desormes qu’a chanter par toute la terre Vive le [Roy]*. (“Glory to the King who ends war. Glory to the King who gives us peace. Let us now only concern ourselves with singing throughout the earth. Glory to the King.”) On the left, allegories of Spain, Holland, and Germany carry a similar caption—Glory to the King who gives us peace—while on the left, French Heralds of Arms proclaim the peace publicly, to the sound of trumpets. As if that were not enough, an angel of fame, blowing a trumpet, also propagates the “Glory of the King.” While it might be common sense that peace means harmony, peace is nevertheless not the purpose of the King, nor the topic of this image. Instead, peace is a means to an end, as much as war might be a valid means to the same end. Far from a pacifist worldview, the captions below the foreground figures representing Spain, Holland, and France (on the shield) articulate a vision of just war:

La France

Je donne la Paix à qui la demande.

The French

I give Peace to whoever requests it.

La Flamande

Après avoir servi de Theatre aux souffrances
 Je sers de fondement a nos réjouissances.

The Flemish

Having been the theatre of sufferings
 I am now the ground of our celebrations.



Figure 2.3 — *L'Acord des nations par le moyen de la paix* (Paris: chez Pierre Landry, 1679).
 Photo copyright Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

L’Espagnol

De tous les maux passez n’en accusons
personne

C’est nous qui les avons choisis:
Mais les biens que la Paix nous donne
Sont un present du grand Louis.

The Spanish

Of all past evils we do not accuse anyone

We ourselves chose them:
But the good that Peace brings us
Is a gift of the Great Louis.

In other words, Spain, not France, is at fault for the war. Conversely, France’s victorious use of force, alluded to through the trophies under her feet, had just cause. Harmony, rather than peace, means the reestablishment and enforcement of a rule disrupted by the ill-tempered Spanish character. The almanac celebrates the bringer of peace and “policeman of Europe”: France, of course, crowned by a sovereign angel and wearing a laurel wreath, but more specifically its victorious Alexander, the “Great Louis,” similarly bearing a laurel wreath. The establishment of the French King as the European *hegemon* is redundantly asserted in the alignment of the paper scroll held by the conductor, the warrior’s helmet under the foot of the angel who carries the portrait of Louis XIV, the scepter held by the angel crowning France, and the all-seeing eye above this angel’s scepter. In short, harmony, far from an emblem of voluntary, unconstrained cooperation, here symbolizes an authoritarian rule by divine right and military force. In celebrating or representing a Concert of nations, artists elaborated on concepts of war, peace, and conflict resolution. Not infrequently, their works carried assumptions and reflections on the conditions from which a Concert might originate.

Works of circumstance: The War of Polish Succession in secular cantatas (1733-1736) by J.S. Bach and in *Les Indes galantes* (1735-1736) by J.-Ph. Rameau and L. Fuzelier. Music dramas could elaborate on political ideas while—and for the purpose of—pleasing their audience and patrons. This chapter revolves around two works first performed in 1736: Johann-Sebastian Bach’s cantata *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde*, BWV 206 (the librettist is unknown), and Louis Fuzelier and Jean-Philippe Rameau’s *Les Sauvages*, the fourth *entrée* of the opera-ballet entitled *Les Indes galantes*. Both works stage a performance of

international relations that bears on political events: in the former case, the dominion of the House of Wettin (from Saxony) over Poland and its territorial ambitions in Central Europe; and in the latter, the dominion of the French nation over Native Americans and its colonial ambitions in the New World. Circumstances made a similar stamp on both libretti with direct references to the War of Polish Succession, then in its final stage. While many other works could illustrate the contribution of artists to political thought, the commonalities shared by these two works shed a particularly clear light on important aesthetic and political differences that affect the meaning of the Concert as a regulatory concept for international relations. The differences begin with the very nature of the characters they stage—on the one hand, rivers that stand as allegories of nations and speak for the political community they represent, and on the other hand, stereotypical characters that are primarily defined by their national identity. Two different concepts of the Concert of nations emerge, one founded on moral authority, and the other on the law of the strong.

Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde, BWV 206—which the libretto designated as a *dramma per musica*, a genre description that could equally refer to operatic works—presents the competing claims of three European Rivers on the attention of the Saxon King Friedrich August II.⁶ Bach and his librettist fully exploit the spatial resources of the allegorical music drama in the junction between political and moral geographies: to each aria corresponds a distinct territory symbolized by a river, but also a distinct desire for royal protection.⁷ As Weichsel (Vistula) rejoices in the peace and abundance August has given her, Elbe and Donau (Danube) assert that the person of Friedrich August II belongs to them by birth

⁶ About the similarities between opera and J.S. Bach's cantatas, Christoph Wolff indicates: "The favorite format of Bach and his librettists for these secular cantatas was the *dramma per musica*, a term that also designated opera. And indeed, in both textual dramaturgy and musical design, there was no difference between the genres, the main distinction being that cantatas were shorter and unstaged." See Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000), 363.

⁷ On the relation between geography, rhetoric, and drama, see Jeffrey N. Peters, *Mapping Discord: Allegorical Cartography in Early Modern French Writing* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), and John Gillies, "Elizabethan Drama and the Cartographizations of Space," in *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press / London: Associated University Presses, 1998), 19-45.

or marriage. The three rivers represent, as a synecdoche, the territorial ambitions of the House of Wettin: Weichsel, conquered in war, stands for Warsaw or Danzig, and Poland in general; Elbe may refer to Dresden and Saxony; and Donau recalls not only the position of the Elector of Saxony in the Holy Roman Empire, but his marriage with Maria Josepha, the daughter of Emperor Joseph I, which directly linked Saxon rule with the house of Habsburg. After the three rivers make their respective claims, Pleiße, a river nymph symbolizing Leipzig, proposes herself as a mediator in the conflict and praises the power of union.

Dynastic successions tended to revive competing claims on a territory, destabilizing the general order of Europe. Despite several attempts to secure the throne of Poland for his son, Friedrich August I (alias August II the Strong) died on February 1, 1733 without securing either a hereditary law of succession or a territorial union between Saxony and Poland.⁸ If Friedrich August II became Elector of Saxony by right of birth, his ascent to the throne of Poland—an elective kingship since the 16th century—presented all the difficulty of an electoral campaign that interested not only the Polish aristocracy, but the main powers of Europe. In this election, Friedrich August II faced Stanisław I Leszczyński, a candidate who had temporarily ruled Poland after a successful Swedish invasion against the Saxon Elector (1704-1709). While renouncing the throne in 1709, Stanisław had not abdicated his royal title and obtained the principality of Zweibrücken. In 1725, at a time when the French court was anxious to secure an heir for the throne, his daughter Maria had married Louis XV. For geopolitical and dynastic motives, the King of France now supported his second bid for the throne: the Polish succession offered France an opportunity to weaken Austria, contain Russia's influence over European affairs, and enhance the prestige of its matrimonial alliance. For the same reasons, however, Friedrich August II did not find himself isolated in Europe: he could rely on Russia's and Austria's opposition to the Swedophile and Francophile Stanisław.⁹

⁸ On Dresden's international ambitions and its challenges, see T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 60-72.

⁹ On the War of Polish Succession: John L. Sutton, *The King's Honor & the King's Cardinal: The War of Polish Succession* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1980), and Ellinor von Puttkamer, *Frankreich, Russland, und der polnischen Thron, 1733* (Berlin, 1937).

Since the 16th century, in other words, elections to the Polish throne regularly involved a complex political interplay between European powers who sought to extend their area of influence, and the Polish assembly, whose members never hesitated to obtain personal advantage from their courted votes. In 1697 already, distinct factions in the open-air assembly of the Polish nobility had simultaneously elected both August the Strong and his opponent the Prince de Conti; the conflict that resulted from this double designation had to be resolved diplomatically. In 1733, opponents to Stanislas Leszczyński refused to recognize his election by acclamation and formed a distinct confederation that requested and legitimized a Russian military intervention. Stanislas Leszczyński had received the support of 12,000 voters, but the arrival of a 30,000-man army from Russia allowed 3,000 voters to hold a separate election and acclaim the name of August III. In reality, Austria, Russia and Prussia had long considered the eventuality of a military intervention in Poland—officially to protect the “freedom of elections,” but more exactly to insure the election of a candidate favorable to their interests. The Elector of Saxony, far from their first choice given his previous leanings toward the French court, officially requested the support of the Habsburg Emperor, promising at the same time his loyalty. From the emperor’s perspective, cooperation could potentially turn an ambitious vassal into a client. On the other side of the conflict, France had proclaimed its equal determination to defend “the freedom of elections” in Poland, and interpreted the Russian military intervention, financed by the Austrian emperor, as a *casus belli*. With the support of the Spanish and Sardinian courts (the duke of Savoy being also king of Sardinia), France initiated military operations in the Rhineland and Italy. Arguably, France took advantage of the Polish question to weaken the Austrian empire. After the Russian invasion, Stanislas fled to Danzig (today, Gdańsk) where he waited for help from his son-in-law, in vain: Cardinal Fleury, Louis XV’s prime minister, sought to prevent the expansion of the conflict to maritime powers (i.e. England), and sent only a small detachment of soldiers to Poland. Besieged by the Russians since February 1734, Danzig surrendered in July. Stanislas, escaping in disguise, found a temporary sanctuary in Königsberg where he officially

abdicated in January 1736. Military operations had come to an end by 1735, but the Treaty of Vienna did not officially conclude the war until 1738.

From 1733 to 1738, thus, the War of Polish Succession opposed Austria, Russia, and Saxony to France, Spain, and Savoy, temporarily tearing apart both Poland and Europe. As indicated above, it is the historical origin of the international contest staged in *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde*, BWV206. It is also the circumstantial premise that binds together the four distinct plots collected in Louis Fuzelier and Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Les Indes galantes*. The libretto of the Prologue refers directly to current affairs—from a French perspective, of course. Summoned by Héb e, the Goddess of youth (scene 1), lovers from the four allied nations (France, Spain, Poland, and Italy, here standing for Savoie) celebrate love to the sound of musettes (scene 2). Dances to a Polish *air grave* and minuets reinforced the reference to current affairs, and perhaps indirectly recalled the intimate bond of marriage that tied the French and Polish kingdom. Musettes, however, are soon silenced by the call of drums and trumpets. Bellone, goddess of war, invites the youths to forgo love and seek military glory (scene 3). Seemingly without a hesitation, the “generous lovers” (*amants g n reux*) trade the “pleasures” of love for the “charms” of glory. Deprived of their European following, the little Cherubs (*Amours*)—love’s multiple embodiments—head to other, i.e. “Indian,” lands: namely, a Turkish island, Persia, Peru, and North America. The prologue ends with the following chorus:

Ch eur.
Traversez les plus vastes Mers,
Volez, Amours, portez vos armes & vos fers
Sur le plus  loign  Rivage.
Est-il un c ur dans l’Univers
Qui ne vous doive son hommage.
Traversez les plus vastes Mers, etc.

Chorus
Cross the widest seas,
Fly, Cherubs, carry your weapons & chains
To the furthest shore.
Is there any heart in the Universe
That does not owe you tribute.
Cross the widest seas, etc.

The contest between love and glory may sound like a direct criticism of the European courts’ belligerent policies, but there is much to contradict this reading, beginning in these verses with the traditional military imagery that accompanies love’s conquests.¹⁰ In effect, love hardly

¹⁰ In a footnote (n 30) of a chapter on “Sappho, Cythera & the Triumph of Love,” Georgia Cowart places *Les Indes galantes* in the continuation of Fuzelier’s previous librettos, specifically *Les amours d guis s* and *Le triomphe des*

appears a peaceful matter in *Les Indes galantes*. The colonial encounter of *Les Sauvages*, studied below, is no exception. Inverting Clausewitz’s famous description of war as the continuation of policy, one might say that love is here the continuation of warfare by other means. Far from reading the Prologue as a subtle criticism of French policies, an anonymous critic (“le Père B. D.”) of the *Mercure de France*, writing to a fictional Polish character in 1735, found Fuzelier to blame for not making more explicit references to the present situation in Europe, altogether missing the opportunity to provide “tacit and unsolicited praise” of the French King and his allies:

. . . . six Vers de plus, dans lesquels elle [Bellone] auroit dit à la Déesse [Hébé], qu’un Héros [Louis XV], guidé par la gloire, apelloit ses jeunes sujets à sa suite pour disposer des Sceptres au gré de sa sagesse, &c. auroient naturellement mis sous les yeux du Public les motifs de la guerre d’aujourd’hui.

. . . . six additional verses, in which [Bellone] tells the Goddess that a Hero [Louis XV], led by glory, called his young subjects to follow him so he could distribute scepters as his wisdom dictated, etc. would have naturally brought to the Public’s attention the motives of today’s war.¹¹

Furthermore, the situation of the action in a Turkish island and Persia potentially contradicts the program exposed in the prologue: *Tout ce qui sent le Turc porte à mon esprit des ombrages de trouble et de combustion* (“Anything that smells of the Turk brings to my mind umbrages of unrest and combustion”). The French had once hoped that Turkish military operations might divert some of Russia’s and Austria’s attention and resources, but the concurrent war between the Ottoman and Persian empires prevented this project from succeeding.¹² Neither Persia nor a Turkish island offered a safer haven than Europe for “the tranquility of loves.” From this perspective, Fuzelier’s critic blamed him for very imperfectly tapping the “charming” and

arts, arguing that this corpus of texts promotes a turn away “from the service of Mars to that of Cupid.” It is outside the scope of this chapter to discuss Georgia Cowart’s reading of these works’ relation to earlier ballets and operas. I will argue, however, that the social and political values of this 18th-century love are not so egalitarian and peaceful as might appear. This must of course have larger consequences for her argument. See Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV & the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 182.

¹¹ “Réflexions sur l’Opéra des *Indes galantes*, adressées à M. le Comte P... Starosse de Rohaczewski”, *Mercure de France*, November 1735, 2367-72.

¹² John L. Sutton, *King’s Honor*, 58.

“gallant” idea of the ballet, with the exception of *Les Incas du Pérou*—apparently the only *entrée* which met the expectations this critic had formed in the Prologue. The positive appreciation of *Les Incas du Pérou*, however, is surprising given the violence of this *entrée*: Huascar devises a destructive stratagem to contrive Phani, who loves Carlos, a Spanish conquistador, to marry him instead, disguising his own desires as divine will; Carlos unmask the indigenous tyrant, reasserting his position of domination at the very same time he liberates Phani. In *Les Indes galantes* as in *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, desires, among which love is not the least violent, generate conflicts that unsettle the international order. The Concert of nations, as a resolution to these conflicts, emerges from a process in which either the forceful will of one or a shared moral imperative successfully subdue the plurality of desires.

The political and personal significance of allegory. Despite his apparent triumph in the Polish Election, Friedrich August II betrayed the limits of his resources in the War of Polish Succession. In the words of Peter H. Wilson—“If Augustus had embarked on his royal adventure from a poor position, that of his son was weaker still. The Saxon army totaled only 19,800 men in June 1733, and even with 4,000 extra conscripts was completely incapable of enforcing Wettin rule alone.”¹³ The Elector’s visits to Leipzig in 1734 and 1738 had their importance in retaining financial and political support from the wealthy commercial city.¹⁴ In this context, the librettos Johann-Sebastian Bach set to music between 1733 and 1736 pertained to political communication. Whether or not public festivities were directly commissioned by the court does not matter here: caution and censorship on the Polish question were such in the city of Leipzig that celebrations of this importance, involving the printing of the libretto, would not have

¹³ Peter H. Wilson, *German Armies: War and German Politics, 1648-1806* (London: UCL Press, 1998), 226-7 (see pp. 226-234 on the War of Polish Succession).

¹⁴ The international policy of the Saxon court took its economic toll on Leipzig’s commercial relations and revenues in the 1730s: see Jacek Staszewski, *August III., Kurfürst von Sachsen und König von Polen: Eine Biographie*, trans. from Polish to German by Eduard Merian (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 160.

escaped the purview of local authorities.¹⁵ The composer, in addition, had a financial incentive to satisfy the city's royal guests.¹⁶ As I will argue below, such works offered him an opportunity to gain the notice of royal patrons and to advance his career.

Bach composed over forty cantatas dedicated to political authorities between 1708 and 1742 (see Appendix III for a chronology of J.S. Bach's political output and career). Within that repertoire, the seven *drammi per musica* composed between 1733 and 1736 celebrate the new rule of Friedrich August II as Elector of Saxony, and his election as August III King of Poland: *Frohes Volk, Vergnüete Sachsen* (BWV Anh. 12), performed for the first name-day of August III; *Hercules auf dem Scheidewege* (BWV 213), dedicated to the Prince Elector, Friedrich Christian, on his birthday; *Tönet, ihr Pauken! Erschallet, Trompeten!* (BWV 214), addressed to the Electress Maria Josepha on her birthday; *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde! Verstärket die Macht* (BWV 205a), most likely to celebrate the coronation of the Elector as King of Poland; *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen* (BWV 215), commemorating the first anniversary of Friedrich August II's election as King of Poland; *Auf, schmetternde Töne der muntern Trompeten* (BWV 207a), probably composed for the nameday of the new King (Friedrich August II adopted the name of August III as King of Poland) in 1735; and *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* (BWV 206), performed for the same purpose a year later in 1736.¹⁷ The first three of these works celebrated the continuation of the Wettin dynasty to which the Elector belonged; in the first year of the new reign, Bach and his librettists thus paired several topical themes—the joy of the Saxons, the

¹⁵ Agatha Kobuch, "Der Polnische Thronfolgekrieg (1733-35) und die Zensur der Schriften über Polen bis zum Ende der Union," *Zensur und Aufklärung in Kursachsen. Ideologische Strömungen und politische Meinungen zur Zeit der sächsisch-polnischen Union (1697-1763)* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1988), 198-202.

¹⁶ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 358: "Bach usually collected 50 thalers for composing a cantata in honor of the royal family, a fee equivalent to half of his fixed annual salary. . . ." See Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in letters and documents*, revised and expanded by Christoph Wolff (New York: Norton, 1998) [hereafter *NBR*], No. 172, p. 164, although there is a typo in the translation of this document: "That there has been duly paid to me, the undersigned, by the Registrar Eberhardt, 50 thlr., say *fifth* [sic] thaler. . . ." The German (Bach-Dokumente I, No. 119) reads: "Daß von dem Herrn *Actuario* Eberhardt an mich endes benannten 50 thlr; sage funfzig Thaler, vor die Besorgung der Ihre Königlichen *Maj* letzthin gebrachten *Musique* richtig gezahlet worden, wird hiermit bescheiniget und danckbarlichst darüber *quittiret*. Leipzig. Den 14. *Octobr.* 1734." The work hence remunerated is *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen* (BWV 215)—see more below on this *dramma per musica*.

¹⁷ Table 10.5 provides a list of "The *Extraordinaire Concerten* in Honor of the Electoral-Royal Family, in Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 362.

sacredness of the royal person, and the fatherly protection of the people—to similarly topical images—the sun and the transfiguration of the world in the royal light; the growth of nature and the welfare of Saxony under the celestial rule of the King; the association of virtue and power. From this perspective, the allegory of the Prince Elector as Hercules provided a sense of continuity, if not of familiarity. August II the Strong had represented himself as “Hercules Saxonicus” when he ascended the throne in 1697, borrowing, like his grandfather, Johann Georg II (1656-1680), from the court culture of the French absolutist regime.¹⁸ Allegory inscribed the new reign of Friedrich August II within the traditions of the House of Wettin, subsuming the transience of a single king in the permanence of a mythological figure. To his subjects, submission meant fidelity to the past.

Bach’s *drammi per musica* belong to a celebratory musical genre with ill-defined boundaries, but a clear center. Borrowing from operas, sacred oratorios, and chamber vocal works, the genre encompasses works which varied in magnificence and name—*festa teatrale*, *serenata*, *cantata*: musical form here has less bearing on the matter than the encomiastic purpose.¹⁹ Occasionally staged, the performance often took the form of a concert, though the singers, whether costumed or not, would have nevertheless embodied fictional characters, frequently of an allegorical nature. Plots, rather than a succession of episodes, tended to bring a psychological aspect to the resolution, whether this was a dispute among several characters, or an individual quest to solve a dilemma or complete a query.²⁰ The performance of these musical dramas generally took place within civic or court festivities, frequently in public venues that

¹⁸ Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden, from Renaissance to Baroque* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 193-194. In France, the image of Hercules appears especially in the visual communication of Henri IV and Louis XIII, though its origin predates their reigns: see Françoise Bardon, *Le Portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII: Mythologie et politique* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1974), 42, 49-50, and pl. V, VI, XII, XIX, XXI-XXII, XXVIII, XLII, XLVIII-L.

¹⁹ For the debate on the genre’s classification, see Raymond Monelle, “Gluck and the ‘Festa Teatrale’,” *Music & Letters* 54/3 (1973): 308-25; Jacques Joly, *Les fêtes théâtrales de Métastase à la cour de Vienne (1731-1767)* (Clermont-Ferrand, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1978), 13-60 ; and Michael Talbot, “The Serenata in Eighteenth-Century Venice,” *The Research Chronicle of the Royal Musical Association* 18 (1982): 1-50.

²⁰ See Michael Talbot’s discussion of the *serenata* in particular. In addition to the article cited above, see Michael Talbot, “Vivaldi’s Serenatas: Long Cantatas or Short Operas,” in his *Venetian Music in the Age of Vivaldi* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 1999), 51-96; and Michael Talbot and Paul Everett, “Homage to a French King: Two Serenatas by Vivaldi (Venice, 1725 and ca. 1726), in Antonio Vivaldi, *Due Serenate* (Milano: Ricordi, 1995).

singularized the occasion as much as the work itself. In 1734 and 1738 for example, Bach directed, in the presence of the royal family, a public performance of a cantata he had composed (*Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen*, BWV 215 and *Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter*, BWV Anh. 13).²¹ Both times, the performance took place in the open air and, thanks to the city’s “magnificent” illumination, at night—most likely for an audience of several hundred people, if the number of booklets printed to disseminate the libretto is any indication.²²

Among the seven works aforementioned, *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde! Verstärket die Macht*, BWV 205a perhaps best specifies the relation between the composer and his patron, albeit in impersonal, normative terms. Within the wider praise of the Elector of Saxony as King of Poland, this cantata insists on the renewal of the covenant between the King and the Saxon Muses under the seal of Justice (*Gerechtigkeit*) and Grace (*Gnade*). In this libretto, Valor (*Tapferkeit*) grants Pallas her request to place the Muses and herself under the protection of Friedrich August II, Elector of Saxony:

<p><i>So höre an, Was mir Dein Herr, Dir zu berichten, kund gethan: Er schütztet Deine Ruh, Und sagt Dir Friede zu, Nur sollt du Ihm auch Seinen Willen In allen suchen zu erfüllen</i></p>	<p>So listen then To what your lord, Has told me to relate to you: He protects your rest And promises you peace, But you shall also seek his will In all occasions to satisfy.</p>
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To a literate audience, the feudal relation instituted by Valor between Friedrich August and Pallas—between the earthly lord and his divine vassal—would have amounted to a hyperbolic affirmation of the king’s military power. When Minerva (also known as Pallas) paid compliments, in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, to the Muses on the Helicon, the Muses (indeed

²¹ *NBR* No. 171, 173, 199 and 200.

²² Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 360: “In a number of instances, the Breitkopf music-publishing firm’s invoices to Bach (for the printing of the text both in presentation copies for the honorees and in plain booklets for the general public) provide information about the attendance, based on the number of copies for sale : for indoor performances at Zimmermann’s coffehouse, 150 (BWV 205a, 214) or 200 copies (BWV 206) ; for outdoor performances in Zimmermann’s coffee garden, also 150 (BWV 207a, 215) or 200 copies (BWV Anh. 13) ; but for outdoor performances in front of the royal residence, Appel House on the south side of the market square, and in the presence of the king, 213 (BWV Anh. 11), 600 (BWV Anh. 13), and even 700 copies (BWV 215). The sum 700 was equivalent to over 2 percent of the city’s entire population of some 30,000. . .”

addressing Minerva as Pallas) regretted their lack of valor in comparison with hers: violence left them in a state of insecurity, preventing their happiness.²³ In *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde!*, Pallas herself is seeking protection from Friedrich August; and similarly, in the absolutist Saxon regime, the people of Leipzig were invited to place themselves under the protection of the king.

In the case of this work more than ever, any biographical interpretation must remain hypothetical; indeed, the music, which preexisted the work, is lost, and the identity of the librettist who tailored a new text to the previously existing music for *Zerreiβet, zersprenget, zertrümmert die Gruft*, BWV 205 remains uncertain. It is hard to see in the conventional drama of Pallas's submission to the king more than a shallow work of courtly artifice, but the sheer number of works cut from this fabric raises the question of their emotional charge. Indeed, the allegorical drama's bearing on reality is perhaps more firmly established than one would believe, in particular through the voices of allegorical characters themselves: they speak of times and persons contemporary to the performance, further veiling the distinction between fiction and reality. Allegorical dramas, in this regard, achieve a double transmutation. They give abstract concepts and inanimate objects the flesh of people, and they reveal the divine nature of the royal person. The work, it would appear, deciphers its patron's character and personality in the same way one writes the exegesis of an emblem, so that the inner merits of a king become the outward signs of his glory.

In *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde!* the protection of the king and the corollary submission of his subjects are conceived within the terms of a gift, a relation wherein the respective interests of one become a moral obligation and personal satisfaction for the other: the king graces his subjects with his protection, and his subjects rejoice in their submission—or in sentimental terms, the king conquers the heart of a subject who longs for him. Might is an attribute of the king's persona rather than the nature of his relation to his subjects. Along with justice, it defines

²³ See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, A. D. Melville, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998 [1986]), Book 5, "Minerva meets the muses on Helicon," ll. 272-8, one Muse to Minerva: "Had not thy valour, Pallas, led thee on / To greater tasks, thou wouldst be numbered with / Our company. Thy words are true; our arts, / Our happy home deserve thy praises; blest / Indeed our fortune here, were we but safe. / But crime is so unchecked that everything / Frightens our virgin hearts"

August's character, not the mechanism of domination. The disinterestedness of the king's protection suffices to manifest his sacred nature, which Justice—as an allegorical character in the drama—demonstrates explicitly in her aria (BWV 205a/5): August, addressed as “Lord” (*Herr*), stands as the protective divinity (*Schutz-Gott*) of innocence (*Unschuld*).²⁴

To some extent, the tradition of cataloguing J. S. Bach's cantatas as secular and sacred works (established in the 19th century by biographer Philip Spitta) has discredited *a priori* the interpretation of Bach's political works as a labor of faith and valorized the sacred works as a more authentic expression of the musician. In recent scholarship, the qualitative distinction between secular and sacred cantatas has been criticized both on musical and textual grounds. Bach occasionally set the text of a sacred cantata to music previously composed for a secular cantata (musicologists name this compositional technique parody). The *Christmas Oratorio* BWV 248 (1734-1735) borrows precisely from three of the occasional works just mentioned: *Hercules auf dem Scheidewege: Lasst uns sorgen, lasst uns wachen* BWV 213 (1733), *Tönet, ihr Pauken! Erschallet, Trompeten!*, BWV 214 (1733), and *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen*, BWV 215 (1734).²⁵ Christoph Wolff, furthermore, has indicated that the parody process applied in all directions, not only from the secular to the sacred or the secular to the secular, but also, in at least one case, from the sacred to the secular, suggesting the absence of an ideological border between the secular and the sacred in Bach's compositional practices.²⁶ Indeed, the classification of Bach's cantatas into secular and sacred works ignores the shared imagery of royalty that informs the texts and compositions of both church and court cantatas. As noted by David Yearsley, “many of Bach's sacred works not only rely on rhetorical and musical topics associated with court life and the culture of war, but they exploit these images in order to dramatize their message more immediately in the imagination of contemporary churchgoing

²⁴ *Auf, schmetternde Töne der muntern Trompeten*, BWV 207a similarly exalts the king to the status of a protective God.

²⁵ Hans-Joachim Schulze, “The parody process in Bach's music: An old problem reconsidered,” *Bach* 20/1 (1989), 17ff.

²⁶ The example mentioned is the resetting of excerpts from the *St. Matthew's Passion* in the funeral music *Klagt, Kinder, Klagt es aller Welt* BWV 244a for Prince Leopold of Köthen in 1729.

listeners.”²⁷ In *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde!*, Grace and Pallas establish a direct link between the anointing of the King, his patronage of the arts, and his sacred identity:

Gnade

*So viele Tropfen heilig Oel
Bey seiner Salbung heute fließen;
So viele Huld soll auch dein Musen-Chor
genüssen.*

Grace

As many as the drops of holy oil
that, at his anointment today, flow;
So much favor your choir of Muses will
also enjoy.

Pallas

*Nun trifft es ein,
Was ich schon längst gedacht:
Augustus kan mit Recht ein Gott der Erden seyn.*

Pallas

It has now come true
What I have already long thought:
Augustus can rightfully be a god on earth.

Allegorical drama, thus, could very well encode the personal expression of the authors. As indicated above, we do not know for certain who produced the text for the occasion of *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde!* (BWV 205a), though it maps onto the dramatic structure of the text which, in 1725, Christian Friedrich Henrici produced (under the literary pseudonym Picander) for *Zerreiβet, zersprenget, zertrümmert die Gruft* (BWV 205). Allegorical characters, however, since they invite a conceptual interpretation of their identity, do not preclude a more personal and even biographical reading of *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde!*. In the last recitative before the final chorus, Pallas commands the winds to carry the song of the Saxon Muses, which could be read as encompassing J.S. Bach and his librettist(s) themselves:

²⁷ David Yearsley, “Princes of War and Peace and their Most Humble, Most Obedient Court Composer,” *Konturen* 1, http://konturen.uoregon.edu/vol1_Yearsley.html (last access May 19, 2011).

*Wohlan! wir wollen uns mit viel Ergötzen
 Auf meines Berges Spitzen setzen;
 Ein jeder Musen-Sohn
 Nimmt euch mit tausend Freuden auf.
 Ihr Winde! fliegelt euren Lauf,
 Ihr sollt, was jetzt der Sachsen Musen singen,
 Vor unsers Königs Throne bringen.*

Now then! It is our will, with great delight,
 To dwell at the peaks of my mountain;
 Each son of the Muses
 Welcomes you with a thousand joys.
 You Winds! follow you course,
 What the Saxon Muses now sing, you shall
 Before our King's great thrones bring.

Bach, Pallas and the Saxon Muses were very much in the same boat: in Leipzig since 1723, Bach was also seeking not only patronage, but political protection against segments of the town council in Leipzig. After the composition of three annual cycles of church cantatas in the first years of his service, his productivity in the genre of church cantatas had declined sharply. Bach's dissatisfaction with his position as cantor in Leipzig appeared in an official memorandum he addressed on August 23, 1730 to the Leipzig town council under the title "Short But Most Necessary Draft for a Well-Appointed Church Music, with Certain Modest Reflections on the Decline of the Same."²⁸

Bach's ambitions were neither local nor congregational. His attention was turned towards a musical currency of use in a wider territory, the cosmopolitan taste or *gusto* which, in his mind, characterized the "present musical state."²⁹ Bach evaluated German musicians within a European

²⁸ *NBR*, No. 151 and 152.

²⁹ Bach had long engaged in assimilating foreign styles, most notably adopting compositional techniques encountered in Vivaldi's *L'Estro Armonico* (1713): see, for example, on the composition of the ritornello in concertos, Michael Marissen, *The Social and Political Designs of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 11-16. After 1729, Bach's appropriation of the *galant* style and the publication of works in the French style advertised his mastery of national and international genres. On the *galant* style, see Robert Marshall, "Bach the Progressive: Observations on His Later Works," *The Musical Quarterly* 62/3 (1976): 313-57. The modern idiom appears in a series of cantatas: *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen* (BWV 51), *Geschwinde, geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde* (The Contest between Phoebus and Pan) (BWV 201), *Non sa che sia dolore* (BWV 209), *Schweigt stille, plaudert nicht* (Coffee Cantata), BWV 211, and *Mer hahn en neue Oberkeet* (Peasant Cantata) (BWV 212). It affects works not usually associated with the *galant* style, such as the B-minor Mass, modeled on "the cantata Masses of the Neapolitan school as practiced by his Dresden contemporaries Zelenka and Hasse," or the Goldberg Variations, possibly inspired by Scarlatti's *Essercizi* published in London in 1738 or 1739, and characterized by elaborated symmetry in phrases' period structures. On Bach's self-conscious display of his knowledge of the French style, see Matthew Dirst, "Bach's French Overtures and the Politics of Overdotting," *Early Music* 25/1 (1997), 38. The author studies the way Bach notated rhythm in French overtures from 1714 till 1741. Bach changed his notation of French rhythms after 1729, perhaps in an effort to assert in print his control of the style and to prevent a misreading of his music. According to Matthew Dirst, "the changed look of Bach's French-style works after 1730 may well reflect the influence of the fashionable Dresden court."

market, both in terms of musical production and financial remuneration, denouncing the disadvantage they incurred from comparisons with international virtuosos: “German musicians are expected to be capable of performing at once and *ex tempore* all kinds of music, whether it come from Italy or France, England or Poland.” By this European yardstick, Bach also measured the financial resources needed for the performance of “complete and well-sounding music.” The employment of musicians by “His Royal Majesty” in Dresden, Bach concluded, exemplified the proper labor conditions for the modern musician—“free from *chagrin* and obliged each to master but a single instrument.” The town council, in contrast to the Saxon Court, was not so much concerned with musical excellence as with the teaching duties of the cantor, and his respect of hierarchy at the St. Thomas School.³⁰ In a private letter addressed on October 28, 1730 to Georg Erdmann, Imperial Russian Residence agent in Danzig, Bach judged the city’s authorities “odd and little interested in music,” and stated his decision to seek a new position elsewhere. But the advent of Friedrich August II offered a new opportunity:

. . . . after 1732 Bach composed no more pieces in honor of the council, whereas he continued to produce cantatas glorifying the elector and members of the absolutist camp, such as Count Joachim Friedrich von Flemming, one of the most powerful politicians in Saxony, whom he had first met in 1717.³¹

From this perspective, the topical allegory of *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde! verstärket die Macht* (BWV 205a) perhaps concealed Bach’s personal plea—the divinity a masque for the artist. After the end of the official state mourning period on July 2, 1733, Bach spent a few days in Dresden, where his son Wilhelm Friedemann had recently been appointed organist. On July 27, Bach dedicated the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria* of the B-minor mass (BWV 232) to the Elector, and in the same gesture, petitioned for a court title. The letter seemingly prefigured the complaint of the Muses on Mount Helicon as Bach justifies his request for the King to “take [him] under [His]

³⁰ *NBR*, No. 150 (August 1730).

³¹ David Yearsley, *Bach And The Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 132. The two cantatas I have listed in the appendix as celebrations of the town council are, so far as Bach scholars can tell, two parodies of early court cantatas. *Herrscher des Himmels, König der Ehren*, BWV Ahn. 193 is lost, but for the last chorus, apparently adapted from the 1713 cantata BWV 208; *Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele*, BWV 69 parodies the 1723 cantata BWV 69a.

Most Mighty Protection.” Just as the Muses do, Bach portrays himself as powerless in a world of injustice: “I . . . have innocently had to suffer one injury or another. . . .” Pallas’s gestures of fealty and praise echoed the conventional rhetoric of the letter: in both cases, the artist petitions the King for “protection,” and commits him- or herself to fulfill the King’s “desire,” “will and pleasure.” Bach’s request for a court title was duly registered (on August 19, 1733) but not answered.³² It appears once again, however, in the minutes of the Court cabinet on September 27, 1736—seven cantatas later, one may say.³³ Less than two months later, the King bestowed on him the title of “Compositeur to the Royal Court Capelle.” “The document was initialed by the king, certified by Prime Minister Heinrich von Brühl, to be personally handed over to Bach in Dresden by von Keyserlingk.”³⁴ No doubt, the patronage of Count Hermann Carl von Keyserlingk, Russian ambassador to the Dresden court from 1733, must have added much weight to the request. After all, the Elector owed his Polish throne to the Russian army.

The contrast between the obsequiousness of Bach’s letter to the King in 1733 and his address to the town council in 1730 reveals the distance between Bach and a romantic artist who would later see in the hardships of social independence a sign of musical authenticity. Music, for J.S. Bach, fulfilled one of its purposes in the praise of a protector. Fealty, however, did not oppose self-determination so long as the musician could afford to shift allegiances between patrons. From this perspective, Bach’s final act in political communication—his visit to Berlin and the dedication of the *Musical Offering* to Frederick the Great in 1747—constitutes a startling gesture of voluntary submission.³⁵ If the occupation of Saxony by the Prussian armies or the reassignment of Count Keyserlingk from Dresden to Leipzig in 1746 made the difficulties of the Saxon court painfully clear, the musician’s new allegiance also cruelly reflected the failure of the House of Wettin to balance the imperialist ambitions of its Prussian neighbor and competitor.

³² *BD I*, No. 27, p. 75

³³ *BD I*, No. 36, p. 91.

³⁴ *NBR*, No. 190.

³⁵ David Yearsley examines the political significance of this work in “The autocratic regimes of *A Musical Offering*” (*ibid.*, 128-172). See also Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 424ff.

Paradoxically, thus, court culture could not do without the demonstration of the artist's liberty. The magnificence a king displayed in an allegorical music drama (as in any other art form) could only operate as a display of power if both court and composer maintained the semblance of musical autonomy. The liberality of musical expenses—the king's capacity to expend resources, and sometimes, his own musical talent, as in the case of Frederick the Great—appeared only in the extent to which such an expense truly exceeded political utility, being instead sustained on its own, musical terms. Music, then, compelled the absolutist monarch at the same time as it served him or her. The artist's voluntary servitude partially conferred on political allegories their value as potential bearers of emotion—as more than the shallow, fleshless puppets of power.

The Concert of nations as a conversational moment. After *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde!*, two other *drammi per musica* originated in 1734. Bach began work on *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* (BWV 206) for Friedrich August II's birthday (on October 7), but laid it aside, completing it in 1736 for that year's analogous occasion (the librettist and the author of the 1736 corrections to the text are unknown). The composer instead completed the cantata *Preise dein Glück, gesegnetes Sachsen* (BWV 215) for the visit of the Elector on October 5, 1734, on a libretto by Johann Christoph Clauder.³⁶ These later *drammi per musica* (BWV 215 and 206) stage the resolution of the territorial conflict that, as indicated above, marred Friedrich August II's accession to the throne and the resulting union of Saxony and Poland. A comparison of the final arias in which the conflict resolution occurs is instructive because the two works present distinct sources of peace, one hegemonic, the other contractual: while the king alone authors the first type of peace (BWV 215), the agents of the dispute mutually agree on a peace in the second (BWV 206).

³⁶ Christoph Wolff, "Bach's secular cantatas from the Leipzig period," booklet in Ton Koopman, The Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra & Choir, *Bach: Complete Cantatas*, volume 5 (Paris: Erato, 1997), 18-19. Bach gave two performances of cantata BWV 206, the first on October 7, 1736 to celebrate the Elector's birthday, and second on August 3, 1740 for the Elector's name-day.

Music dramas, in the 18th century, do not unfold in a continuous flow of events. Recitatives, a musical style that approaches spoken language in its freedom of delivery, do contribute linearity to the drama through narrative or direct speech. The dramatic linearity of recitatives, however, mainly operates as a transition and modulation from one aria to the next. In contrast to recitatives, arias constitute self-contained musical forms that display the full richness of song and instrumentation. The aria defined a moment as much as an emotion. Beside understanding the succession of recitatives and arias in its strict temporal linearity, then, one may also understand the relations between arias in logical or spatial terms. From this perspective, each aria presents a distinct position or viewpoint within a psychological or conceptual space.³⁷

Both *Preise dein Glücke* and *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* carry the subtitle *dramma per musica*, but composer and theorist Johann Adolf Scheibe—who in 1737 infamously criticized Bach’s style for its belabored bombast—would have disagreed: Scheibe would have probably classified *Preise dein Glücke* within the epic genre wherein one narrator—in this case, the collective subject “we”—commands the entire work’s viewpoint and controls all utterances.³⁸ Scheibe opposed the epic to the dramatic genre: as summed up by Colin Timms, “in the ‘dramatic’ cantatas two or more characters converse with each other without intervention from the poet, and an action or transaction is presumed to take place”.³⁹ Bach’s musical setting of the text, however, complicates the matter, dividing the narration among three separate voices (tenor,

³⁷ See James Webster, “Aria as Drama,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3-49. Webster writes: “the continuities and contrasts among arias for different characters articulate not only their individual (and changing) motivations, but also the social and moral world of the drama.” See also Carl Dahlhaus’s interesting reflections on *opera seria* and Aristotelian poetics in “What is a musical drama?” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1/2 (1989): 95-111: “And to the extent that the configuration of characters manifested in a system of affects forms the substance of a drama (a substance that can unfold in actions but whose essence does not consist of actions), it is a thoroughly dramatic procedure, not an ‘undramatic’ one, to show the affects and their interrelationships in an unrealistically extended form that makes them directly perceptible and gives their scenic presence the weight they already possess in the inner action..”

³⁸ “One calls epic [a manner of presentation] where either the poet alone speaks, or where he introduces in addition other persons speaking at the same time. In contrast, one calls dramatic [a manner of presentation] where the poet does not speak at all, but instead two or more persons deliberate among themselves. In this case the poem must contain some kind of plot.” Scheibe’s definition is quoted and translated in Michael Talbot, *The Serenata in Eighteenth-Century Venice*, *Research Chronicle* (The Royal Music Association) 18 (1982), 9.

³⁹ Colin Timms, “The Dramatic in Vivaldi’s Cantatas,” in *Antonio Vivaldi: Teatro musicale, Cultura e società*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giovanni Morelli (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1982), 101-2.

bass, and soprano); these three voices even sing together the last section of the accompanied recitative that precedes the final chorus. Bach effectively dramatizes plurality and harmony within the persona “we,” fully exploiting the elaboration of drama in 18th-century operatic forms. The cantata unfolds the history of concord’s disruption and restoration. However common, its form—a succession of recitatives and arias contained within opening and closing choruses—confirms sonorously the particular trajectory of union, disjunction and reunion. The voices of the opening polyphony, two four-part choirs, remain unqualified—a general, but anonymous song of thanks:

BWV 215/1

*Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen,
Weil Gott den Thron deines Königs erhält,
Fröhliches Land,
Danke dem Himmel und küsse die Hand,
Die deine Wohlfahrt noch täglich läßt
wachsen
Und deine Bürger in Sicherheit stellt.*

BWV 215/1

Praise your good fortune, blessed Saxony,
For God sustains your monarch’s throne.
Happy land,
Thank heaven and kiss the hand,
That allows your welfare to increase
each day
And keeps your citizens safe.⁴⁰

The librettist heightened the celebratory nature of vocal harmony by identifying the final chorus as a performance of the Muses themselves:

BWV 215/8 (Tenor)

*Laß doch, o teurer Landesvater, zu,
Daß unsre Musenschar
Den Tag, der dir so glücklich ist gewesen,
An dem im vorgehen Jahr
Sarmatien zum König dich ertsen,
In ihrer unschuldvollen Ruh
Verehren und besingen dürfe.*

BWV 215/8 (Tenor)

Permit then, O Father of the people,
Our Muses’ choir
To honour and sing
The day that has been so happy for you,
The day last year when
Sarmatia, in her tranquil innocence
Chose you as King.

In between these opening and ending choruses—a frame of vocal harmony—, individual voices take control of the stage, mainly in monologues, but also occasionally, in short dialogues.

⁴⁰ Here and after, the translation is by Richard Stokes, in Johann Sebastian Bach, *The Complete Church and Secular Cantatas*, trans. from the German into English by Richard Stokes, with an introduction by Martin Neary (Lanhan, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2000).

In *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen* (BWV 215), the first aria sings the joy of the subjects (in Saxony), and the second evokes with violence the sorrow of a rebellious people (in Poland). The difference in the two characters' moral position has a direct correspondence in the music, and so to speak, in the overall tonal space of the work (see Table 2.1). The initial chorus constitutes an axis of symmetry on each side of which the two arias are placed at an equal, though opposite, distance (in technical terms, the first aria is in the subdominant key, and the second aria in the dominant). The third aria, which praises the generosity of August who forgives his enemies, also receives a distinct musical character: it relates to each of the previously established positions in the same way (in other words, the aria touches on the relative minor keys

Table 2.1 — Overview of *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen* (BWV 215)

Glückwunschkantate zum Jahrestage der Königswahl Augusts III. <i>Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen</i>, Drama per musica, BWV 215						
title	character	first phrase	form	specific instruments	tonal trajectory	
Coro		Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen	da capo	trumpets, timpani	D	b - f - sharp - A
Aria	Tenore	Freilich trotz Augustus' Name	da capo	2 oboes d'amore, viola	G - D - G	(e) - b - e - C
Aria	Basso	Rase nur, verwegner Schwarm	dal segno	oboe, 2 violins, viola	A - E - A	(f - sharp) - c - sharp - A
Aria	Soprano	Durch die von Eifer entflammten Waffen	ABA'	2 flauto traverso, oboe	b - f - sharp - e - b	
Recitativo (Arioso)		Lass doch, o teurer Landesvater, zu	solos/trio		(G) - D - G	
Coro		Stifter der Reiche, Beherrscher der Kronen	Rondo	trumpets, timpani	(D) - A - D - b / (D) - A - D - f - sharp / (D) - A - D - D	

of the chorus and the two previous arias). Altogether, the three arias constitute but one conversational moment; the music drama inflates the time of the conversation, and in contrast, the denouement appears extraordinarily sudden. In the final recitative, an arioso, composed in the

same key as the aria that expressed the joy of the Saxon subjects, accords the plural voices of the collective narrator in thanks for the divine and royal protection of Leipzig.

If *Preise dein Glücke* temporarily establishes correspondences between emotional and musical positions, *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* adds yet another dimension to this moral map—namely, geography. As indicated above, four Rivers (Weichsel, Elbe, Donau, and Pleiße) embody four different territories, and the music drama consists in the conversational representation of this European political map, as interpreted from the perspective of the Electoral-Royal patron. In allegorical as in realist maps, rivers carried multiple connotations, as befits the safety of their banks and the uncertainty of their currents. They encoded territorial power and economic wealth, indicating alternatively a political boundary (border) or an economic axis (transportation). A ballet performed in Hamburg to celebrate the coronation of Prussia's first king, five months after the conclusion of an agreement on the fluvial commercial line between Hamburg and Berlin, dramatized the importance of rivers as markers of territorial integrity and social welfare: the nymph Rapato recalled the protection the Prussian eagle had promised to the Rhein, while shepherds and shepherdesses evoked a new Arcadia.⁴¹ Rivers embodied either natural might or peaceful co-existence. Bernini's *Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi* (1651) in Rome, contrasted the four known continents, their differences only heightening their common submission to the authority symbolized by the obelisk. Plenteous rivers recalled the pleasures of pastoral life. In contrast, Rubens's *The Four Parts of the Earth* or *The Four Rivers* (ca. 1615-1616) pairs male and female figures to symbolize harmony as well as difference.⁴² In *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, Bach's ordering of the four tessituras (bass, tenor, alto, and soprano), from the lowest to the highest, conforms to this female gendering of peace: Pleiße, the nymph, serves as the mediator between the "mossy heads of mighty rivers" (*bemooste Häupter starker Ströme*)—Weichsel, Elbe and Donau (see Table 2.2). In Silesian Lauban (now Lubań),

⁴¹ See Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne. Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und Diplomatie (1690-1745)* (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1998), 245-250. The ballet is *Das höchst=preisliche Crönungs=Fest*—text by Nothnagel and music by Reinhard Keiser (the music is lost).

⁴² See Lisa Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory in the Art of Rubens* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2005), 41-42.

where every house was decorated with images celebrating the Saxon-Polish union under August III, the two river goddesses Elbe and Weichsel united their streams.⁴³

As in *Preise dein Glücke*, Bach has organized the tonal space of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* in reference to the choral performance s that frames the solo performances. Weichsel, in the first aria, prolongs the festive tone of the opening chorus, and partially duplicates, though in transposition, its tonal movement (I-iii-I: in the chorus, D-f-sharp-D; and in this first aria, A-c-

Table 2.2 — Overview of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* (BWV 206)

Glückwunschkantate zum Geburts- und Namenstage Augusts III. <i>Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde</i> , Drama per musica, BWV 206						
title	character	first phrase	form	specific instruments	tonal trajectory	
Chorus		Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde	da capo	trumpets, timpani	D - A - D	sequential, to f-sharp
Aria	Weichsel, basso	Schleuss des Janustempels Türen	da capo	2 violins, viola	A	f-sharp to c-sharp
Aria	Elbe, tenore	Jede Woge meiner Wellen	da capo	violin solo	b - f-sharp - b	f-sharp
Aria	Donau, alto	Reis von Habsburgs hohem Stamme	da capo	2 oboes d'amore	f-sharp - c-sharp - f-sharp	E - b
Aria	Pleisse, soprano	Hört doch! der sanften Flöten Chor	ABA'	3 flauto traverso	G - D - e - b - a - G	
Chorus	Rivers	Die himmlische Vorsicht der ewigen Güte	Rondo	trumpets, timpani	D - A - b / D - A - D - f-sharp / D - A - D	

sharp-A). The river—metonymically standing for the divided Poland—praises the “happy transformation” (*glückliche Veränderung*) brought about by August, that institutes peace where civil discord had sown war and its sorrows. But Elbe (representing Saxony) reminds Weichsel that her allegiance must accommodate his own love of August. In effect, Elbe is taking issue with the exclusive claim made by Weichsel in his recitative:

⁴³ Jacek Staszewski, *August III.*, 159: “Im schlesischen Lauban waren alle Häuser am Marktplatz beschriftet und mit Bildern geschmückt, die die sächsisch-polnischen Bindungen begrüßten. Auf einem waren zwei Göttingen dargestellt, die die Flüsse Elbe und Weichsel symbolisierten. Aus Krügen gossen sie Wasser, das sich zu einem Strom vereinigte. Die Überschrift des Bild lautet: ‘Confoederatio Vistulae et Albis fausta queque ominatur’ (Die Vereinigung der Weichsel und Elbe ist glücklich vollbracht)”—the union of the Weichsel and the Elbe is happily completed.

*Der Schutzgott seiner Lande,
Vor dessen Zepter ich mich bücke,
Und dessen Huld für mich alleine wacht,
Bringt dieses Werk zum Stande.*

His country's tutelary God,
Before whose scepter I bend my knee
And whose favour watches over me alone,
It is he who brings all this to pass.

In Elbe's recitative and aria, the river's demands on August evoke both the submission of a liege and the concerns of a lover threatened by a competitor:

*Dein Schluß ist lobenswert,
Wenn deine Treue nur mit meinen Wünschen
stimmt,*

Your conclusion is laudable,
If your allegiance accords with my wishes

*An meine Liebe denkt
Und nicht etwann mir gar den König nimmt.*

And remembers my love
And does not by chance rob me of the King.

*Verehren und bewundern sollt du ihn,
Nicht gar aus meinem Schoß und Armen reißen.*

You should honour and admire him,
Not tear him from my embrace!

*Jede Woge meiner Wellen
Ruft das golden Wort August!*

Every billow of my waves
Cries the golden word: August!

Donau complicates the matter by laying her matrimonial claim on August (the queen was the daughter of the Habsburg Emperor):

*Denn wise,
Daß ich ein großes Recht auch mit an deinem
Helden habe*

For know:
I too have a great claim on your hero.

As might be expected, each river has its own position within the drama's tonal space, that is to say, a distinct point from which its musical "discourse" begins and to which it returns. Discord, in the case of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* (BWV 206), finds a musical representation in the rift between major and minor scales: in Figure 2.4, the larger semi-circle represents major keys; and the smaller semi-circle, minor keys; the dot indicates the primary location or "home" key of each aria, from which the music departs and to which it

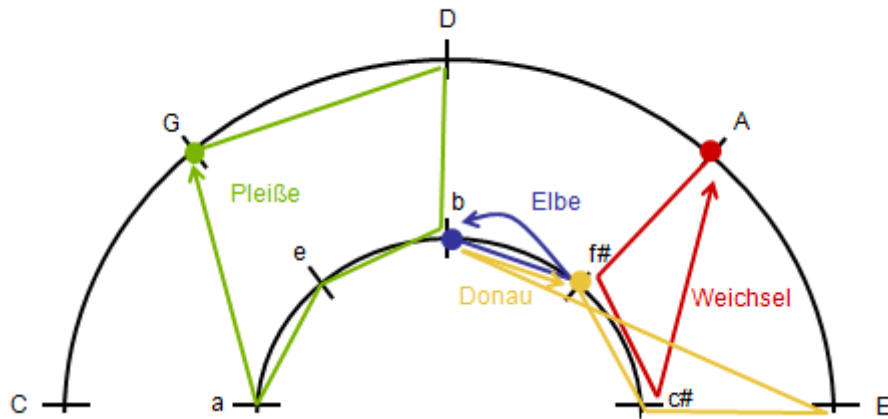


Figure 2.4 — A tonal and allegorical map of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* (BWV 206)

Tonalities are placed along two circles of fifths, the larger one assigned to major keys, the smaller one to relative minor keys. The key of the opening and closing numbers (D Major) is placed at the center. Each river character has been assigned a different color. The start and end point of each aria is indicated with a dot, from which the rest of its tonal trajectory is schematically outlined.

returns. The choral opening music and Weichsel’s aria are located on the major side, while Elbe and Donau make their competing claims on August on the minor side.

In *Preise dein Glücke*, the distribution of positions along an initial (choral) axis of symmetry depicted a relation of conflict. But in the case of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, the character’s location along a similar axis symbolizes a different kind of distinction—between a disposition to peace and a disposition to discord. While Weichsel, Elbe and Donau are all situated on one side of the central axis, Pleiße alone occupies the opposite side. Pleiße’s aria—her call to concord, examined in more detail in the following section—stands in stark contrast will all that preceded it. On the circle of fifths (see figure 2.4), it is summetrically opposed to A Major and its relative f-sharp minor. In her recitative, Pleiße entreats the rivers to listen to her proposal, in effect establishing herself as a source of international arbitration. After entreating the three rivers to listen to her, she dissociates the situation of Donau from Weichsel and Elbe: Vienna had only a matrimonial link with the Elector, while Weichsel and Elbe now shared the same ruler.

*Doch hört, was sich mein Mund erkühnt,
Euch vorzusagen:
Du, desssen Flut der Inn und Lech vermehren,*

*Du sollt mit uns dies Königspaar verehren,
Doch uns dasselbe gänzlich überlassen.
Ihr beiden andern sollt euch brüderlich
vertragen*

*Und, müßt ihr diese doppelte Regierungssonne
Auf eine Zeit, doch wechselsweis, entbehren,
Euch in Geduld und Hoffnung fassen.*

But listen to what my lips venture
To say to you:
You, whose waters are swollen by the Inn and
the Lech,

May honour this royal pair with us,
Yet leave them to us alone.
The two of you should come to brotherly
terms,

And if, in turn you have to forgo
These two royal suns for a time,
Should wait in patience and with hope.

Despite her separate location within the tonal space, Pleiße's distance from the other rivers does not necessarily indicate a position of aloofness. It might be noticed that Weichsel, Elbe and Donau, in their motion through tonal space, all intersect at only one point—the key of f-sharp minor—, and that this point might be construed *a posteriori*, in accordance with tonal functions, as the symbol of a shared desire for which Pleiße's position is the fulfilment and resolution—the tone F-sharp being now reinterpreted as leading to G Major. Interestingly enough, this tonal motion had already occurred in the opening chorus of the *dramma per musica*, where the middle section of the chorus (see Table 2.2 above) associates the tonal motion to f-sharp minor (the mediant of D Major) with a break from the confines of propriety. The choir exclaims:

*Die Freude, die unsere Fluten erreget,
Die jegliche Welle zum Rauschen bewege,
Durchreißet die Dämme,
Worein sie Verwundrung und Schüchternheit zwingt.*

The joy that stirs our waters
And moves each wave to rush along,
Bursts the banks
Of awe and inhibition.

The establishment of f-sharp minor in the last line (with a perfect authentic cadence to close this section) here coincides with an expression of excess. On the other hand, the ritornello of the opening chorus foreshadows the re-interpretation of the tone f-sharp as leading from a minor, unstable harmony to a more serene musical expression (the key of the subdominant) and the

ultimate confirmation of the initial tenor of celebration (for an analysis of the harmonic progression in the ritornellos of the opening chorus, see Example 2.5 below).⁴⁴

In other words, the contrast which characterizes the relation between Pleiße and the three rivers, both morally and musically, is one that still allows for commonalities to emerge. In the final recitative, each river gives in turn its consent to Pleiße's proposal, before Pleiße invites Weichsel, Elbe and Donau to strike up once more, in a final chorus, a shared tune and harmony:

Pleiße

*So krönt die Eintracht euren Schluß. Doch
schaut,
Wie kommt's, daß man an euren Gestaden
So viel Altäre heute baut?
Was soll das Tanzen der Najaden?
Ach! irr ich nicht,
So sieht man heut dans längst gewünschte Licht
In frohem Glanze glühen,
Das unsre Lust,
Den gütigsten August,
Der Welt und uns geliehen.
Ei nun wohl! an!
Da uns Gelegenheit und Zeit
Die Hände beut,
So stimmt mit mir noch einmal an:*

Pleiße

Thus concord crowns your resolve. But see,
How is it that along your banks today
So many altars are being built?
Why are the naiads dancing?
Ah, unless I am mistaken,
We see today the longed-for light
Shine out joyfully,
Which gave to the world and us,
Our great delight,
Our most gracious August.
And so! Without further ado!
Since time and opportunity
Are offered us,
Sing with me once more:

Perhaps symbolically, the last chorus temporarily borrows from each river its tonal position, journeying through the main key areas of each discord aria (A Major, b minor, f-sharp minor). The rondo form, however, ensures that the chorus contains each of these musical and moral individualities (see Table 2.2) within the same key and a unique tenor of praise for August III.

The Concert of nations as a moral imperative: J.S. Bach's peace arias in BWV 215 and

BWV 206. In both *Preise dein Glücke* and *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, the final aria constitutes a turning point, on the basis of which concord follows discord. In these allegorical music dramas

⁴⁴ The tone f-sharp constitutes the root of the dominant chord in b minor, m. 10. The key of b-minor, however, is hardly established m. 12; instead, the tone F-sharp is reinterpreted as the third of a dominant chord on the fundamental D. In the context of a I-vi-IV sequence (in D Major), F-sharp is re-contextualized as the leading tone to G Major. The G-Major chord is arpeggiated m. 13.

as in the 17th-century German tragic drama (*Trauerspiel*), it would seem, the librettist-author inflates the duration of tension; several arias may constitute only the distinct layers of a unique conversational moment. In contrast, the time of resolution appears sudden: “the situations did not change very frequently,” Walter Benjamin wrote in his classic study of the *Trauerspiel*, “but (...) they did so in a flash, like the appearance of the print when a page is turned.”⁴⁵ But beyond the similarity of their dramatic function, the final arias of these two *drammi per musica* differ widely in their literary and musical reflection on the origins of peace. *Preise dein Glücke*, performed in the visible presence of the king, directly addresses him as the author of peace and celebrates his extraordinary (heroic) decision to forgive those who opposed his reign. The ‘peace aria’ of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, performed in Zimmermann’s coffee-house, establishes musical harmony as a regulative ideal of political behavior. The first work sings the exceptionality of royal morality; the second the imperative of conforming oneself to a collective norm for the sake of a general good.⁴⁶

BWV 215/7 (Soprano; b minor)

*Durch die von Eifer entflammten Waffen
Feinde bestrafen,
Bringt zwar manchem Ehr und Ruhm;
Aber die Bosheit mit Wohltat vergelten,
Ist nur der Helden,
Ist Augustus' Eigentum*

To punish foes with weapons
Inflamed by zeal
Brings honour and fame to many;
But to repay evil with good
Is achieved by heroes
And Augustus alone.

BWV 206/9 (Pleiße, Soprano, addressing Weichsel, Donau and Elbe; G Major)

*Hört doch! der sanften Flöten Chor
Erfreut die Brust, ergötzt das Ohr.
Der unzertrennten Eintracht Stärke
Macht diese nette Harmonie
Und tut noch größere Wunderwerke,
Dies merkt und stimmt doch auch wie sie!*

But listen to the choir of gentle flutes
That gladdens the heart, delights the ear.
The power of undivided concord
Causes this sweet harmony
And performs yet greater wonders;
Take note of this, and strike up like them!

⁴⁵ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. by John Osborne (London/New York: Verso, 1998), 185.

⁴⁶ The translations of the arias are quoted from the booklets of Ton Koopman, The Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra & Choir, *Complete Cantatas* (Volumes 4 and 5).

Read from the perspective of the libretto, Bach's compositional decisions suggest musically two different concepts of social harmony. In the case of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, instrumental music symbolizes the regulative norm of harmony which, according to Pleiße, should govern the rivers' relations. In Pleiße's aria, the sound of the orchestra represents this harmony, but it also goes beyond mimesis to the extent that the spectator may in part recognize this sound as the music Pleiße refers to. Pleiße asks the other rivers to listen to the choir of flutes, and the orchestra properly provides the corresponding Concert—and more. From this perspective, the choir of flutes belongs to the diegesis, that is to say, to the fictional world of the drama as constructed in the rivers's discourse. Bach's music, which exceeds the trio of flutes, provides a figurative sense of harmony. Parallel melodic turns and a harmony that equates peace with a state of plenteous stasis add to the sense of idyllic relations among the different parts (see Example 2.1). Harmony, in the peace aria of *Preise dein Glücke*, takes quite a different meaning: the orchestration, pairing instruments in a trio of unisons—the violins with violas, the two flutes together, to which the voice and the oboe d'amore are later added—result in a thin polyphonic texture. The harmony of the ritornello (see example 2.2) involves both a faster pace and a wider motion. If, as indicated by the opening lines of Pleiße's aria, the listener were to take the ritornello of both arias as the musical emblem of concord, one may infer all the distance there is between an ideal of self-containment and the king's peace. While the musical model of concord consists in the formation of a rich stasis, the celebration of the king's forgiveness is not without contrast and tension.

Commentary to Examples 2.1 and 2.2. The first six measures of the BWV 206/9 ritornello prolong the initial harmonies; the prolongation includes an inverted V-chord, m. 7, the harmonization of a neighbor tone, and the return to I, m. 8, before a half-cadence, m.9. Though the harmonic rhythm accelerates in the following measures, the harmony itself remains firmly anchored to the initial chord (G-Major). In contrast, the opening measures of BWV215/7 feature a different harmonic function for each measure. While the harmonic rhythm slows down in the middle of the ritornello (mm. 5-17), it also leans more heavily on distinct, if not more distant, harmonic functions (tonicization of the mediant D Major, mm. 10-14, and the subdominant e minor, mm. 15-20). In comparison with BWV 206/9, the harmony of BWV 215/7 generates to a higher degree a sense of tension and release.

G major

Flauto traverso I

Flauto traverso II

Flauto traverso III

Continuo

sempre p

p *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

7

p *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

N

V⁶ I V HC G Maj. I vii⁶

14

I V/IV IV V I V I V/v V I vi ii V I

PAC G Maj.

Example 2.1 — Opening ritornello of BWV 206/9

Flauto traverso I, II

Violini e Violetta

b minor: i — V — ii — i — iv —

tr 5

tr 10

V — i — V/III —

tr 15

III — V/iv —

tr 20

iv — vii/iv — iv — V/iv — iv —

ii — V — i — ii — V — i

Example 2.2 — Opening ritornello of BWV 215/7

The melodic setting of the text further emphasizes this difference between the two arias.. Two specific techniques contribute to highlighting words within the text: the melismatic augmentation of a syllable or a word and the stress placed on a word by a large and sudden leap in the vocal line. The differences in the semantic content Bach thus marked in each composition further increases the contrast between the heroic valor of the King in *Preise dein Glück*, and the moral call to the nations in *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*. The words highlighted through melismatic figuration evoke, on the one hand, the struggles of the hero, and on the other hand, the pleasure of music-making, while words accented by a sudden interval of a sixth or more encapsulate the argument of each aria—on the one hand, August’s exchange of good for evil; and on the other hand, the injunction to acknowledge the moral significance of “soft tones” (see Table 2.3 below).

Table 2.3 — Words highlighted through melodic treatment in the “peace arias” of *Preise dein Glücke* and the moral call to the nations in *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*.

	BWV 215	BWV 206
Melisma	<i>bestrafen</i> (“punish,” mm. 44-45), <i>Helden</i> (“hero,” mm. 78-80, 94-99), <i>Bosheit</i> (“evil” or “malice,” mm. 103-104)	<i>Chor</i> (“choir,” m. 41), <i>erfreut</i> (“pleases” or “gladdens,” mm. 43-44, mm. 129-130), <i>stimmt</i> (“concur” and “strike up,” m. 110), <i>Flöten</i> (“flutes,” m. 120).
Interval of a sixth	<i>Eifer</i> (“zeal,” mm. 30, 40, 51-52), <i>Feinde</i> (“enemies,” m. 32), <i>Waffen</i> (“weapons,” m. 42), <i>Augustens Eigentum</i> (August’s “own” or “character,” mm. 82-83, 101, 112), <i>mit Wohltat</i> (“favor” or “good,” mm. 91, 105)	<i>Hört</i> (“listen,” mm. 21, 32), <i>sanften</i> (“gentle,” mm. 27, 39), <i>macht</i> (“causes,” m. 68), <i>dies</i> (“this,” m. 74, 107), <i>merkt</i> (mm. 82, 115), <i>stimmt</i> (“concur” and “strike up,” mm. 106, 113), <i>wie sie</i> (“like them,” m. 117)

Forms of persuasion, these two arias depart from a clear da capo structure in favor of a more flexible, progressive construction. The ‘peace aria’ of *Preise dein Glücke* is, in this regard, a bravura aria of terror and seduction: in one hand, the stick, in the other, the carrot. The first

three lines emphasize the glory of military justice (see Table 2.4 and the text's translation above).

Table 2.4 — Overview of J.S. Bach's aria BWV 215/7

Aria: <i>Durch die von Eifer entflammeten Waffen</i> (BWV 215/7)		
mm.	musical setting	tonal trajectory
1-24	ritornello	b
24-60	Durch die von Eifer entflammeten Waffen / Feinde bestrafen, / bringt zwar manchem Her und Ruhm,	b - D - f-sharp
60-72	partial ritornello (second part)	f-sharp
73-84	Aber die Bosheit mit Wohltat vergelten, / ist nur der Helden, / ist Augustens Eigentum.	f-sharp - e
84-88	partial ritornello (opening measures)	e
89-120	Aber die Bosheit mit Wohltat vergelten, / ist nur der Helden, / ist Augustens Eigentum.	e - b - e - b
120-144	ritornello	b

The modulation to the key of f-sharp minor, in the context of this particular work, recalls previous praise of the King's might (see below the first two lines of the B section in the opening chorus) and an evocation of the enemies' immoral violence in the second aria (see the first line of the B section).

BWV 215/1: B section

*Fröhliches Land,
Danke dem Himmel und küsse die Hand,
Die deine Wohlfahrt noch täglich läßt wachsen
Und deine Bürger in Sicherheit stellt*

BWV 215/1: B section

Happy land,
Thank heaven and kiss the hand,
That allows your welfare to increase each day
And keeps your citizens safe.

BWV 215/5: B section

*Wasche nur den frechen Arm,
Voller Wut,
In unschuldger Brüder Blut,
Uns zum Abscheu, dir zum Leide!
Weil das Gift
Und der Grimm von deinem Neide
Dich mehr als Augustum trifft.*

BWV 215/5: B section

Immerse, by all means,
The insolent, furious arm,
In your innocent brothers' blood,
To our revulsion, to your shame!
For the venom
And the rage of your envy
Will hurt you more than Augustus.

The second half of the lines announces the King's forgiveness. In his composition, J. S. Bach chose to emphasize the words *Augustus Eigentum* ("August's alone") through a contrast in tempo (the score indicates a sudden *adagio*), added to a deceptive cadence. Bach had used similar effects (see Example 2.3) in the very first *da capo* aria of the *dramma per musica* (in G Major, see Table 2.1) to emphasize first a reference to death (*Sterblichkeit*), and then, in contrast, a reference to a golden age (*in der güldnen Zeit*). It is possible that this musical coordination of multiple texts further exalted the King's pardon—a Christian gesture *par excellence* that seemingly transfigured the life of the King's subjects from everyday hell to terrestrial paradise.

Conversely, the 'peace aria' of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* deploys a strategy of moral conversion. This is done in two steps. First, Pleiße invites the three rivers to listen to the choir of flutes. The three-part harmony of flutes stands in stark contrast to the competing performances of Weichsel, Elbe, and Donau. An external model of sonorous coexistence, it recurs not only with the returns of the original instrumental section (the ritornello), but is also quickly recalled in the accompaniment to Pleiße's song. Pleiße clearly presents this musical performance as a model for the rivers' relations—"It is the power of undivided concord / That brings about this pleasing harmony"—and Pleiße invites the rivers to accord themselves one with the other, as the flutes do in performance. Perhaps the aria's tonal trajectory (see Table 2.2 and 2.5), having recalled the original celebratory tone of the moment (D Major), subtly mirrors the positions of the three rivers in conflict (sharing b minor with her Saxon neighbour Elbe, and the parallel minor keys to Weichsel's A Major and Donau's E Major). This is perhaps an appeasing gesture, but the establishment of concord relies on the rivers' internalization of the harmonious norm. The rivers relinquish their own music to perform in a new chorus—this time of voices, rather than flutes. In both cases, the characters renounce their own music to accept a heteronomous order (D-Major). Truly, then, each subject sacrifices his/her own self for the good of all—in the words of Pleiße's first recitative, an "offering" of one's "heart" to the king ("*alle Untertanen ihre Herzen / (...) ihm her zu einem Opfer führten*").

Table 2.5 — A cursory view of J.S. Bach’s aria BWV 206/9

<i>Aria: Hört doch! Der sanften Flöten Chor (BWV 206/9)</i>		
mm.	musical setting	tonal trajectory
1-20	ritornello	G
21-46	Hört doch! Der sanften Flöten Chor / erfreut die Brust, ergötzt das Ohr,	G - D
46-65	ritornello	D
65-89	Der unzertrennten Eintracht Stärke / Macht diese nette Harmonie / Und tut noch größere Wunderwerke, / Dies merkt, und stimmt doch auch wie sie.	D - e - b
90-95	ritornello fragment (mm. 6-12)	b
95-132	Der unzertrennten Eintracht Stärke / Macht diese nette Harmonie / Und tut noch größere Wunderwerke, / Dies merkt, und stimmt doch auch wie sie.	e - b - [cycle of 5ths: e] - a - [cycle of 5ths: D] - G
Da capo dal segno	ritornello	G

Baroque allegory: rewriting and reforming the world. Mythological and allegorical abstraction easily opens the gates to hyperbolic flattery. *Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde! verstärket die Macht*, BWV 205a (1734), *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde*, BWV 206 and *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen* BWV 215, however, suggest that allegory can serve as a hermeneutic and expressive form to both decode the world and encode a discourse. Walter Benjamin’s comment on the pace of the drama and its denouement in the 17th century German *Trauerspiel* pertains to a reflection on the significance of allegory in Baroque theater—with the emblem-book as its reference point. Benjamin noted in this context that the *Trauerspiel*, “which grew up in the sphere of the allegorical, is, in its form, a drama for the reader”.⁴⁷ Benjamin, far from disparaging the “possibility of its stage-performance,” meant to specify the nature of the “chosen spectator” implied in the genre of allegorical drama. In Benjamin’s mind, the allegorical

⁴⁷ See Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 184-5, for this and the following quotations in this paragraph.

drama shared with the emblem-book several characteristics. Not only did it consist in a series of fixed images that succeeded one another as swiftly as the flip of a page, but these images constituted as many given signs—all in all, a referential system to a reality distinct from the allegory or image itself. To Benjamin, the allegorical drama thus extolled the power of knowledge in all its arbitrariness: which is to say that the author did not present him- or herself with the allegory, but posited the allegory as already there in the world: a sign lacking “pronunciation,” and instead given to man from “somewhere else.” If the allegory, this natural or divine sign, reveals the world to the eye, it is not only as image, but also as way of writing. In the emblem-book, the caption, which we might mistakenly consider extraneous, “forms an intimate part of what is depicted.” The emblemist “drags the essence of what is depicted out before the image.” Similarly, the text of the allegorical drama is the first exegesis of the reality which the allegorical character stands for. These considerations of the *Trauerspiel* bear directly on the allegorical *drammi per musica* under examination here. The music adds a third layer of meaning to the image (the character) and its caption (the text). The juxtaposition of its internal relations (whether tonal, melodic, or rhythmic) with the allegorical drama sets a new challenge to the “reader-spectator.” In this new play of signs, the text and the character may be most evidently thought of as the caption for the music: for example, tonalities take a new significance when read as moral positions. But the music, having gained meaning, also turns into text and caption: as seen above, the harmony of the final arias in *Preise dein Glücke* and *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* may be read as two distinct emblems of peace. In this process, the composer, as the reader and interpreter of the libretto, turns political thinker, and expanding on the libretto, also becomes a reader and interpreter of the world.

With its two levels of sense, allegory, always at once figurative and literal, belongs to an art of perspective which sets fiction in the foreground and history in the background. The paradoxical effect of allegory consists in a deliberate reversal of primary and secondary meanings; the drama of history (or reality itself), pushed to the background, becomes the figurative signification of a music drama which, in the foreground, stages the disputes of

personified values or mythological characters. Allegory turns life inside out, like a garment. While the texts of the cantatas give an account of the international situation, the play between the figurative reading of the drama and the literal narrative of the allegory easily allows one to rewrite the reality of the situation. The libretto's omissions speak volumes: indeed, the absolutist ruler of the Saxon court did not acknowledge the reality of his dependence on his Russian ally. While J. S. Bach was not necessarily directly involved in the writing of the text, he could not have helped but take notice of the active Russian foreign policy which had successfully established several permanent missions all throughout Europe in the first decades of the 18th century.⁴⁸ Both his former schoolmate Georg Erdmann in Danzig and his German patron Count Keyserlingk in Dresden served this new presence among the most powerful nations of Europe. The librettos nevertheless represented August III as the sole actor of the war against France and Danzig.⁴⁹ This affirmative report of the king's might, a power whose self-evidence imposed itself in the *dramma per musica*, corroborated the ideal of the king as a protective divinity (*Schutz-Gott*).⁵⁰

But the self-conscious artificiality of allegory also ensured its efficacy in reforming the world. Even when allegory served the purpose of denying history, it kept possible a certain fluidity in the individual construction of identities, either through the demonstrative inclusion of fiction within the representation of reality, or conversely, the exaggerated extension of reality in the world of fiction. The abstract, seemingly impersonal nature of the allegorical music drama ensured that the reform and transformation of the self remained an option. In Deleuze's words,

⁴⁸ M.S. Anderson, *The rise of modern diplomacy, 1450-1919* (London/New York: Longman, 1993), 70-71.

⁴⁹ See BWV 207a/9: "Sein allzeit starker Arm stützt teils Sarmatien, / Teils auch der Sachsen Wohlergehn. / Wir sehen als getreue Untertanen / Durch Weisheit die für uns erlangte Friedensfahne," and BWV 215/6: „Wird nicht der Ostsee schon / Durch der besiegten Weichsel Mund / Augustus Reich / Zugleich / Mit seinen Waffen kund?“ Note the grammar of these sentences: in BWV 207a/9, the collective pronoun envelops the reader in this vision of August as peace-maker, and the complement "als getreue Untertanen" leaves little space for opposition (one would not readily identify oneself as a rebellious subject). In BWV 215/6, the speaker does not address the question to anyone in particular, so that none are prompted to answer. The question is rhetorical, rather than truly interrogative—professing that the answer should go without saying.

⁵⁰ See Szymon Paczkowski for some interesting suggestions on the representation of the king in Bach's Cantatas BWV 205 and 205a, in "A Polonaise Duet for a Professor, a King and a Merchant: on Cantatas BWV 205, 205a, 216, and 216a by Johann Sebastian Bach," *Understanding Bach 2* (2007): 19-36.

“what is peculiar to the Baroque is neither falling into illusion nor emerging from it, but *realizing* something in illusion itself. . . .”⁵¹ The distance maintained between allegorical representation and personal identity could thus be carefully cultivated rather than dismissed as wanting truth or sensibility. From the visible rift between reality and illusion emerged the possibility and hope for change: a spectator could reflect on one’s ethics and reform oneself, and vice versa, an author could project new representations of the reality.

National character, allegory, and stereotype in the Concert of nations. 17th-century playwright Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin plainly highlighted the diplomatic significance of allegory in the publisher’s foreword to his drama *Europe* (1643)—according to Hugh Gaston Hall, one of the earliest French references to Europe as a geographical entity in a title.⁵² Desmarets, who first advanced his career as a performer in court ballets, held several military and administrative offices under Louis XIII and Louis XIV. A protégé of Cardinal Richelieu from 1636 till the latter’s death in 1642, Desmarets wrote *Europe* at the Cardinal’s request; the *comédie héroïque* explicitly amounts to a political manifesto, debating the causes of the Thirty Years’ War, the legitimacy of France’s alliances with Protestant powers against Spain, and a general outline for the conflict’s resolution.⁵³ The play, initially printed by Henry Le Gras, met with sufficient success for a second edition and several reproductions both abroad and in the provinces.⁵⁴ Aptly enough, the emblematic frontispiece by Abraham Bosse captures the gist of the allegorical plot (see Figure 2.5).⁵⁵ In this specific regard, it bears a direct resemblance to the 17th-century

⁵¹ Gilles Deleuze, *Le pli: Leibniz et le baroque* (Paris, Minuit, 1988), 170: “le propre du Baroque est non pas de tomber dans l’illusion ni d’en sortir, c’est de *réaliser* quelque chose dans l’illusion même, ou de lui communiquer une *présence* spirituelle qui redonne à ses pièces et morceaux une unité collective.”

⁵² Hugh Gaston Hall, *Richelieu’s Desmarets and the Century of Louis XIV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 196-7.

⁵³ See E. W. Najam, “*Europe*: Richelieu’s Blueprint for Unity and Peace,” *Studies in Philology* 53 (1956): 25-34; Hugh Gaston Hall, “‘Europe’, allégorie théâtrale de propagande politique,” in *L’âge d’or du mécénat, 1598-1661*, ed. Roland Mousnier and Jean Mesnard (Paris: CNRS, 1985); and Claire Chaineaux, “*Europe*: introduction,” in Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, *Théâtre complet (1636-1643)*, ed. Claire Chaineaux, 813-40 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005).

⁵⁴ Claire Chaineaux, *op. cit.*, 837.

⁵⁵ For my reading of this frontispiece, I am indebted to Catherine Guillot’s “Étude iconographique des œuvres de Desmarets,” in Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, *Théâtre complet (1636-1643)*, 960-2.

Trauerspiel and J.S. Bach's allegorical *drammi per musica* from the 1730s. A *clef* clarified figurative references to recent political history.



Figure 2.5 — Abraham Bosse, frontispiece for *Europe* by Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin (1643)

Europe reformulates political relations and ambitions in *galant* terms. Ibère, the Spanish matador on the right of the frontispiece, seeks to bind Europe in the tyrannical chains of a nuptial chain which she refuses because the servitude of love is contrary to her sovereign status. Francion, on the left, establishes himself as the gallant protector of Europe; as Catherine Dillon indicates, the inclination of Francion's head recalls the self-effacing tenderness and dedication of the lover that differentiates him from the rigid character of Ibère, while the hand he places on his sword and the Roman military costume denote his heroic valor. Europe personifies the collective freedom of European states, embodying an external moral authority that governs Francion's actions; what distinguishes Francion from Ibère (Act V, scenes 5-6) is the former's attention to the "voice of the Heavens," by opposition to self-interest and personal ambition. Behind Europe, Ausonie-Italy bears on her head two keys, which might be read as a symbol of peace (opening the doors of Janus' temple), or more likely, as an allusion to the Papal states and a discreet reminder of Christianity as Europe's spiritual *doppelgänger*. On the right, Germanique stands behind Spain, while Austrasie, who bears the Cross of Lorraine on her dress, kneels deceitfully before Europe and Francion, while her hand on the leg of Ibère and her finger on her lips reveal her secret conceit. The ominous nature of the alliance between Ibère, Germanique and Austrasie appears clearly in the clouds that surround them, a storm immediately dispelled by the sun beaming from the upper left hand corner on the heads of Francion, Europe, and Ausonie.

The publisher's foreword (*avertissement du libraire*) once more establishes the play as a panegyric to the French King and its noble style as new proof of France's superiority over its neighbors and enemies. In this context, the foreword also insists on the distinction between allegorical character and individual persona, and more particularly, on the distinction between national and princely characters.

Vous jugerez encore que l'Authéur accusant de quelques vices quelques uns des Personnages de la Piece, a entendu parler des vices que l'on attribuë aux Nations, n'ayant pas mesme espargné la nostre, pour se montrer equitable : mais qu'il n'a point entendu parler des Princes qui lui commandent, lesquels n'ont aucun de ces deffauts ; & que representant Ibere, il a presenté seulement l'Espagnol en general: ce qui est manifeste en ce que ceux qui ont veu le Roy d'Espagne, sçavent qu'il est d'un teint bien contraire au

bazané; & qu'il est bien esloigné d'avoir les qualities de violent & d'artificieux, que l'on attribüé à Ibère dans cet ouvrage.

You will also understand that the author, blaming certain Characters of the Play for certain vices, meant to speak of those vices attributed to Nations, sparing not even ours in order to show himself fair, but that he did not at all mean to speak of the Princes that rule each of them, for they have none of these flaws; and that in representing Ibère, [the author] has only presented the Spanish in general: which is manifest in that those who have seen the King of Spain know that his complexion is quite contrary to the swarthy, & that he is very far from having the violent and cunning qualities which were attributed to Ibère in this work.⁵⁶

The distinction between allegorical character and individual persona salvaged the monarchical dignity in general and the honor of the Spanish king in particular, at the same time as it legitimized Francion's critique of Ibère. Desmarets's drama, thus, did not preempt the princes' future conduct, and their eventual reconciliation in a *pax gallica*—a peace administered by France as the leading power of the continent.

Louis Fuzelier and Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Les Sauvages* (1736), almost a century after Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin's *Europe*, similarly promoted the *pax gallica*, albeit on the American continent. Like *Europe*, this *entrée* of *les Indes galantes* reconfigured international relations into a love contest. Somewhere in North America, Adario (Amerindian prince), Damon (French officer), and Dom Alvar (Spanish officer) compete for the love of Zima, an Amerindian princess. When Zima pronounces herself for Adario, Dom Alvar moves to assault Adario, but Damon protects Zima's freedom and Adario's life. A festival celebrates Adario and Zima's marriage, and at the same time, the newfound harmony between the Amerindian inhabitants and their French colonizers. But for all their similarity, *Europe* and *Les Sauvages* differ in one important aspect: the feelings that animate the French hero. If Francion strongly rejects the ungrounded accusation of inconstancy and proclaims his desire to "lose himself" in Europe (Act I, scene IV), Damon, on the contrary, sings the virtue of fickle love. His defense of Zima, therefore, has more to do with his individual identity than with his submission to a moral law. Fuzelier and Rameau's *Les Sauvages* establishes an entirely different link between national character and psychological

⁵⁶ Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, *Théâtre complet (1636-1643)*, ed. Claire Chaineaux (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005), 844.

motives: in lieu of allegorical personifications, fictional individuals stand as stereotypical representatives of their nation. This is precisely where allegorical and conventional dramas differ in their conceptualization of the Concert of Nations. In J. S. Bach's cantata *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* (BWV 206), the four rivers personify a national character dissociated from any individual persona: they can trace for the audience paths of self-reform. Fuzelier and Rameau's characters, in *Les Sauvages*, find the motives of their actions only in themselves; indeed, a moral conversion would imply a transformation of their character such that it would imply a loss of identity.

This distinction has musical consequences, both formally and conceptually. The dramatic actions of both *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* and *Les Sauvages* stem from the conflict that sets one national character against the other in an imperial project, and both dramas end with the public celebration of a new-found collective security—on the stage, quite literally, a fictional Concert of the nations. But music, in J. S. Bach's cantata, performs a dual function, not only as the marker of a moral position, as explained above, but also as the figuration of a behavioral model. The choir of flutes, materialized in Bach's music, is at once a realization of the Concert as a polyphonic, harmonious practice of music, and a symbol of the Concert as an ethical imperative. Still, the music of *Les Sauvages* is indeed, of the composer's own avowal, a *concert*: Rameau used the term to designate the peculiar format of *Les Indes galantes* in its 1736 publication, at a time when *concert* might still have evoked a sense of musical genre, for want of a clear form or ensemble. Rameau, in the preface to this publication, claimed to rescue the music of his *ballet héroïque* from the audience's critique of the work's recitative scenes: except for *Les Sauvages*, the *entrées* are therefore incomplete. To some, the deletion of the recitatives might have had the paradoxical effect of depreciating the poetic value of *Les Indes galantes*. Only those parts subjugated to musical form and *divertissement* remained. The matter, however, gains in ambiguity with *Les Sauvages*, because this fourth *concert* actually consists in a reduced score of the entire *entrée*, complete with all the recitatives, prior to its first

performance.⁵⁷ The inclusion of the recitatives here confirmed instead the interpenetration of music and libretto in *Les Indes galantes*: that is to say, in some way, the text pertained directly to the *concert*. According to Charles Dill, Rameau's complex "conflation of generic values" had perhaps for his contemporaries the contradictory effects of devaluing the status of *Les Indes galantes* from artwork to entertainment and of reevaluating the status of music in opera—from a pleasing setting of words to a "signifying system that participates directly in the drama."⁵⁸ If Rameau's unusual print almost deformed his opera by dismantling the drama and "monstrously" augmenting the importance of its musical part as regards the text, it also clearly extended the significance of the *concert* beyond the abstract definition of a musical genre to encompass the dramatic specification of the *entrée* as a Concert of nations. Polyphony, here, meant not only the joint sounding of instruments and voices, but of national voices set in relation with one another.

The power of indifference in an international love contest. *Les Sauvages* begins *in medias res*: Adario has already ordered his warriors to celebrate peace with their (French) conquerors. As he enters the stage, however, his heart remains alarmed; Adario fears Damon and Alvar, respectively the French and Spanish officers who, like him, seek the favor of the Native American princess Zima. Adario decides to hide himself and observe his rivals (scene 1). Damon and Alvar enter together, debating competing notions of love (Scene 2); they both claim Zima's love, but Zima rejects both the fickle and jealous loves of the French and Spanish colonizers (Scene 3). Adario leaves his hiding place, and Zima declares her love for him; remaining true to her culture and her heart, she follows her inclination for Adario. Damon protects Adario and Zima from Alvar's anger, and invites Alvar to join the festivities announced by the sound of trumpets and timpanis (Scene 4). Adario and Zima sing the pleasures of tender love and in a duo,

⁵⁷ Rameau's preface justifies this decision by the fact that this new *entrée* "has not yet been heard." *Les Indes galantes*, when the opera first appeared on August 23, 1735, included only two *entrées*, *Les Incas du Pérou* and *Le Turc généreux*. At the third performance, a new *entrée* appeared, *Les Fleurs*. *Les Sauvages* is a later addition, first performed on March 10, 1736.

⁵⁸ Charles Dill, *Monstrous Opera: Rameau and the Tragic Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 28. To further his discussion of the relation between music and text in *Les Indes galantes*, Dill focuses on *Les Incas*, being the *entrée* traditionally received as the most interesting from a dramatic point of view.

they call upon Hymen to join their lives with an “eternal chain” (Scene 5). In the *divertissement* that follows this action, a group of French warriors, “Savages” (male and female), and French women dressed as “Amazons”—a description which applies to both the choir and the dancers, according to the libretto’s cast list—join Adario and Zima.⁵⁹ They sing the return of peace, before Zima, Adario, and the “Savages” celebrate social peace and true contentment. French “warriors” and “Amazons” dance a minuet, after which Zima entertains pleasures and games to reign in these woods where nature guides the hearts of their inhabitants; a final chaconne concludes the *entrée* (Scene 6).

Scholars’ interest in *Les Sauvages* has focused mainly on two features: first, the exotic characterization of Native Americans in Rameau’s music, and second, the social critique of modern Europe as enunciated by Zima and Adario, fictional embodiments of the noble savage. *Les Sauvages*, from this perspective, reads as a moral fable. The *divertissement*, through the voices of Adario, Zima and the “Savages,” points to the moral of the action: innocence and peace reign in a society whose members ignore fortune and grandeur. For Cuthbert Girdlestone as for Philippe Beaussant, the structure of *Les Sauvages* has simplicity and clarity: three men, one woman, and in their airs, the definition of a way to love.⁶⁰

Each of the two Europeans and Zima symbolizes a quality of love: Don Alvar stands for constancy, Damon for its opposite, Zima for innocent nature, and these simple oppositions are rendered in the music allotted to each. (...) The different outlooks of the three heroes are expressed in a series of solos which are good examples of simple characterization.⁶¹

Rameau’s music, however, has more complexity than it would appear, making the most of Fuzelier’s libretto.⁶² Girdlestone’s description of a well-balanced love quartet altogether

⁵⁹ *Les Indes galantes, Ballet héroïque représenté par l’Académie royale de musique pour la première fois le Mardi 23 Août 1735, Remis avec la nouvelle entrée des Sauvages, Le Samedi dixième Mars 1736* (Paris: Ballard, 1736).

⁶⁰ See Philippe Beaussant, “Commentaire littéraire et musical des *Indes Galantes*,” *Avant-scène* 46 (1982), 46.

⁶¹ Cuthbert Girdlestone, *Jean-Philippe Rameau*, 341.

⁶² It is perhaps worth noting here that, while the score of *Les Indes galantes* is a “puzzle” (Alain Poirier), that of *Les Sauvages* is relatively simple because, in contrast to the other *entrées*, Rameau published the complete version in *Les Indes galantes, Ballet, réduit à quatre grands concerts: Avec une nouvelle Entrée complète* (Paris: Boivin, Leclair, l’Auteur, [1735-1736], fac-sim. Coulay, France: J.M. Fuzeau, 2005). On the history of the score, see Charles Malherbe, “*Commentaire bibliographique*,” in Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Les Indes galantes*, ed. Paul Dukas

overlooks the characterization of the French and Spanish officers and the discrediting of the Spaniard by the Frenchman, the complex (musical) relations between the French and Native American characters, the demonstrated power of Damon's indifference, and the Native American acculturation of the *pax gallica*, here understood as the establishment of peace under French imperial dominion.

Scene 1 contrasts Adario's amorous lament with a ritornello emblematic of public festivals and military demonstrations (for a summary view and musical analysis of the *entrée*, see Table 2.6 and Figure 2.6). Adario's recitative sets the return of peace and general rejoicing against his own unrest. In the prologue to *Europe galante*, Campra had also symbolized Discord's intrusion into Venus's forge by a contrast between d minor and D Major. James R. Anthony points out that the 1724 edition further reinforces the contrast's abruptness by eliding two modulatory measures printed in previous editions.⁶³ While key semantics generally offer a slippery ground for interpretation, D Major steadily carried the military and celebratory connotations already implied by the orchestration, not only in Rameau's music, but throughout Europe and throughout the 18th century (for example, the key of D Major carries the same connotations in *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde*).⁶⁴ There is no text directly associated with the opening ritornello that opens *Les Sauvages*. In his description of Scene 1, Philippe Beaussant attributes the phrase to the "Savages" (*op. cit.*, p. 59), most likely based on Adario's opening line following the first performance of the ritornello:

<i>Nos guerriers par mon ordre unis à nos</i>	Our warriors, united with our victors by my
<i>vainqueurs</i>	command,
<i>Vont ici de la paix célébrer les douceurs</i>	Are going to celebrate here the pleasures of peace.

In other words, the musical contrast that characterizes the instrumental ritornello and Adario's vocal lines emphasizes the rift between his collective and his individual situations. As in

(Paris: Durand, 1902/New York: Broude Brothers, 1968), XLIV-LII; Alain Poirier, "Le puzzle des transformations de la partition," *Avant-scène* 46 (1982): 66-69; and Pascal Duc, "Présentation," in Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Les Indes galantes, Ballet réduit à quatre grands concerts* (Coulay, France: J.M. Fuzeau, 2005), V-XIII.

⁶³ Anthony, "Printed editions of André Campra's *L'Europe galante*," 65.

⁶⁴ See Taylor's synthetic table, "Peopling the Stage," 72. Rameau, in his 1722 treatise, associated D Major with songs of mirth, rejoicing, grandeur, and magnificence.

Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde (BWV 206), where the rivers' conflict constitutes one single conversational moment, the love contest of *Les Sauvages* occurs within a well-defined collective moment that begins with the announcement of peace celebrations. The love contest unfolds in the collective caesura that follows the conclusion of war and precedes the ceremonies of peace.

This caesura ends with the return of the same instrumental ritornello and the second announcement of peace celebrations (Scene 4), which initiates Damon and Alvar's exit from the stage and the beginning of the *divertissement*. If there were any ambiguity in the opening scene regarding the European character of the warriors whose music is thus heard in the ritornello, there can be none left this time, when the ritornello recurs immediately after Damon protects Adario from Alvar's physical assault, therefore guaranteeing Zima's freedom to love. The music does not characterize the "Savages" alone, but includes the French warriors to whom they are united. The ritornello, clearly labeled in the score as an announcement, preludes the celebration of peace between the former enemies—including, first and foremost, French and Amerindian people, but also, Damon suggests, Alvar and himself. In Damon's words:

*Déjà dans les bois d'alentour
J'entens de nos guerriers les bruïantes trompettes
Leurs sons n'effrayent plus ces aimables retraites ;
Des charmes de la paix ils marquent le retour,
(à Alvar) A vos tristes regrets derobez ce beau jour
Que le plaisir avec nous vous arreste ?*

In the woods all around us already
I hear the boisterous trumpets of our warriors
Their sounds no longer terrify these peaceful retreats;
Of peace and its charms they signal the return
(to Alvar) Might you rob from your sad regrets this beautiful day
That pleasure might retain you with us?⁶⁵

⁶⁵ In this instance and others, I modify the English translation of the libretto by James O. Wootton for the CD Booklet of Les Arts Florissants and William Christie, *Rameau: Les Indes Galantes* (Arles: Harmonia Mundi, 1991).

Table 2.6 — A cursory view of Louis Fuzelier and Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Les Sauvages*

Scene	Characters	Musical Unit	Form	Tonal trajectory
Scene 1	Adario alone on stage	Instrumental Ritornello	Recitative	D
		Adario's <i>air</i>	ABA (da capo)	d, a, d
Scene 2	Damon and Alvar (Adario is hidden)	Alvar	Recitative	d - A
		Damon's first <i>air</i>	ABC	d - A, A - F, d
		Damon / Alvar	Recitative	d - F, d
Scene 3	Zima, Alvar, Damon (Adario hidden)	Instrumental Prelude		d - g
		Alvar, Damon, Zima	Recitative	g
		Zima's first <i>air</i>	ABA'	B-flat, F, B-flat
		Damon / Alvar	Recitative	g - B-flat, F-D, B-flat
		Damon's second <i>air</i>	AB	g - c, B-flat - g
		Damon / Zima	Recitative	g - F, g
		Zima's second <i>air</i>	AB	G - D, G
		Alvar's contest <i>air</i>	AB	g - B-flat, c - (D - dominant chord) - g
		Damon's contest <i>air</i>	ABC	g - B-flat, (D - dominant chord) - c - B-flat - g
		Damon / Alvar / Zima	Recitative	B-flat, F, g minor
Scene 4	All	All	Recitative	g - B-flat, D
Scene 5	Adario, Zima	Adario	Recitative	d
		Zima	Recitative	d - g
		Zima's third <i>air</i>	ABA (da capo)	g - d, d - F - A, g - d
		Adario	Recitative	F Major
		Adario, Zima	Duo	F - C - F
Scene 6	Adario, Zima, Savages, French women in Amazons	Adario	AB	d
		Chorus	ABAB	d
		Danse du grand calumet de la paix	Rondo	g, B-flat, g, d - D (picardy third), g
		Zima, Adario, Chorus	Rondo	g, B-flat, g, d - D (picardy third), g
		Menuets	ABA	D, d-F-(g)-d, D
		Zima's final <i>air</i>	ABA	D, b, D
		Chaconne		d - D

Analytical commentary of Table 2.6 and Figure 2.6

Minor / Major contrasts

The semantic association of discord with the major-minor contrast (parallel or relative keys) pervades *Les Sauvages*. In Figure 2.6 parallel keys are separated by an jagged line, and relative keys connected with a dotted line.

Adario's unrest contrasts with the collective announcement of peace celebrations in the opening *air* (Scene 1): the keys of d minor and a minor are directly set against the key of D Major and its A-Major dominant chord. Similarly, in the recitative of Scene 4, Damon's disappointment abruptly modifies Zima's F-Major chord into an f-minor chord.

D Major

As indicated in the main text, D Major functions as the tonal locus of power in *Les Sauvages*. This is manifest:

- 1) in the opening ritornello, associated with the warriors' peace celebrations, and the final *divertissement*;
- 2) in Zima's claims to sovereign freedom in her choice of a lover (her second *air*, Scene 3—"To our lovers it is the custom not to compel love"—and her final judgment, at the end of the same scene, against both Alvar and Damon);
- 3) in Scene 4, Adario, Alvar, and Damon confront each other on D-Major dominant chord, which makes to the return of the opening instrumental ritornello, announcing the warriors' celebration of peace.

d minor: individual passions in *Les Sauvages*

Each character sings his or her love in the key of d minor: after Adario's *air*, Alvar's first recitative entrance (Scene 2) and Damon's first *air* (Scene 2) are set in the same key, as is Zima's own declaration of love to Adario (Scene 5). From this perspective, the final chaconne, with its repeated shifts from d minor to D Major, performs musically the reconciliation of individual and collective destinies in the *entrée*.

g minor / B-flat Major: markers of cultural difference and sites of the love contest

The key of g minor carries a complex semantics in the context of *Les Sauvages*. First and foremost, it denotes cultural difference: it characterizes Zima's first entrance in the instrumental introduction of Scene 3, and more to the point, it characterizes Rameau's own transcription of his eponymous harpsichord piece into the *entrée's Danse du grand calumet de la paix* (Dance of the Peace Pipe).

Olivia Bloechl, following a more general demonstration by Gretchen Wheelock, argues that Rameau associated the key "with feminine expressions of grief and rage and with exoticism, which often involved feminization" (Olivia Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 196): "Gminor numbers in *Les Indes galantes* show a comparably diverse liminality as in the *Nouvelles Suites*, ranging from expressions of tender passion, to the depiction of dramatic climatological events, to the characterization of 'exotic' Polish, enslaved African, and American dancers. Though the key of G minor obviously had flexible connotations in Rameau's output, as elsewhere, it was associated often enough with extraordinary or marginal subjects that its exotic connotations in the rondeau and the later opera-ballet *entrée* seem likely" (Idem, p. 199).

The argument that the key denotes exoticism does not function easily in *Les Sauvages*, since not only Damon's first *air*, but Alvar and Damon's contest *air* are in the same key (Scene 3).

In *Les Sauvages*, both g minor and its relative major (B-flat) constitute tonal sites of contest, where Damon and Alvar dispute their respective claims to Zima's love.

Love contest, tonal relations: g minor - d minor, G Major – D Major, B-flat Major – F Major

For the most part, the love contest occurs within well-defined tonal relations around the main tonic-dominant axis of the *entrée* (D-A Major). It begins with Adario's individual expression of desire and anxiety in d minor and finds closure with Zima's expression of accord with his desire (from g minor to d minor). The tonal space outlined in Zima's first *air* (B-flat to F Major), an *air* in which she enunciates her conformance to the laws of nature (Scene 3), also sees the social consecration of Adario's and Zima's individual desires in the institution of marriage (Scene 5, duo).

In this context, Zima's second *air*—a dual celebration of the freedom to love and marital faithfulness—stands out. It occurs within the general context of her rebuke for Damon's celebration of fickleness; as such, it is in direct contrast with Damon's second *air*. Zima begins her rebuke with a recitative line in the same key as Damon's praise of inconstancy (g minor), but her own *air* is set in G Major and D Major, a unique instance in the *entrée*. In effect, Rameau placed Zima's critique of European mores in high relief. Not only that, but ironically, Zima also temporarily escapes from her exotic tonal space (g minor, B-flat Major, d minor) while Alvar and Damon seek to appropriate it.

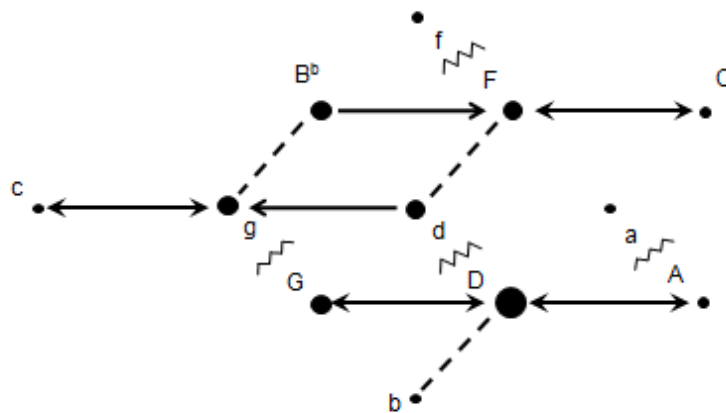


Figure 2.6 — Tonal positions in Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Les Sauvages*

The second “announcement,” now denoting the end of the love contest, coordinates collective history and sentimental intrigue: in this light (or more exactly, this sound), Damon’s peace constitutes but a particular instance of the *pax gallica* whose institution the *divertissement* celebrates. The resolution of the love contest illustrates in sentimental terms the political conciliation Adario has already agreed to. In effect, Damon’s protection enables Zima and Adario to retain their way of love, and as the *divertissement* suggests, their way of life. The *divertissement* enacts musically the presumed alliance between French imperialism and Amerindian sovereignty, most obviously in the alternation of the *Danse du Grand Calumet de la Paix* with its French equivalent, the menuet, but also in the reunion of pastoral and heroic styles that defines both Zima’s last air and the Chaconne (more on this reunion of styles below).

Rameau’s music contributes much to the drama, infusing the libretto with more psychological complexity than one might initially have presumed. Damon and Alvar, for example, are linked as the two sides of the imperialist coin: they enter on stage together (scene II), and they leave it together (end of scene IV). Rameau’s music, however, clearly establishes Damon’s superiority over his Spanish counterpart, making the most of textual cues. Rameau attributes three *airs* to Damon and one to Alvar, but more to the point, Damon’s responses to Alvar tend to contrast ironically with Alvar’s musical statements. Damon borrows either the tonal trajectories or melodic motive of his adversary in order to better disparage him. The most elaborate example occurs Scene 3, where Alvar derides Parisian morality in his first and only *air*, after which Damon immediately responds to his Spanish rival with a parallel *air*. Rameau reinforces musically the relative parallelism of the texts, which both begin with an accusatory, demonstrative gesture toward the adversary:

ALVAR, montrant DAMON.
L’Habitant des bords de la Seine
N’est jamais moins arrêté

ALVAR, pointing to DAMON
 The Inhabitant of the banks of the Seine
 Is never less impeded

*Que lorsque l'Hymen l'enchaîne ;
 Il se fait un honneur de sa legereté.
 Et pour l'Epouse la plus belle
 Il rougiroit d'être fidelle.*

Than when he is bound in wedlock;
 He makes his fickleness a point of honor;
 And to be faithful to the fairest spouse
 Would make him blush.

*DAMON, montrant ALVAR.
 Les Epoux les plus soupçonneux,
 Du Tage habitent les rives ;
 Là mille Beautez plaintives
 Reçoivent de l'hymen des fers & non des nœuds ;
 Vous ne voyez jamais autour de ces Captives
 Voltiger les Ris & les Jeux.*

DAMON, pointing to ALVAR
 The most suspicious of husbands
 Live upon the banks of the Tagus;
 There a thousand complaining beauties
 In marriage are bound by chains not knots;
 You never see, around these captives,
 Laughter and joy fluttering.

Damon borrows the opening motive of his air directly from Alvar's, but immediately highlights difference in the ending of the phrase: while Alvar's melody falls back to its starting point, as if out of breath or *élan*, Damon continues upward, trumpeting the final high note (see Example 2.3 below). As if to rub salt in the wound, the same motive, ornamented, serves as a virtuosic melisma for the word *voltiger*, or "fluttering" (see Example 2.3). This is the core of Damon's defense of fickleness: whereas Alvar understands marriage as an honorable bond, Damon perceives it as a sorrowful and tyrannical chain. Perhaps Rameau intended to highlight this moral reversal in a musical chiasm: Damon's three-part *air* playfully flips over the tonal trajectory of Alvar's accusation (see Figure 2.7).

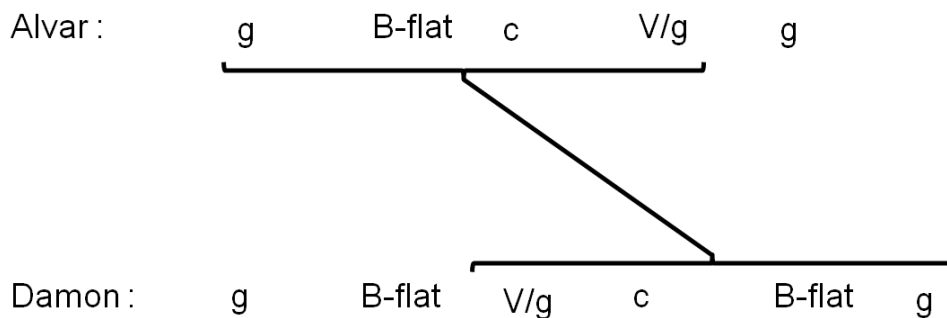


Figure 2.7 — Damon's reversal of Alvar's tonal trajectory (Scene 3)

If the balance of Alvar and Damon's dialogue is tipped in favor of the French officer, there is more complexity in the latter's relation with Zima. In text as in music, Zima embodies,

more than Adario, cultural resistance to European colonization. As she enters on stage in an entirely new key and sets the tone for the rest of the *entrée*, Zima soon endeavors to instruct Alvar and Damon in cultural difference: she sings the innocence of her ways and the spontaneity of the heart.

ZIMA

*Nous suivons sur nos bord l'innocente nature,
Et nous n'aimons que d'un amour sans art.
Notre bouche & nos yeux ignorent l'imposture ;
Sous cette riante verdure,
S'il éclate un soupir, s'il échape un regard,
C'est du cœur qu'il part.*

Upon our banks we follow innocent nature,
And we love only with an unfeigned love.
Our lips and our eyes do not know imposture;
If, beneath this smiling verdure,
A sigh is heaved, or a tender glance is cast,
It is from the heart that they come.

Zima's cultural difference is the site of Alvar and Damon's amorous contest—what they both attempt to appropriate in their favor, and both partially misunderstand. Musically speaking, both characters appropriate a similar starting tonal point as Zima (g minor); this is the most minimal attempt at mimicking Zima. Damon's second *air*, with wide melodic leaps, throws earth, skies, and seas in the balance of inconstancy; the natural similes echo, in a bombastic way, Zima's invocation of nature. In the second part of this *air*, Damon goes so far as to mimic Zima's first *air*, borrowing its ternary meter and pastoral figuration, albeit at a faster pace:

DAMON

La Terre, les Cieux, & les Mers
Nous offrent tour-à-tour cent spectacles divers :
Les plus beaux jours entr'eux ont de la
difference ;
N'est-il deffendu qu'à nos cœurs
De goûter les douceurs
Que verse partout l'inconstance.

The earth, the skies, and the seas
In turn offer us a hundred different images:
The loveliest days are different from one
another;
Is it then forbidden that our hearts too
Should taste the delights
That inconstancy everywhere bestows

There are, however, points of contact between Zima and her French suitor, woven as a filigree in Rameau's musical fabric. In the *entrée*'s tonal space (see the analytical commentary of Table 2.6 and Figure 2.6 for a detailed explanation), D Major and F Major hold parallel significances, though the latter perhaps more strictly in the realm of emotions. The lines Rameau

set in F Major encapsulate the amorous contest (see Table 2.7): the shared belief in both love’s power over the human heart and the heart’s freedom in matters of love, Damon and Alvar’s similar misunderstanding of Zima’s appeal to natural sincerity, and Zima and Adario’s voluntary pledge of faithfulness. Alvar’s pressing interjection at the end of scene 3 starkly contrasts with his reaction to Zima’s final pronouncement: turning sour without warning, he swiftly twists Zima’s reminder of her people’s customary sincerity from F Major to f minor. Damon’s precepts, on the contrary, accommodate Zima’s decision.

Table 2.7 — The semantics of F Major in *Les Sauvages*

Scene 2	Damon	<i>Chaque jour fait pour lui de nouvelles conquêtes</i>	Every day makes new conquests for [the heart].
	Damon	<i>De la tyrannique constance / Les coeurs ne suivent pas les loix.</i>	Of tyrannical constancy, hearts do not obey the laws.
Scene 3	Zima	<i>Notre bouche et nos yeux ignorent l'imposture.</i>	Our lips and our eyes do not know imposture.
	Damon and Alvar together	<i>Ah! Quel heureux instant.</i>	Ah! This happy moment!
	Damon	<i>L'inconstance n'est point un crime.</i>	Inconstancy is no crime.
	Alvar	<i>Cédez, cédez enfin a mes soins empressez.</i>	Yield, yield at last to my urgent pleas!
Scene 4	Zima	<i>Dans nos forets on est sincère.</i>	In our woods we are sincere.
Scene 5	Zima	<i>Dans notre paisible retraite / On n'entend murmurer / que l'onde et les Zéphir.</i>	In our peaceful retreat We hear only the murmuring of the waves and the zephyrs.
	Adario	<i>Viens Himen, hate toi, Suis l'Amour qui t'appelle.</i>	Come, Hymen, hasten to the call of love.
	Zima and Adario	Wedding duet	

Alvar’s recourse to violence offers Zima and Damon an opportunity for reconciliation. When Adario proudly rebukes Alvar’s threat, Alvar moves to assault Adario, but Damon physically restrains him. From a musical point of view, Damon’s defense may be read as a gesture toward Zima more than a demonstration against Alvar (harmonically, it completes the determination of the D-Major chord as a D-Major dominant chord, see Example 2.4). Indeed, Damon soon invites Alvar to lay aside his sorrows for the day—a temporary truce of some kind between secular

Scene III

Alvar
L'ha - bi - tant des bords de la Seine

Damon
Les E - poux les plus soup - çon - neux

Damon
voltiges

Damon
voltiges

Damon
voltiges

The score shows five vocal lines. The first line is for Alvar, and the next four are for Damon. The lyrics are in French. The Damon parts feature triplets and are labeled 'voltiges'. A bracket on the right side of the Damon lines points to a separate musical staff showing a melodic relation: a sequence of four notes (G, A, B, C) on a staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat.

Scene V

Zima
vo le

Zima
vo le

The score shows two vocal lines for Zima. Both lines feature triplets and are labeled 'vo le'.

Example 2.3 — Some melodic relations in *Les Sauvages*

enemies. More fundamentally, Damon's gallant gesture altogether denies Adario the opportunity to prove his heroic valor: it is the patronizing gesture that confirms the social transformation about to be celebrated. Along with peace festivities, the instrumental ritornello proclaims, to the sound of trumpets and timpani, the submission of Adario and his people to their French conquerors.

The musical score for Example 2.4 is written for five parts: Zima (soprano), Damon (alto), Adario (tenor), Alvar (bass), and Continuo. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The score shows a dramatic moment where Damon and Adario are in conflict with Alvar. Damon's part is marked '(arrêtant Alvar)' and Adario's part is marked '(fierement, a Alvar)'. Alvar's part is marked '(l'arrêtant) (surpris)'. The lyrics are: 'Je craignais ton amour, je crains peu ta colère. (fierement, a Alvar) Ar-rê-tez! (l'arrêtant) (surpris) c'en est trop... Da-mon y pen-sez - vous?'. The Continuo part has a '6' and a '#' above it, indicating a figured bass line.

Example 2.4 — The moment of physical conflict in *Les Sauvages*

A disenchanted Concert of nations: national character, truth, and art. At the moment when the instrumental ritornello returns to announce the warriors' peace festivities, the political distinction between *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* and *Les Sauvages* is most apparent. In lieu of an ethical model, diegetic and mimetic music in *Les Sauvages* offers not an idealized cooperation model, but the reminder of a military domination and the hegemonic peace it enables. In other words, the two works present different concepts of authority as regards the Concert of nations. Fuzelier and Rameau's fictional world is a disenchanted world, in the sense that it involves neither transcendental morality, nor supernatural powers; it is a world entirely immanent to human beings. Peace does not result from an individual acceptance of an ethical obligation, but from a situation of power in which the indifference of the strongest—that is, Damon's enforcement of the freedom to desire—suffices to police and guarantee the Concert of nations.

This political difference results in part from Fuzelier and Rameau's aesthetic claims to historical realism in *Les Sauvages* (1736) and, more particularly, from Fuzelier's endeavor to expunge the supernatural from the operatic world. With the *ballet héroïque*—deemed an

“entirely new species” of ballet—, Fuzelier dismissed “Gods and Enchanters” from the stage of the opera, and instead entertained the public with a “reasoned and picturesque design” (*dessein raisonné et pittoresque*), i.e. the painting of national mores in distant climates. In Fuzelier’s mind, the qualification of the ballet as heroic denoted not only the noble quality of the characters or the general importance of its topic, but also perhaps a seriousness of the poetic purpose best informed by historical matters.⁶⁶ Fuzelier first used the descriptive subtitle *ballet héroïque* in an earlier libretto set to music by Colin de Blamont, *Les Fêtes grecques et romaines* (1723). Clio, in the Prologue, entreats Erato to “feel nobler transports” and to ornament the memory of past deeds with the grace of her art.⁶⁷ Fuzelier observed in the foreword: “The *Scarlattis* and *Buononcinis* have made Heroes sing whom the *Corneilles & Racines* would have had speaking.” (*Les Scarlatti & les Buononcini ont fait chanter des Héros que les Corneille & les Racine auroient fait parler.*) The *ballet héroïque*, hence, opened a new path for the “lover of verisimilitude.” Even in the foreword to *Les Amours des dieux* (1727) Fuzelier claimed that, despite its mythological topic, the ballet belongs to the “heroic genre,” placed under the patronage of Melpomène, muse of tragedy: “the dagger twice makes an appearance in *Europe galante*” (*le poignard se montre deux fois dans l’Europe Galante*).⁶⁸

Of direct interest to this study is one of the genre’s earliest examples, *Europe galante* (1697), revised and reedited in full score three decades later (1724), mentioned by Fuzelier in his foreword to *Les Amours des Dieux* (1727), and directly referenced in the title of *Les Indes galantes*.⁶⁹ *Europe galante*, by Houdar de la Motte and Campra, first performed on October 24, celebrated the Peace of Ryswick, signed with England, Spain and the United Provinces on

⁶⁶ On the definition of the *ballet héroïque* and especially the signification of the adjective, see Paul-Marie Masson, “Le ‘ballet héroïque’,” *La Revue musicale* 9/8 (1928): 132-54.

⁶⁷ Louis Fuzelier, *Les Fêtes grecques et romaines, ballet héroïque, représenté pour la première fois par l’Académie royale de musique, le mardi 13e juillet 1723* ([Paris], Chez la Veuve de Pierre Ribou, 1723).

⁶⁸ Louis Fuzelier (music by Mouret), *Les Amours des dieux, ballet héroïque représenté par l’Académie-royale de musique*. . . (Paris, Chez la Veuve Delormel & fils, 1757), 3.

⁶⁹ See Vincent Berthier de Lioncourt, Philippe Beaussant et Jean Lionnet, ed., *André Campra à Versailles, du 10 au 13 juin 1993* (Versailles: Centre de musique baroque de Versailles/Actes Sud, 1993). For a history of its publication, see James R. Anthony, “Printed Editions of André Campra’s ‘L’Europe Galante’,” *The Musical Quarterly* 56/1 (1970): 54-73.

September 20. The opera-ballet stages a contest between Discord and Venus and displays Venus's reign in the life of four nations: France, Spain, Italy, and Turkey. In an epilogue, Discord acknowledges her defeat. Four different *entrées*, each with a separate plot, illustrate the distinct ways of love in each nation. Rather than the appearance of contemporary people, it is "the setting of the entire work in more-or-less real places" that makes *Europe galante* innovative with regard to operatic genres.⁷⁰ In *Les Indes galantes*, Fuzelier paralleled the construction of *Europe galante*, but inverted its premise. In the context of the Polish War of Succession (see above), France, Poland, Spain and "Italy" (i.e. Savoy, and the Milanese battlefield) had all committed to war against the Austrian empire. The youth of the allied nations follow Bellone to seek fame and glory. Hebe entreats the "sons of Venus" to conquer hearts in "distant climates," i.e. Turkey, Persia, Peru, and North America.

In his forewords to both *Les Fêtes grecques et romaines* and *Les Indes galantes*, Fuzelier vindicated the historical plausibility of the actions and *divertissements* performed on stage.⁷¹ His writing, in the short narratives that contextualize the libretto, mirrors the style of historians and names his documentary sources. The foreword to *Les Fêtes grecques et romaines*, for example, refers the readers to such authorities as Plutarch and Lucien, and that of *Les Indes galantes* to an issue of the *Mercure de France* (January 1734) containing the history of Topal Osman's generosity, and to the work of Garcilasso de la Véga on Peruvian history. In the case of the new *entrée Les Sauvages*, Fuzelier did not write a specific commentary, but several additional well-known publications could have informed the libretto. Among them, the Baron de Lahontan's *Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale ou suite des voyages de M. Le Baron de Lahontan* (1703 for the first edition) includes a section on "Loves and Marriages of the Savages." Lahontan also

⁷⁰ Rebecca Harris-Warrick, "Staging Venice," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 15/3 (2003), 299. For the political situation in which Houdar de la Motte and Campra elaborated *Europe galante*, see Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 168ff.

⁷¹ Louis Fuzelier et Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Les Indes galantes, ballet heroique représenté par l'Academie royale de Musique ; pour la premiere fois, le mardy 23 aoust 1735. Remis avec la nouvelle entrée des Sauvages, le samedi dixième mars 1736* ([Paris], De l'imprimerie de Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, 1736), iii-viii.

published a set of dialogues in which he converses with the Huron Adario—the name Fuzelier gave to his Native American hero.⁷²

Les Sauvages is Rameau's most significant contribution to Fuzelier's concern for empiricism.⁷³ No other *entrée* of *Les Indes galantes* contains within its title a tale of its musical origins. In the *divertissement* of *Les Sauvages*, on the contrary, Rameau orchestrated the harpsichord piece he had written to characterize the Parisian performance of Native Americans in 1725. In a private letter to Houdar de la Motte dated 25 October 1727, and with a gesture akin to that of Fuzelier's forewords to his librettos, Rameau assigned to reality the inspiration for the harpsichord piece: "You have only to come and hear how I have characterized the song and the dance of the savages who appeared at the Théâtre Italien two years ago."⁷⁴ Rameau's "documentation" refers to a novelty performance at the Théâtre Italien in September 1725. According to the report published in the *Mercure de France* the same month, "two savages recently arrived from Louisiana" and performed three dances for the Parisian audience. The account, stereotypical in its treatment of costumes, body language, and instruments, attempted an exegesis of the dances' action—a story of war and peace—much in the manner of a pantomime-ballet.⁷⁵ *Les Indes galantes* in general has proved a testing ground for inquiries into the meaning and practices of European exoticism.⁷⁶ But *Les Sauvages* in particular documents in a unique

⁷² See Nathalie Lecomte, "Les Indes galantes, reflet de la vogue exotique," *Avant-scène* 46 (1982): 75-79, and especially Joellen A. Meglin, "Sauvages, Sex Roles, and Semiotics: Representations of Native Americans in the French Ballet, 1736-1837, Part One: The Eighteenth Century," *Dance Chronicle* 23/2 (2000): 87-132.

⁷³ The point has already been made by Roger Savage in his excellent "Rameau's American Dances," *Early Music* 11/4 (1983): 441-52 (see p. 451 in particular).

⁷⁴ Modern scholarship has recounted this tale of origins in multiple instances. In addition to other sources quoted below, see for example, Savage, "Rameau's American Dances." For the letter, see Rameau, *Intégrale de l'oeuvre théorique*, I (1722-1737), ed. Bertrand Porot et Jean Saint-Arroman. (Courlay, France: J. M. Fuzeau, 2004), 191, and for its translation into English, see Cuthbert M. Girdlestone, *Jean-Philippe Rameau: his life and work*, rev. ed. (New York: Dover, 1969), 9-10.

⁷⁵ See Joellen A. Meglin, "Sauvages, Sex Roles, and Semiotics," and Michael V. Pisani, *Imagining Native America in music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 38-41.

⁷⁶ See Hélène Leclerc, "Les Indes galantes (1735-1952)," *Revue de la société d'histoire du théâtre* 5/4 (1953): 259-285, and especially the description of the costumes of *Les Sauvages* for the 1765 performance in Versailles; Nathalie Lecomte, "Les Indes galantes"; and Marion Fürst, "Mit Federschmuck und Friedenspfeife: Der Amerikaner in der europäischen Oper des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," *Musica* 47/1 (1993): 21-24. On *Le Turc généreux*, see Timothy D. Taylor, "Peopling the Stage: Opera, Otherness, and New Musical Representations in the Eighteenth Century," *Cultural Critique* 36 (1997): 55-88. On Les Incas du Pérou, see Ralph P. Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," *The Journal of Musicology* 24/4 (2007): 477-521.

way the translation from the empirical experience to the compositional imagination of Native American music.⁷⁷

Rameau, clearly, proposed to reconstruct the Native American performance, or rather, conveyed a reading of the “Savages” difference. The composition instituted the difference of the “Savages” within a conventional musical language, i.e. the musical system Rameau based on the science of harmony. In his letter to Houdar de la Motte, published posthumously in 1765 in the *Mercure de France*, Rameau mentioned his harpsichord piece *Les Sauvages* to exemplify his accomplishments as a well-trained composer, worthy of collaborating with the librettist who had authored, in *Europe galante*, the epitome of national characterization in opera. Rameau’s self-promotion relied on the distinction between a “learned musician,” a “school musician,” and a “musician of taste.” A learned musician combines “common sense, wit and feeling” with the “study of nature” (i.e. the science of harmony), and to such a musician, music is at once more than a “combination of notes” and more than a product of taste. Musical science, far from impeding a disposition for opera, expands the composer’s “store of sensations”: only the learned musician can “choose the shades and colors which his mind and his taste make him feel to be related to the required expression.” That some of Rameau’s contemporaries saw *Les Sauvages* as a product of his physical studies might explain why French travelers would also test the piece’s supposed excellence abroad and record its effect on foreign audiences—for example, in China and in the Caribbean: *Les Sauvages* paradoxically provided a testing ground for Rameau’s theoretical claim to universality.⁷⁸ But the composition of a character piece, far from an aesthetic

⁷⁷ This is an important aspect of Roger Savage’s article, “Rameau’s American Dances.” See also, in chronological order, Hellmuth Christian Wolff, “Rameaus ‘Les Indes galantes’ als Musikethnologische Quelle,” *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und – Völkerkunde* 3 (1967): 105-8; Howard Brofsky, “Rameau and the Indians: The Popularity of *Les Sauvages*,” in *Music in the Classic Period: Essays in Honor of Barry S. Brook*, ed. Allan W. Atlas (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985), 43-60; and Emmanuel Gorge, *L’imaginaire musical amérindien: Modalités structurales et typologies stylistiques* (Paris, L’Harmattan, 2003), 54-105; Catherine Cole, “Nature” at the Opéra: *Sound and Social Change in France, 1750-79* (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2003); and Pisani, *Imagining Native America*. The most recent discussion of the irreconcilable split between empirical experience and aesthetic convention in Rameau’s *Les Sauvages* appears in Olivia Bloechl’s rich study: *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁷⁸ As mentioned by Savage (“Rameau’s American Dances,” 442), J. B. Laborde, in his *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1780, I, 125), reports on Father Amiot’s unsuccessful performance of *Les Sauvages* and *Les Cyclopes* to an unmoved Chinese audience, two pieces selected because “they usually please [the French]

and scientific rationale of semiotic transparency, brought to the fore the artificiality of symbols as social fabrications: Rameau's letter places the work of the composer at the intersection of nature—mediated through knowledge—and culture—mediated through the senses.

Rameau's poetics of character, as I read it in his letter to Houdar de la Motte, separated the semiotics of truth from that of experience. Fuzelier's forewords too, despite his borrowings from the scientific method, retained poetic license as the prerogative of art. In his words, history provides an "opportunity" for Erato and Terpsichore "to exercise their genius." Pierre Matthieu de Chassiron, while praising Fuzelier's intent to adorn history with music in the *Fêtes grecques et romaines*, had already pointed out the shortcomings of his libretto, more akin to sentimental literature than to historical inquiry.⁷⁹ In Fuzelier's works, the prologues placed the four acts' historical plots under the sign of allegorical thought. This is the paradox of opera-ballet, as noted by Marie-Françoise Christout: "the casual structure of opera-ballet brings new life to the Prologue, charging it to explain to the public the purported general idea that links the episodes together."⁸⁰ Allegory, though limited to the margin, still motivated each *entrée*, as if this collection of stories provided nothing else but particular illustrations of an idea—in the case of *Les Indes galantes*, love's empire. The very nature of the national characters on the stage, the one's allegorical personifications, the other's fictional persons, generated two distinct representations of the moral origin of peace among nations—the one moral, the other societal. Still, despite such a radical difference in the conceptualization of the international Concert's origin, *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* and *Les Sauvages* did not differ in their representation of its nature. In both cases, the Concert of nations constitutes an event whose resounding proclamation transforms the meaning of social relations, in a quasi-mythical synthesis of heroic and pastoral

nation. Richard Langellier-Bellevue, in an otherwise indigent article, quotes an 18th-century account by Moreau de Saint-Méry of a performance in the Caribbean; see Richard Langellier-Bellevue, "Le concept d'exotisme chez Rameau: Un exemple, 'Les Sauvages' des *Indes galantes*," *Recherches sur la musique française* 21 (1983), 159.

According to this account, Rameau took the positive response in the Caribbean as a tribute from natural men (*hommes de la Nature*) to his music—indeed, "the most flattering of tributes" because "the most sincere and pure."⁷⁹ Quoted in Catherine Kintzler, *Poétique de l'Opéra Français de Corneille à Rousseau* (Paris: Minerve, 1991), 342.

⁸⁰ Marie-Françoise Christout, "L'opéra-ballet de Campra à Rameau, un genre français," *Avant-scène* 46 (1982), 82: "la structure légère de l'opéra-ballet redonne vie au Prologue en le chargeant d'expliquer au public l'idée générale qui est censée relier les épisodes entre eux."

values. In *Les Sauvages* as in *Schleicht, speilende Wellen*, the Concert of Nations institutes a transfigured ordinary.

The Concert of nations, or the transfiguration of ordinary life. Both *Les Sauvages* and *Schleicht, speilende Wellen* rely on the conventional significance of trumpets and timpani in signaling monarchical public festivities. In *Les Sauvages*, the instrumental ritornello delimits the time of the love contest and its resolution. The sonorous announcement, however, brings about not an immediate transformation, but a progressive reform of social and musical relations. The initial resilience of cultural difference at the beginning of the *divertissement* may come as a surprise. The *entrée*'s unabashed celebration of French colonization, to recall Olivia Bloechl's qualification of its politics, does not consist in an immediate cultural denial, but in a process of containment in which French imperial forms provide a frame and guide for the expression of the local inhabitants. The *divertissement*'s proclamation of peace, pronounced by Adario, clearly denotes a surrender to French hegemony in which, in accordance with a traditional monarchical ideal illustrated at the beginning of this chapter (see the almanac commemorating the Peace of Nijmegen), France generously grants peace to its enemies:

ADARIO

Bannissons les tristes alarmes !

Nos vainqueurs nous rendent la paix :

*Partageons leurs plaisirs, ne craignons plus leurs
armes ;*

Sur nos tranquilles Bords qu'Amour seul à jamais

Fasse briller ses feux, vienne lancer ses traits !

Banish all grievous alarm!

Our conquerors restore our peace.

Share their pleasures, fear their arms no
more!

Upon our shores let Love alone forever

Cause his fires to glow, and launch his darts!

At the time, the famous *Dance of the Peace Pipe* (g minor) epitomized the cultural difference of the "Savages." In particular, Olivia Bloechl has pointed out that the beginning of the second couplet in d minor paradoxically sets Zima and Adario's call for the enjoyment of a "quiet well-being" (*Jouissons de biens tranquilles*) to a chromatic descending bass line, with all the harmonic instability and tonal yearning the latter implies. In this regard, the second couplet of

the *Dance* “created precisely the sort of split expression that prompted charges of irrationality from Rameau’s critics, as the voices of singers are split between two mutually exclusive meanings”—namely, the meaning of the text set against the “proliferation of tonal attractions”.⁸¹ Interestingly enough, the same couplet provides the first glimpse of the parallel key associated with the French conquerors (D Major, in a final Picardy third cadence immediately reinterpreted as the dominant chord leading back to the initial key of g minor).

From this perspective, the combined minuets that follow the *Dance of the Peace Pipe* constitute a musical and psychological reversal without transition—its mirror image, as it were, but also a forceful gesture of cultural hegemony. Danced by the French, these menuets couple an affirmation of hegemony with an attempt to borrow the cultural forms of the vanquished.⁸² The trumpet and timpani flourishes included in the first minuet carry with them the recent memory of military action, and at the same time, determine a strong, basic harmonic frame limited to the tonic and dominant functions. In contrast, the trio (or second minuet), to the softer sound of violins and oboes, has more suppleness, and borrows its tender harmonic language from Zima and Adario’s earlier *airs* (d minor, F Major) and from the more immediate *Dance of the Peace Pipe* (tonicization of g minor, and again, d minor). Read against Damon’s and Alvar’s similar strategy of borrowing Zima’s harmonic language, this trio amounts to conqueror’s propaganda—the invader’s attempt to subjugate the hearts of the vanquished. Love, after all, belonged to the emblems of the absolutist monarchy: far from social fairness, it could symbolize the subject’s voluntary submission to the monarch, and the monarch’s universal empire over his subjects.⁸³ In

⁸¹ Olivia Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music*, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

⁸² The 1736 libretto assigns this number to French women (dressed as amazons) only, but the concert reduction also includes “warriors” (*guerriers*). The later designation, in the libretto, refers to French warriors, by opposition to the “Savages.”

⁸³ While the conception of love as a monarchical and imperial figure deserves further study, the *salon* devoted to Venus in the King’s apartment at Versailles illustrates this idea. In the central painting of the ceiling, Venus is represented “subjugating [all] the divinities and powers to her empire.” Cupid flutters above her head, bow and arrow in hand. According to a contemporary exegesis, the garlands of flowers that flow from her chariot “seem to gather all that her son has subjugated to her empire.” See Gérard Sabatier, *Versailles ou la figure du roi* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999), 120-121.

this context, the triumph of pleasures and joys called for by Zima with all the might of the trumpets, oboes, and timpanis, takes a somewhat ironic connotation:

ZIMA	
Regnez, Plaisirs & Jeux ; triomphez, dans nos Bois:	Reign over us, pleasures and joys! Triumph in our woods!
Nous n’y connoissons que vos loix.	Here we know only your laws.
Tout ce qui blesse La tendresse Est ignoré dans nos ardeurs. La Nature qui fit nos cœurs, Prend soin de le guider sans cesse.	All that hurts Tender feeling Is unknown to our ardors. May nature, who made our hearts, Take care to guide them forevermore.

Indeed, this final *air* recalls Zima’s proud celebration of sentimental freedom and natural law in Scene 3 (in D Major; see the analytical commentary of Table 2.6). But the text also recalls Damon’s virtuosic image of laughter and joy (*les Ris et les Jeux*) fluttering around lovers, and denotes a subtle pattern of cultural accommodation already noticeable in Zima’s previous *air*, Scene 5, where her ornamentation of the word *voler*, or “flying”, also discreetly recalls Damon’s melismas on the word *voltiger*, or “fluttering” (see Example 2.3).

The final *Chaconne*, then, might be read as a form of transfiguration, where the union of pastoral and heroic values ultimately displaces individual dissonance and cultural difference. Geoffrey Burgess emphasized the social inclusiveness which, when compared with the dramatic function of chaconnes in earlier *tragédie en musique*, characterizes the last dance of *Les Sauvages*. Generally assigned to noble characters exclusively, the chaconne of the *tragédie en musique* in particular would have seldom admitted shepherds and warriors prior to the 1720s, although the 17th-century exotic connotations of the dance must also be recalled.⁸⁴ Instead, Fuzelier conceived the last dance as a representation of social and international harmony—a *topos* of the *ballet de cour* in general, and the *ballet des nations* in particular. In the words of the libretto,

⁸⁴ Geoffrey Vernon Burgess, *Ritual in the Tragédie en musique from Lully’s Cadmus et Hermione (1673) to Rameau’s Zoroastre (1749)* (PhD Dissertation, Cornell University, 1998), II, 638.

L'Entrée finit par un Ballet general des Guerriers François & Sauvages, des Françaises en Amazones, des Bergers & Bergeres de la Colonie, au bruit des Trompettes, & au son des Musettes.

The *Entrée* ends with a general *Ballet* of the French warriors and the Savages, French women dressed as Amazons, Shepherds and Shepherdesses of the Colony, to the sound of Trumpets, and to the sound of Musettes.

Rameau's choice of the chaconne, however, had some precedent in this exotic context: for example, "Egyptians" and "Indians" dance the chaconne of Lully's *Phaeton* (1683).⁸⁵

According to an account by French writer Bricaire de La Dixmerie (1731-1791), the originality of the final number was such that Rameau had to provide the famous Dupré with indications of how to dance it. The chaconne consists in a complex rondo-variation form, in which tonality, orchestration, dynamics, and thematic material determine three different categories of music (see Table 2.8): pastoral minor (A), heroic (B), and pastoral major (C). Although the chaconne still relies on a varied ground bass, with regular 4-bar phrases or *couplets*, the grouping of these phrases has great fluidity: indeed, depending on what aspects the listener chooses to emphasize, the most basic groupings may include from two to four *couplets*. In Rameau's mind, such formal originality might have had a choreographic significance. If anything, the predominance of the heroic material and the substitution of the pastoral major where one might have come to expect the return of the pastoral minor (C1-C3^a) are clues to a program that culminates in the two last *couplets*, where the exact reprise of the pastoral major with trumpet flourishes and a *forte* dynamic possibly denote a world where binary opposites—military and *galant* values, war and peace—constitute one single, harmonious way of life. Perhaps this explains Rameau's choice of the chaconne to set this general ballet in music:

⁸⁵ Ibid., 544-5. From the 1620s to the 1660s at least, the dance could evoke Spanish or Moorish characters; Louis XIV performed one such dance in Lully and Bensérade's *Ballet Royal d'Alcidiane* (1658).

Table 2.8 — Overview of Jean-Philippe Rameau's chaconne in *Les Sauvages*

Section	mm.	bar grouping	key	bass line	ends on	dynamics	orchestration highlights	
A1	1-4	<i>couplet 1</i>	d	ascending	i	doux		
	5-8	<i>couplets 2 and 3 paired</i>			V			
	9-12				i			
	13-16	<i>couplet 4</i>			i			
B1	17-20	<i>couplet 5 and its reprise (6)</i>	D	I-V bass line, descending counterline	V	[fort]	trumpets, timpani	
	21-24				V			
	25-28	<i>couplets 7 and variations (8, 9)</i>		ascending	V			
	29-32			dominant pedal point	V			
33-36	I							
C1	37-40	<i>couplet 10 and reprise (11)</i>	D	tonic pedal point, or musette-like drone	I	doux	oboes, bassoons	
	41-44				I			
	45-48	<i>couplet 12 and reprise (13)</i>		ascending	I			
	49-52			I				
B2	53-56	<i>couplet 14 and reprise (15)</i>	D	descending	I	fort	trumpets	
	57-60				I			
	61-64	8-bar <i>couplet</i> (4-bar IAC)		chromatic ascending line, and I-V pedal	V		timpani	
	65-68			chromatic ascending line, and I-V pedal	I			
	69-72	8-bar <i>couplet</i> (4-bar IAC)		chromatic ascending line, and I-V pedal	I		timpani	
73-76	I							
A2	77-80	<i>couplet 18 and its reprise (19)</i>	d	descending	i	doux		
	81-84				i			
	85-88	8-bar <i>couplet</i> : antecedent and consequent (20), and its reprise (21)		varied	V			
	89-92				i			
	93-96				V			
97-100	i							
B3	101-104	<i>couplet 22 and its reprise (23)</i>	D	descending	I	fort		
	105-108				I			
	109-112	<i>couplet 24 and its reprise (25)</i>		descending	I			
	113-116				I			
C2	117-120	<i>couplet 26 and its reprise (27)</i>	D	descending	I	doux		
	121-124				vi			
	125-128	<i>couplet 28</i>	A	descending	I			
	129-132	<i>couplet 29</i>			vi			
	133-136	<i>couplet 30 and its reprise (31)</i>			I			
137-140	D		ascending	I				
B4	141-144	<i>couplet 32 and its reprise (33)</i>	D	descending	I	fort		
	145-148				I			
B1 (mm. 25-36)	149-152	<i>couplets 34-36</i>	D	ascending	V	fort	timpani	
	153-156				dominant pedal point			V
	157-160				I			
C1 (mm. 37-44)	161-164	<i>couplets 37-38</i>	D	tonic pedal point, or musette-like drone	I	[doux]	oboes, bassoons	
	165-168				I			
C3 ^a	169-172	8-bar <i>couplet</i> : antecedent and consequent (39)	D	varied (the last bar is a diminution of the ostinato)	V	toux doux		
	173-176				I			
B5	177-180	<i>couplet 40 and its reprise (41)</i>	D	descending	V	fort	timpani	
	181-184				V			
	185-188	<i>couplet 41 and its reprise (42)</i>	D	IV-V-I	I			
	188-192				I			
C4	193-196	<i>couplet 43 and its reprise (44)</i>	D	V-I-V-I	I	fort	oboes, trumpets	
	197-200				I			
C3 ^b	201-204	<i>couplet 45-46</i>	D	varied (the last bar is a diminution of the ostinato)	V	fort	trumpets, timpani, all	
	205-208				I			

less than a form of cultural or social universalism, the last dance performs sonorously the mythical reconciliation of glory and love which might have been traditionally associated with both the French monarch and the tragic chaconne.⁸⁶ The two last *couplets*, however, because they recall a musical segment just performed, do not provide a glimpse of an entirely new world so much as they transfigure the world as it was known: they complement it insofar as a new, mythical light emanates from the pastoral ordinary itself, illuminating it from within as the heroic pastoral.

In this regard, *Les Sauvages* ends where *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* begins, with the extraordinary institution of a transfigured ordinary. The opening chorus performs, in sonorous and verbal forms, the disruption of the ordinary by its opposite, the extraordinary; it also establishes a relation of commonality between the two ways of life: in brief, everyday life and exceptional times are paradoxically made of the same musical stuff, or so it appears in the opening chorus. In this regard, the piece functions like a play within a play. To the first audience of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, the music drama would have signaled a time of celebration. As a public event, it dissociated the present moment from everyday life. But Bach, instead of marking the beginning of the piece with loud dynamics and a full orchestra, wrote a soft, pastoral opening, first *piano*, and then even *più piano* (m. 7), with a thin texture for two violins, viola, two flutes, and continuo (see Example 2.5). Finally, but perhaps still startlingly, the music (m.8) bursts out *forte* with two oboes, three trumpets, and timpani entering with *panache* in a sweeping run (m. 8). Repeated with text, the music takes a more specific meaning, as the sonorous outburst

⁸⁶ According to Geoffrey Burgess (ibid., 582), “with only two exceptions, all the chaconnes and passacailles in Lully’s *tragedies* are celebratory and represent the restitution of order performed as part of a heroic marriage—the nucleus of the drama in which Gloire and Amour are symbolically reconciled.”

Example 2.5 — Opening ritornello of BWV 206/1

The rush of the orchestra through scales (mm. 8 and 13-14) results twice in the resounding of the tonic chord. The entrance of the trumpets (m. 8) initiates a new 8-measure cycle with tonicizations of the submediant (b minor) and the subdominant (G Major). There is also motivic continuity across the signals of disruption: the motivic material of the flutes and oboes (mm. 9-12, see example 1, labeled a, a', b, b') combines the motivic material of the two violins (mm. 1-2). The rhythmic formula on A (labeled c on example 1), first performed by the trumpets (m. 8), precedes the rush of the orchestra, seemingly initiating it. Despite its elision of the first eighth note, it recalls the flourished rhythm of the violins, the waves' murmur (mm. 4 and 6). Performed by the timpani (m. 14, labeled c₃), the same formula closes the second D-Major scale of the orchestra, and the ritornello altogether. The resounding of D by the timpani, the tonic in D Major and the dominant in G Major, functions as a point of attraction and anchorage, and substantiates the reverse articulation of G as the first degree in G Major and the fourth degree in D Major (m. 13-14). The ambiguity and its resolution, which had already appeared in the first part of the ritornello (mm. 2-4, example 1) is amplified in the conclusive measures of the chorus's first section (mm. 105-108).

5 c

Tromba I

Tromba II

Tromba III

Timpani

Flauto traverso I

Flauto traverso II

Oboe I

Oboe II

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Soprano

Alto

Tenore

Basso

Continuo

tasto solo

accomp.

p *pp* *f* *pp* *f* *pp* *f*

D Major: I — V/IV — IV — I — V — I — vii/V — V —

C Tpt. ¹⁰ **c1** **c2** ¹⁵
 C Tpt. **c3**
 Timp.
 Fl. **a'** **b'** **a** **b** tr
 Fl. tr
 Ob. tr
 Ob. tr
 Vln. I tr
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 S.
 A.
 T.
 B.
 Vc. 6 6 # 7 6 6 7₃
 I V⁶ I V⁷/vi vi V⁷/vi vi V⁷/IV IV V² I⁶ ii⁶ V I

coincides with the corrective “No” of the second line. The rivers loudly contradict their Arcadian appeal to the waves, causing instead “shore and cliff repeatedly [to] resound:”

<i>Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde!</i>	Glide, playful waves, and murmur softly!
<i>Nein, rauschet geschwinde,</i>	No, rush swiftly by
<i>Daß Ufer und Klippe zum öftern erklingt!</i>	That shore and cliff repeatedly resound!
<i>Die Freude, die unsere Fluten erregt,</i>	The joy that stirs our floodtide
<i>Die jegliche Welle zum Rauschen bewaget,</i>	And drives each wave to rush along
<i>Durchreißet die Dämme,</i>	Bursts through the dams in which
<i>Worein sie Verwundung und Schüchternheit zwingt.</i>	Both wonderment and shyness are confined.

As it is, the opening chorus both enacts sonorously and narrates verbally the transformation of the rivers’ courses, from playful waves to the swift rush of the flood tide. The piece reproduces the very disruption which *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* once instituted in the actual world. The sound of trumpets and timpani, in particular, coordinated these real and fictional worlds. On the one hand, it was the distinctive mark of public celebration and monarchical power—the actual event that gathered listeners together and disrupted their ordinary life.⁸⁷ On the other hand, it signaled within the ritornello and the chorus the same division of time into ordinary flow and extraordinary moments. The ritornello’s disruptive figuration occurs five times (mm. 24, 40, 82, 58, 102) throughout the A section (mm. 1-108), and can be recognized as identical despite variations in orchestration and figuration, based on one or several of the following events: dynamic markings (*piano*, *forte*) create contrast in sound volume; the flourish (or call) of

⁸⁷ The cantatas of Bach constitute a source of documentation on the semantics of the timpani. See indications on this matter in: John Cooper, “Timpani Parts in German Baroque Music: The Schlagmanieren Revisited”, *Early Music*, 27/2 (May 1999), 261-2; Charles S. Terry, *Bach’s Orchestra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932; reprint, 1961), 60-61; Pierre Béhar and Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe (1580-1750)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 721-42. Though trumpets and timpani were usual components of civic festivals or princely entrées, their presence still attracted special notice. On a different occasion, and speaking of a different work, Johann Salomon Reimer, in his *Chronicle of Leipzig*, indicated not only the place where the “*Drama* composed and performed by the Capellmeister, Mr. Joh. Sebastian Bach” was offered to “Their Royal Majesties,” but also the orchestral nature of the offering – “to the sound of trumpets and drums” (*NBR* No. 199, p. 197).

the trumpet includes repeated notes followed by large intervals (sevenths or octaves); the flutes, the oboes and the violins play in unison a D Major scale, *forte*; the trumpets, the timpani, the oboes and the viola start on a short upbeat, a rhythmic impulse which further characterizes the parts of the first trumpet, the timpani, the violins, the viola, and the *basso continuo* afterwards (mm. 9 to 12); and finally, the choir, articulating verbally the musical disruption, interjects “nein” at this very moment (mm. 24, 40, 82 – measure 82 is identical to measure 24).⁸⁸

While signaling the extraordinary, however, the opening chorus of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* also establishes relations of commonality between the ordinary and the extraordinary. Indeed, in the end, and despite all the commotion, the celebratory disruption that segments the ritornello reasserts the tonal center of the piece (see the commentary on Example 2.5). There is also motivic continuity across and within the signals of disruption. The musical depiction of the rivers’ flow, whether a gentle wave or a flood tide, clearly establishes the latter as a variant of the former. The rhythmic formula of the trumpet call itself, while signaling disruption, is not entirely without precedent: despite its omission of the first note, it recalls the flourished rhythm of the waves’ murmur in the violins, a relationship that becomes more obvious in mm. 13-14. The passages before and after the disruptive event share similarities: the ordinary conceals the extraordinary, and the extraordinary deploys the ordinary. In other words, if the musical celebration here disrupts the regular course of the rivers, it also brings to the

⁸⁸ As mentioned above, these signals of disruption do not all appear every time. In measure 40, the trumpets and the timpani do not join the orchestra: the chorus, the ascending scale, the upbeat and the contrast in dynamics suffice to signal disruption. But this omission highlights the significance of the trumpets and timpani in all other instances: in measure 58, while the orchestra sustains the dominant E over three measures, the first trumpet borrows the figuration of the violins in the opening bars of the ritornello, progressively expanding the width of the intervals, and this occurs again in measure 102, when the orchestra sustains the dominant tone A over three measures and the first trumpet expands in even larger intervals the figurative pattern initially performed by the orchestra.

forefront what was usually kept confined in their murmur. The political signification of Johann Sebastian Bach's opening ritornello and Jean-Philippe's Rameau last two *couplets* is clear: whatever or whoever the authority that regulates the Concert of Nations may be, it already belongs to the present world, concealed until someone or something calls it forth.

CHAPTER III

MUSIC IN DIPLOMACY, DIPLOMACY IN MUSIC: THE ART OF THE CONCERT

The Concert of nations as political concept and myth. The Concert of nations turns sonorous coexistence into a space of representation, discourse, and performance where musical subjects elaborate a concept of international coexistence. Predicated on relations of harmony, this concept does not necessarily preclude the thought of war, or even the legitimization of just war, as illustrated in Chapter I by the battle scene in *The Nutcracker*, Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg*, and Tchaikovsky's *1812 Festival Overture*. Indeed, in many instances, the Concert of nations assumes the resilience of an underlying harmony that can ultimately subsume conflict: it is possible to read the opening music of Bach's cantata *Schleicht, spielende Wellen, und murmelt gelinde* (BWV 206) in this way.

Puzzling contradictions in this conceptual elaboration, however, characterize the fictional process in which conflict resolves itself through harmony. The Concert of nations, as a symbol, can legitimize both domination and equality. It can symbolize a hegemonic pretension to ruling others' behavior, and the submission of its participants to this claim: recall the celebration of Louis XIV as the conductor of the nations' choir and the bringer of universal peace, and the similar construction of Damon, the French aristocratic officer who protects Zima and Adario from Dom Alvar's anger and jealousy in Rameau and Fuzelier's *Les Sauvages*. But the Concert of nations can also symbolize the voluntary submission of international actors to a moral norm, as enunciated by a mediator: such is the part of Pleiße, the river nymph who accords three river-nations with competing claims on the person of Friedrich August II aka August III, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland.

Moreover, every example considered in this dissertation elides the time of conflict resolution. It could be said that conflict transformation generally amounts to conflict transfiguration in these works: it is an event that gives new meaning to the music of conflict, imprinting a sense of direction in the tonal relations of enemies. This is particularly true of battle music, where the temporary erasure of tonal progress, at the same time as it signals the height of struggle, also “prepares” the triumph of harmony. But the same applies to Bach’s cantata or Rameau’s operatic *entrée*: in both these examples, the denouement occurs within the space of a recitative that immediately precedes performances of public festivals (namely, the *divertissement* that ends *Les Sauvages*, and the chorus that concludes *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*). Quite regularly, the restored harmony projects its participants into a new space that transcends everyday reality: the natural harmony of the Christmas Woods and the Waltz of the snowflakes in the *Nutcracker*, the depiction of a landscape transformed by the celebration of peace in the final chorus of *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, and the ultimate fusion of pastoral and martial affects in the chaconne of *Les Sauvages*. The Concert of nations is a political idea, yes, but it is also a political myth, that appeals to emotions and aspirations as well as to reason and observation.

As such, the Concert of nations constitutes an important symbolic resource whose long history—from 17th-century operas and cantatas to *The Contest of Nations*, the 1915 patriotic operetta celebrating the artistic superiority of the United States; from 16th-century *ballets des nations* performed in European courts, to the 1903 ballet filmed by Pathé and Edison—continues today in the expanding work of cultural diplomacy and the popular products of a globalized entertainment industry.¹ One finds a new elaboration of the Concert of nations, for example, in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (2005), the movie directed by Mike Newell, with a script by

¹ *Contest of the Nations, Operetta with Dances, Libretto by Frederick H. Martens, Music by N. Clifford Page* (Boston: C.C. Birchard, 1915).

Steve Kloves, based on the novel by J.K. Rowling (published in 2000). The fourth installment of the young sorcerer's saga merges the ideals of international cooperation extolled by sport (the "Quidditch World Cup" and the "Triwizard Tournament"), dance (the Yule ball on Christmas night), and in the case of the movie at least, music.² The geographical scope of this foreign world remains firmly circumscribed within Europe, but foreign students receive markedly different—and indeed in the movie, gendered—sonorous definitions when they parade into the dining hall at Hogwarts, the quintessentially British school. The "Beaubatons Academy of Magic," headed by the giant *Madame Maxime*, sends elegantly dressed young women who, to the pastoral sound of violins and flutes, conjure blue birds and arouse sexual desire (some camera frames imply a voyeuristic gaze). On the contrary, the second, all-male school, "from the North," embodies martial values in its display of virile force and raw energy: the marked rhythm of the march composed by Patrick Doyle structures the students' sonorous performance, with low strings and brass instruments repeating the same notes, and percussion pounding away until a fire-eater conjures a threatening eagle of fire. Social dance, however, accords the three nations on Christmas night. Much like the royalty at the Congress of Vienna, the champions of the tournament enter the room of the Yule ball to the sound of fanfare, and open the ball according to "tradition," with a waltz, the social dance that stormed Europe after Europe discovered it in Vienna.³ Gothic dress, mainstream rock, gritty voice, and sentimental slows, however, soon

² On the different discourses that informed modern Olympics, from liberal pacifism to patriotic competition, see Patrick Clastres, "Playing with Greece. Pierre de Coubertin and the Motherland of Humanities and Olympics," *Histoire@Politique* 12 (2010), accessed July 15, 2011, www.histoire-politique.fr. Jean-Marie Brohm has developed a strong critique of Olympic values as a lie that conceals and allows the economic domination and police-control of large populations, for example in "L'olympisme ou la continuité d'une idéologie totalitaire," *Outre-Terre* 21 (2009): 75-87. For a discussion of Quidditch as an analogue to war, a medium for social control, an exercise in collective solidarity, a vector of cultural imperialism, and a reinforcement of aristocratic privilege, see David Long, "Quidditch, Imperialism, and the Sport-War Intertext," in *Harry Potter and International Relations*, ed. Daniel H. Nexon and Iver B. Neumann, 127-54 (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

³ See Mark Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances: Outrage at Couple Dancing in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 27-28.

replace the music of the past as the contemporary soundtrack of universal harmony and the ironic background music for the sentimental despondency of the main characters, Harry Potter and Ron Weasley.⁴ The French and Slavic students, with their opposite moral characters whose defects the competition progressively highlights, leave a space for the progressive definition of Cedric and Harry, the two British champions, as fair-minded warriors. Through the actions of its champions, the British psyche reveals itself as a golden mean. Incidentally, the performance of the Hogwarts march and hymn is delayed till the end of the tournament. It constitutes the background music against which the rebirth of evil (Voldemort's resurrection) and the chivalric death of Cedric emerge as tragedy. The funeral eulogy of the fair-minded Cedric by the headmaster, Albus Dumbledore, seals the attunement of all in the remembrance of the British hero and the defense of humanistic values: "though we may come from different countries and speak in different tongues, our hearts beat as one."

Concept or myth? To what extent—the question ensues—can the Concert of nations effectively transform international relations? In this chapter, I examine this question via two cases in which music not only enabled transnational relations, but also served a diplomatic purpose among nations. These two cases are, first, the Congress of Vienna which, at the beginning of the 19th century, settled many European conflicts created by the fall of Napoléon, and second, as a case for comparison, the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, a youth orchestra which, each summer since 1999, gathers Israeli, Arab, and European musicians in the context of the Middle East conflict. In both instances, music (and for the Congress of Vienna, dance too) constitutes a transnational civil society that stands as both an experience and a symbol of peaceful international relations. While governments make these musical performances of international

⁴ Jarvis Cocker (frontman for the band Pulp) and Jason Buckle (*All Seeing I*) composed the three songs. Steve Clayton (*Add N to (X)*), Jonny Greenwood (Radiohead), Steve Mackey (Pulp), and Phil Selway (Radiohead) joined them for the performance.

relations possible through financial and legal support, they also impose a firm distinction in meaning between such performances and international agreements: in international relations, gestures, images and sounds do not have the binding power that the written word assumes (though, of course, here again, countries do not always uphold this word). In this context, the extent to which musical performances can transform international relations depends primarily on the decision-makers' willingness to carry the practices of sonorous coexistence into the realm of government—a willingness variably affected by their musical education, social position, and personal vulnerability to public opinion. In this regard, there exist two major differences between the Congress of Vienna and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra. First, where in early 19th-century Vienna many government officials were actively participating in the transnational society of pleasure, this is not the case with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, which mostly involves musicians with professional aspirations under the leadership of Daniel Barenboim. Second, the nature of the social relations developed in music is not the same, with respect to the two cases: the authoritarian distribution of power in the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra has been sharply questioned in recent scholarship and raises question as to the desirability of the model it might constitute for peace.

AN EXERCISE IN “SOFT POWER”: AUSTRIAN DIPLOMACY AND THE UTILITY OF PLEASURE⁵

From the Conference of Prague (1813) to the Congress of Vienna (1814-15). In a letter to his wife dated September 15, 1813, Russian diplomat Karl Nesselrode wrote of his and Metternich’s “iron will to maintain good harmony,” despite rumors to the contrary.⁶ There was, however, real cause for strife among the allies who were now waging a war against Napoléon. On September 25, Metternich discovered what Russians and Prussians had purposely kept from him throughout the summer: against all odds, England had agreed to take part in the peace negotiations Austria had attempted to lead in Prague.⁷ Metternich had obtained Russia and Prussia’s participation in the Congress in exchange for Vienna’s commitment to join the allies against Napoléon in case of failure. He had conceived the Congress of Prague (July 5-August 10, 1813) as the last chance to build peace among parties that deliberately sought war.⁸ Austria’s position as “armed mediator” could only be temporary: days were numbered by the armistice signed by the belligerents. The Congress, in the end, proved a fool’s errand. Alexander and Napoléon employed delaying and obstructing tactics; Metternich in vain called on Napoléon to satisfy the “duties of politeness that

⁵ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. coined the phrase “soft power” to designate a country’s “ability to shape the preferences of others” in alternative ways to economic or military might; see *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 6-10. The phrase is new, but the idea, of course, is not, and one finds ample illustration for it in past centuries. Nesselrode, who followed the Russian army in its conquest of Napoleonic Europe, took notice, for example, of the “pretty music” performed during the retreat from Plotzk (i.e. Plock, on the Vistula river) on January 25, 1813: “we seek,” he commented to his wife, “to pull the wool over the eyes of the Polish; we all must serve, *each in our way*” (editorial emphasis), in Comte A. de Nesselrode, *Lettres et papiers du chancelier comte de Nesselrode, 1760-1850: Extraits de ses archives* (Paris: A. Lahure, 1907), V (1813-1818), 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁷ Dorothy Gies McGuigan, *Metternich and the Duchess* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1975), 151. Metternich was informed by the English envoy (Aberdeen).

⁸ Henry Kissinger constructs a different narrative, in which Metternich contrives the Conference of Prague as a means: (1) to demonstrate to his Emperor the impossibility of negotiating peace with Napoléon, and (2) to establish Austria’s just cause in war; see *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-22* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin / Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1957), 62-84. Kissinger perhaps took at face value Metternich’s narrative of the negotiations, which aimed at proving *a posteriori* his foresight. On the Congress of Prague, see also Harold Nicholson, *The Congress of Vienna: A Study in Allied Unity, 1812-1822* (New York: Grove Press, 1946), 46-47; and Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 459-76.

are as much an obligation of one state with respect to another as they are upon individual members of society.”⁹ With England’s agreement to participate in peace talks, however, Metternich might have sought to further delay war, and negotiations might even have begun in earnest. The Tsar and the King of Prussia had precisely feared Metternich’s longing for peace, and his readiness to negotiate with the Emperor of the French. Even after Austrian armies had joined military operations and obtained, at least nominally, high command of the allied armies, England’s foreign minister Castlereagh still found Metternich too reluctant to use force:

It appears as if [Metternich’s] ears could hardly bear the sound of war, and that he is disposed rather to whisper than to din it into the ears of the nation. I wish I could see the Austrian minister rely more on exertion and less upon negotiation.¹⁰

On September 27—two days after the British envoy broke news of the Prussian and Russian deception, and less than three weeks before the Battle of Leipzig (October 16-19)—Allied sovereigns, officers, and ministers attended the Russian Guards’ festival celebrating the anniversary of the Tsar’s coronation. During the banquet, historian Dorothy Gies McGuigan reports, “choruses from all three armies sang folk and marching songs.”¹¹ In short, dissent dissolved, at least temporarily and for the sake of appearances, in a festive show of unity.

In times of war as of peace, social conventions veil political realities: harmony, here, was the mask the Allies put on for the benefit of the enemy, and perhaps first and foremost, for their own peace of mind. Banquets and ceremonies publicly renewed the commitment of each to the alliance. The passing drama of discord and pleasure performed in the last days of September 1813, however, is not unique: it illustrates a regular aspect of diplomatic life whose significance has not been properly assessed. Far from empty gestures, these festivities belonged particularly to

⁹ McGuigan, 97.

¹⁰ Quoted in McGuigan, 153.

¹¹ McGuigan, 150.

Austria's attempt to influence by pleasure rather than by fear; or in the vocabulary of today's international relations, to act through soft rather than hard power. They constituted a strategy in the policy of "equilibrium," which, in the words of historian Paul Schroeder, "defined a particular kind of settlement": "Peace and durable tranquility must arise primarily from persuasion and consensus, not force. (...) The equilibrium of Europe would likewise have to rest (...) on voluntary agreements and the deliberate acceptance of limits by all parties."¹²

There is a general uneasiness with social events in the historical and theoretical literature on international relations, due to the difficulty of documenting the substance of conversations, of evaluating the consequences of "informal discussions," and of assessing the significance of ceremonies and entertainments.¹³ In truth, this difficulty partially reflects a 19th-century bias against a diplomacy of pleasure that appeared to artificially perpetuate the *ancien régime*. In his memoirs, Chateaubriand—writer, journalist, politician, and diplomat—criticizes the official correspondence of his predecessors in the position of ambassador at the Prussian court, which he likens to 17th- and 18th- century anecdotal literature.¹⁴ His critique, of course, goes beyond stylistic matters, to focus on the very substance of diplomacy: "the time when scandalous adventures and petty intrigues meddled in affairs is gone." A quote from a letter he wrote to the minister of foreign affairs, Étienne-Denis Pasquier, in 1821 nuances this analysis:

*Je ne vous ai point parlé, monsieur le baron, selon l'usage, des réceptions, des bals, des spectacles, etc. ; je ne vous ai point fait de petits portraits et d'inutiles satires ; j'ai tâché de faire sortir la diplomatie du commérage. Le règne du commun reviendra lorsque le temps extraordinaire sera passé : aujourd'hui il ne faut peindre que ce qui doit vivre et n'attaquer que ce qui menace.*¹⁵

¹² Schroeder, *Transformation of European Politics*, 460-1.

¹³ For this observation, see Janet M. Hartley, "'It Is the Festival of the Crown and Scepters': The Diplomatic, Commercial and Domestic Significance of the Visit of Alexander I to England in 1814," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 73/2 (April 1995), 247-8.

¹⁴ Chateaubriand was ambassador to Prussia (1821) and England (1822), plenipotentiary to the Congress of Verona (1822), minister of foreign affairs (1822-24) and ambassador to Roma (1828-29).

¹⁵ François-René de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* [1849-50] (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), II, 47-48 (Book XXVI, Chapter 6).

I said nothing . . . , as would be customary, of receptions, balls, shows, and so on; I did not compose any little portraits or useless satires; I have endeavored to free diplomacy from gossip. The reign of the ordinary will return when this extraordinary time is gone: today, one must only paint what shall live and attack only what is a threat.

When Chateaubriand opposes the “frivolous” correspondence of his colleagues and the pleasure Louis XVIII and Charles X took from its reading, to his own “serious” letters, he also indirectly levels a charge of anachronism against the French monarchs. Accordingly, Louis XVIII and Charles X both misunderstood the spirit of their time: they not only remained attached to the past, but to a past that would vanish into oblivion. Chateaubriand’s 1821 letter reveals his own desire to prove himself beyond the reach of the ordinary: the “extraordinary time” he saw himself living in impresses an engaged character to the genre of diplomatic correspondence—literally, turning writing into a matter of life and death. In this regard, Chateaubriand’s critique of contemporary diplomats and the French monarchs recalls the frequent descriptions of Metternich as a man of the world wanting the qualities of a modern statesman. “Only trifles are serious for him;” Wilhelm von Humboldt wrote snappishly, “and serious business he treats as a trifle”—Chateaubriand might as well have penned the sentence.¹⁶ If Metternich and the Austrian court looked to the past for inspiration, however, their active promotion of aristocratic pleasures did not

¹⁶ This is the stereotypical image of Metternich; see for example Alville, *Anna Eynard-Lullin et l’époque des congrès et des révolutions* (Lausanne: Paul Feissly, 1955), 179. For an anthology of quotes by Alexander I, Talleyrand, Humboldt, Sir Edward Cook (Castlereagh’s adviser) and Gentz (Metternich’s own adviser and confidant), see Alan Palmer, *Metternich* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 131-2. Henry Kissinger sees in Metternich’s lifestyle a reactionary statement that symbolizes Austria’s destiny, in *A World Restored*, 8-9: “He was a Rococo figure, complex, finely carved, all surface, like an intricately cut prism. His face was delicate but without depth, his conversation brilliant but without ultimate seriousness. Equally at home in the salon and in the Cabinet, graceful and facile, he was the *beau-ideal* of the eighteenth-century aristocracy which justified itself not by its truth but by its existence. And if he never came to terms with the new age it was not because he failed to understand its seriousness but because he disdained it. Therein too his fate was the fate of Austria.” Dorothy Gies McGuigan (*Metternich and the Duchess*, 386-8) partly tackles this legend. She reminds the reader of Metternich’s “staggering” workload as both chief diplomat in the negotiations and official host of the Congress. *Pace* Talleyrand who could rise around noon, Metternich could be found at work early in the morning.

aim so much at restoring an equilibrium, as Henry Kissinger argued in *A World Restored*, as at imagining a reform of international relations beyond the rule and balance of force.¹⁷

Pace Chateaubriand, festivities remained constitutive of diplomatic life at the beginning of the 19th century—a reality that cannot be discarded on the basis of theoretical axioms, chastising morality, or teleological history. For all his professed distaste of social whirlwinds and elusive fashions, Chateaubriand himself dutifully offers accounts of the “mixture of duties, affairs, and pleasures” that seemingly characterized his embassy in London: “one could only meet ministers at court, in balls or in the Parliament.”¹⁸ Similarly, in his publication on the Congress of Verona (1822), Chateaubriand expels from his discussion of “affairs” what he terms “the less arid part of the congress and such things in which the public has usually an interest of curiosity”; he nonetheless promises this narrative in his forthcoming memoirs, and quickly alludes to the singers, comedians, and festivals that entertained the kings during their stay in the Italian city.¹⁹ In his account of his work as a diplomat, Chateaubriand wrestles to articulate two distinct narratives of international relations, the one regulated by morality and demanding a serious reader, the other driven by pleasure and satisfying a thirst for entertainment. Far from unique, this tension also informs two anecdotal works regularly quoted by historians of the

¹⁷ Force remained a major component of power and negotiation throughout the Congress, as demonstrated by the numerous threats of war covertly or directly enunciated. Diplomats at the Congress of Vienna, however, formulated other goals besides restoring a balance of power and securing the best position. In this regard, my work clearly benefits from the work of those historians of international relations (such as Paul Schroeder, Kevin McMillan) sensitive to cultural patterns and social transformation.

¹⁸ *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, II, 76 (Book XXVII, Chapter 3): “L’arrivée du Roi, la rentrée du Parlement, l’ouverture de la saison des fêtes, mêlaient les devoirs, les affaires et les plaisirs; on ne pouvait rencontrer les ministres qu’à la cour, au bal ou au Parlement.”

¹⁹ François-René de Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Vérone: Guerre d’Espagne, Négociations, colonies espagnoles* (Paris : H.-L. Deloye, 1841), I, 47: “Ne voulant parler que d’affaires, nous avons placé dans nos *Mémoires d’outre-tombe* la partie la moins aride du congrès et les choses auxquelles le public prend ordinairement un intérêt de curiosité. On y verra les portraits des personnages qui se pressèrent à Vérone, la comtesse de Lieven, la princesse Zénaïde Wolkonsky, la comtesse Tolstoy, le prince Oscar, etc., etc.” In the end, this narrative did not appear in the memoirs. Chateaubriand, compelled by his editors to accept a serialized publication his work, revised the text and, in 1845, deleted several pages dedicated to the Congress of Verona; see Maurice Levailant, “Introduction,” in *Mémoires d’outre-tombe*, I, p. XVIII.

Congress of Vienna, but seldom examined for the representation they construct of diplomatic life; both authors, however, make clear gestures toward drawing lessons from the stories that form the core of their work.

The kindness of Francis I, Emperor of Austria. Jean-Gabriel Eynard (1775-1863), businessman and financial adviser, attended the Congress of Vienna in an official capacity, as secretary of legation for the newly reconstituted Republic of Geneva, with the goal of securing an independent territory and its integration within the Swiss Confederation. Eynard and his young wife Anna, whose beauty attracted flattering attention in Vienna, kept separate journals. From day to day, Eynard develops a negative vision of the festivities. Eynard clearly recognized the Viennese festivals, balls and concerts as a diplomatic strategy, which he accounts for in his portrait of the Austrian emperor:

Aujourd'hui, l'empereur, dans le seul but d'éviter des maux à son pays, cherche tous les moyens de conciliation pour gagner les souverains qui sont au congrès ; il les comble de procédés d'amitié et veut les ramener par la douceur. L'empereur déteste les fêtes, il est malade lorsqu'il veille tard et cependant, pour plaire à ses illustres hôtes, il a continuellement assisté aux bals, concerts, redoutes qu'il ne cesse de leur donner.²⁰

Nowadays, the emperor, aiming only to avoid further harm to his country, is looking for all conciliatory means of winning over the sovereigns who are attending the congress; he lavishes friendly courtesies on them and wants to gather them in with gentleness. The emperor hates festivities, he is sick when he stays up late, however, to please his illustrious guests, he has consistently attended the balls, concerts, and *redoutes* he continuously gives them.

Pleasure, however, displaced duty, in Eynard's eye: his critique is that of a moralist who distances himself from royalty and high potentates. In Vienna, kings and emperors forgot themselves, which affected both their public image and their political judgment. Early on, Eynard

²⁰ Jean-Gabriel Eynard, *Au Congrès de Vienne : Journal de Jean-Gabriel Eynard*, ed. Édouard Chapuisat (Paris: Plon / Geneva: Jullien, 1914²), 333-4. This portrait reproduces an observation noted in the journal itself (*ibid.*, 190, dated December 7, 1814): "L'Empereur François espère qu'à force de bons procédés il fera changer d'opinion Alexandre ; je crois la chose bien difficile."

observes that particular interests dominated over the happiness of people.²¹ In effect, he argues, sovereigns followed the principles of Bonaparte's politics, based on the rule of force and conquest: necessity, not morality shaped the alliance against the French emperor, and this lack of morality prevented the negotiation of a just and perennial peace.²² Simultaneously, the sovereigns' focus on their particular interests transformed the Congress into a pursuit of pleasure that contradicted "royal dignity."²³ The Russian Emperor, Alexander I, is the primary target of Eynard's criticism, perhaps because Geneva's delegation hoped to rely on his word and support to reach its goals. The excesses of Alexander's gallant behavior became the outward sign of his incapacity to fulfill his part in maintaining harmony among powers:

*Cet Alexandre, qui avait un si beau rôle à jouer, s'occupe essentiellement de ses plaisirs ; vous le voyez à toutes les fêtes publiques et particulières ; il est toujours le premier au bal, le plus empressé à y danser et le dernier à s'en retirer.*²⁴

This Alexander, who had such a beautiful part to perform, essentially concerns himself with his pleasures; you can see him at every public and private festivals; he is always the first to arrive at a ball, the most eager to dance, and the last to leave.

In his observations, Eynard suggests a direct relation between a sovereign's ethics and his government's policies; indeed, in a note added to this portrait of Alexander before the Congress of Verona, Eynard sees in the emperor's religious conversion and his subsequent commitment to

²¹ Eynard, *Au Congrès de Vienne*, 53 (October 21): "chacun travaille pour soi sans s'occuper du bonheur des peuples."

²² *Ibid.*, 68: "chaque souverain cherche à suivre l'infamale politique de Bonaparte ; ils se disputent tous à qui mettra ses vêtements." Eynard also relates a conversation of Charles Pictet de Rochemont, one of Geneva's two delegates at the Congress, with Archduke Johann on January 16, 1815 (*ibid.*, 268): "Ils ont tous l'esprit de conquête, ajouta-t-il, et ces hommes qui se sont unis contre l'ambition de Bonaparte ont adopté ses principes ; personne ne pense à rendre les peuples heureux et l'Europe est plus démoralisée que jamais." See also Eynard's report of his conversation with Cardinal Consalvi (*ibid.*, 199): "Ils n'ont été unis que par nécessité."

²³ *Ibid.*, 186-7 (December 4, 1814, following an anecdotal report according to which Alexander would have sent his personal doctor to inquire after a dancer's health). Prince Eugène de Beauharnais apparently shared Eynard's perspective (*ibid.*, 246): "je désapprouve les souverains actuels d'affecter de n'être que de simples particuliers" (January 9, 1815, when Eynard and the Prince go ice skating). A few days later, Count Palffy, master of ceremonies, complained that the sovereigns had to make their entry in an almost empty ballroom because their presence has partly lost its novelty and attraction: "on est tellement accoutumé à voir les souverains, que l'on ne se presse plus."

²⁴ Eynard, "Portrait d'Alexandre," *Au Congrès de Vienne*, 329.

the Holly Alliance a guarantee for Europe's stability despite the "turmoil reigning everywhere."²⁵

Jean-Gabriel Eynard's critique of Viennese festivities, however, differs from Chateaubriand's dismissal of similar events. Eynard clearly recognizes the international society of pleasure to which he belongs as a legitimate space for diplomacy; indeed, Eynard visibly values balls and receptions as places for informal conferences and diplomatic communication (more on this below). His wife, for one, takes with infinite seriousness her part as an informal representative of Geneva, eager to "win the hearts" of potentates.²⁶ For Metternich's costumed ball, she embellishes traditional Swiss garb; according to her husband's journal, while most women elegantly ornamented their ersatz of peasants' dress with rich jewelry, Anna displayed a relative simplicity that singles her out and enhances her beauty.²⁷ Indeed, the couple progressively gained entrances to the most fashionable salons of Vienna, including Metternich's. Dancing a polonaise with the king of Prussia or Emperor Alexander at a court ball, she reminds them, indirectly or directly, of Swiss affairs and Geneva's aspirations; on another occasion, she informs Alexander of her husband's desire to purchase an estate in Russia to develop livestock farming, and easily obtains the emperor's permission.²⁸

Eynard's critique instead bears on the utility of festivities and the power of transnational values in diplomatic action. But the diplomatic attempt to dissociate the question of Geneva's sovereignty from the national interests of bordering states, however, yielded nothing: Austrian diplomat Johann von Wessenberg, arguing that Geneva belonged to all nations as a locus of science and instruction, hoped that a concerted request of all the powers would dispose the king

²⁵ Ibid., 332.

²⁶ Alville, 210; according to the author, this would have been her uncle's injunction.

²⁷ Eynard, *Au Congrès de Vienne*, 98, and Alville, 184-5, and 405 (note 94).

²⁸ Ibid., 210-4.

of France to agree with Geneva's requests—to no avail.²⁹ In the end, the Austrian emperor's diplomacy of kindness (*bonté*) stretched the government's economic resources thin, given the tremendous expenses engaged in entertaining foreign dignitaries for several months. Overall, diplomatic "inertia" increased the cost of negotiations for all powers: most governments, in order to lend credibility to a threat of war, had to maintain a large number of soldiers in active service, and keeping these soldiers stationed in strategic positions or in conquered territories directly affected the economic life of these areas. In this "inactive struggle," diplomatic conflicts resolved not out of conviction, but need—for want of additional resources to sustain inaction.³⁰

Pleasure in diplomacy: enchantment of politics, or obstacle to peace? Pleasure displacing duty: many read in Prince de Ligne's *bon mot*—*le congrès danse, il ne marche pas*—a similar indictment of Viennese social life at the time of the Congress. As already mentioned in the introduction, the sentence might not have been the plain condemnation of festivities which many have reduced it to.³¹ The recollections of Auguste-Louis-Charles La Garde-Chambonas (1783-1853) provide additional context. Like Eynard, La Garde-Chambonas not only includes portraits, descriptions, and narratives, but also claims to report conversations the author had in Vienna. The

²⁹ Ibid., 211 (December 15, 1814): "M. de Wessenberg, qui se montre toujours empressé de faire quelque chose en faveur de Genève, veut proposer à toutes les puissances de faire une démarche de concert pour demander au roi de France le désenclavement du territoire de Genève et son contact avec la Suisse. Cette démarche, qui serait une espèce de ligue européenne pour soutenir une ville qui appartient à toutes les nations comme science et instruction, serait bien honorable pour Genève et ne pourrait déplaire au roi." Approved by the Committee in charge of Swiss affairs (on December 21 and 23), the proposal results in a joint note sent by each power to Louis XVIII, via Talleyrand (who confirms its reception on December 29). The king's negative answer arrives a few days later (as early as January 2).

³⁰ Ibid., 302-3 (January 25, 1815).

³¹ Introduction, 5. Jacob Grimm, who attended the Congress of Vienna as secretary of legation for the Elector of Hesse-Kassel, mentions the *mot* in a letter to his brother dated November 23, 1814 in which he starkly criticizes the inefficiency of regular diplomacy, in *Briefwechsel der Brüder Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, ed. Heinz Röllecke (Stuttgart: S. Hilzer, 2001), 388: "Einmal ist jetzo gar nicht mehr die Diplomatie, woe s auf Aneccdoten und dergl. Albernheiten (wie dieser Tage der prince de Ligne sagte: le congrès danse beaucoup, mais il ne marche pas) im geringsten ankommt und den Vortheil haben wir offenbar schon erlangt: daß wir die schlechten Sachen, die geschehen, nicht auf schlechtem Wege gut zu machen hoffen dürfen, sondern einzig auf gutem, durch und in diesem Regewerden der Verachtung aller gewöhl. diplomat."

young, conservative aristocrat traveled to Vienna of his own volition and in no official capacity, having perhaps already in mind the memorializing of the Congress. A socialite with literary ambitions, La Garde-Chambonas admired the Prince de Ligne, and the first volume of his recollections reads as a panegyric of the old field-marshal, ending with his death and eulogy. In a footnote, La Garde-Chambonas reproduces a short poem the prince composed on the events of the day under the title *Congrès d'amour*.³² Love, having decided to give peace after a long war, summons the gods to Vienna where disputes focus first and foremost on the significance of dance steps. Venus, Pleasure, and Cupid silence Minerva's angry calls to reason. Mars, Hercules and Jupiter waltz in a costumed ball while thirty knights busy themselves with the *carrousel*. But at last, lassitude brings balls, games, and hunting to an end: Love then concludes the Congress and its *badinage* by enjoining the gods to give peace. Once again, it seems, the prince gently mocks the potentates, and their absorption in what he called their "vacations" from royalty.³³ Indeed, La Garde-Chambonas cannot help but notice that matters of pleasure too often obfuscate state affairs in the conversations of the *beau monde* gathered in Vienna.³⁴ Still, the very superficiality that constitutes the substance of his narrative and of de Ligne's poem is also the vector of political achievement. The Congress constitutes a moment like no other, outside of ordinary government, but its end does not consecrate Minerva as the bringer of peace. Love retains the initiative of collective action through and through, and with the almost intolerable lightness of banter, Love—not Minerva—enunciates the political imperative for peace:

*Que ferons-nous davantage,
Dit l'Amour? Donnons la paix
Et cessons ce badinage
En terminant le Congrès.*

What more will we do,
Said Love? Let us give peace
And cease this banter
In closing the Congress.

³² Auguste La Garde-Chambonas, *Fêtes et souvenirs du congrès de Vienne: Tableaux des salons, scènes anecdotiques et Portraits, 1814-1815* (Paris: A. Appert, 1843), I, 415-7.

³³ *Ibid.*, I, 417.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 100ff (politics as an accessory concern in Vienna's salons, except at Talleyrand's), 183-4 (the Congress as a gigantic reunion of pleasure) and 330 (the imperial carrousel dominates all conversations).

In the end, the poem remains ironically torn between the critique and defense of pleasure in diplomacy. Indeed, La Garde-Chambonas credits the prince with comments that would imply a positive reading of pleasure in diplomatic work:

*La diplomatie et le plaisir se font presque toujours la guerre ; à Vienne, on les voit se donner la main et marcher en compagnie.*³⁵

Diplomacy and pleasure almost always wage war on one another; in Vienna, one can see them hand in hand, walking as companions.

This hesitation between critique of and apology for the festivities confers to the recollections of La Garde-Chambonas the character of indecisiveness, if not outright self-contradiction. The opening lines highlight the focus of the book on the “heady and almost intimate aspect” of the Congress, as opposed to the “concerns of high politics.” Political discussions, however, and a certain impatience toward the length and difficulties of the negotiations, show through again and again. More to the point, La Garde-Chambonas follows the initial distinction between high politics and the private sphere with an appreciation of the Congress that effectively denies it. Pleasure, in this “political festival,” “absorbed everything.” Diplomacy expanded beyond the meeting rooms of secret conferences, to the salons, dinners, and balls where, after the Napoleonic war, pleasure also offered a ground on which to pursue politics by other means.³⁶ Exaggerating his point, the author radicalizes the enchantment of politics beyond what history would vouch for (indeed, La Garde-Chambonas does not provide any concrete illustration of the magical political settlements he evokes here with poetic license):

³⁵ Ibid., I, 38. La Garde-Chambonas uses another sentence as an epigraph for the entire work (ibid., I, 29): “le tissu de la politique est tout brodé de fêtes” (the fabric of politics is all embroidered with festivals). See also later (I, 421): “guidés par le plaisir, c’est au milieu des bals, des fêtes, des jeux, des carrousels que nous avançons gaîment vers le grand résultat de cette docte assemblée” (led by plaisir, we walk merrily in the middle of balls, festivals, games and carrousels toward the great result of this assembly).

³⁶ The sentence, of course, parodies Clausewitz’s famous (anti)thesis: “War is the continuation of politics by other means.” Clausewitz, in his posthumous opus on war, examined the dialectic between reason and emotion in the pursuit of war. The Prince de Ligne and La Garde-Chambonas suggested a parallel dialectic in the negotiation of peace.

Jamais sans doute intérêts les plus graves et plus compliqués ne s'étaient discutés au sein de tant de fêtes. Un royaume se morcelait ou s'agrandissait dans un bal ; une indemnité s'accordait dans un dîner ; une constitution se projetait dans une chasse ; parfois un bon mot, un heureux à-propos cimentaient un traité, dont les conférences multipliées et les correspondances actives n'eussent que péniblement amené la conclusion. À la sécheresse, à l'acrimonie des discussions avaient succédé comme par enchantement, dans toutes les transactions, les formes les plus polies, et cette promptitude, qui est aussi une politesse plus importante et malheureusement négligée.³⁷

Certainly, never were interests so serious and complex discussed within so many celebrations. One split up or increased a kingdom in a ball; granted a compensation in a diner; and projected a constitution in a hunting party; sometimes a *bon mot*, a happy *à-propos* sealed a treatise which numerous conferences and active correspondences would have only painfully brought to a conclusion. For the dryness and acrimony of discussions had been substituted in all transactions, as if by magic, the most polite forms, and this swiftness that is also a more important and unfortunately too often neglected politeness.

The second volume of the recollections, however, brings an unexpectedly grave conclusion to the narrative: the “festival of rest,” it turns out, constituted no more than an “entr’acte between two tragedies.”³⁸ In the narrative of the festivities, the funeral of the Prince de Ligne and the memorial for Louis XVI already allude to a *memento mori* art; they are solemn reminders of the sovereigns’ human condition. Symbolically, it is Napoléon who pronounces the conclusion of the Congress and has the last word of the book. The final chapter casts the French emperor’s clandestine departure from Elba, where the Allied powers had exiled him, and his triumphal landing in France as a wake-up call.³⁹ “Thunder” and the “noise of cannons” disrupt the “obstinate sleep” of Viennese high society; they interrupt the ball at Metternich’s, despite the best efforts of the orchestra to “pursue the melody begun”; and like at the theatre, the stage set changes in an instant, from the beautiful garden of the enchantress Armide to a desert. Along with force, however, reason paradoxically triumphs in the diplomacy of Talleyrand, whose salon

³⁷ La Garde-Chambonas, I, 8-9.

³⁸ Ibid., I, 9 for the first quotation and II, 498 for the second.

³⁹ This is all one reviewer finds worth remembering: “we can hardly repress a feeling of satisfaction when the arrival of Napoleon in France scatters for a moment the pageant to the winds,” in “Article X,” *Foreign Quarterly Review* 32/43 (October 1843): 195.

La Garde-Chambonas had already commended as a haven for serious conversation in Vienna, and who now succeeds in orientating Allied war goals against Napoléon rather than France.⁴⁰ In the end of these “recollections,” then “pleasure has run away,” leaving force and reason on the world stage.

The closing gesture, however, is no less poetic than the opening thesis. When La Garde-Chambonas published his recollections, he also knew that Napoléon’s return itself had proved no more than a hundred-day entr’acte in the comedy of the restoration. Far from an empty dream, the Congress of Vienna yielded a final act, signed on June 13, 1815, which laid the grounds of the post-Napoleonic European order. For many diplomats, a less ostentatious series of entertainments prolonged the high society of pleasure born in Vienna, gracing the Congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822). Why not, then, take Metternich’s critics at their word, and examine the festivities of the Congress with all the seriousness they thought he devoted to them? The documents selected from Metternich’s archives and published twenty years after his death include traces of Metternich’s attention to the symbolic program of festivities on at least two occasions: festivities at the Austrian Embassy in Paris, on the occasion of the marriage of Napoléon, Emperor of the French, to Marie Louise, the daughter of the Austrian Emperor, in 1810; and the peace festival in Vienna on October 18, 1814, commemorating the first anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. Another well-documented instance of Metternich’s purposeful celebration of harmony among nations is the official festivities of the Congress of Verona in

⁴⁰ On Talleyrand’s salon, see for example La Garde-Chambonas, II, 170ff., the day of the funeral ceremony dedicated to Louis XVI: “Tout y était grave comme d’ordinaire ; car les plus hautes discussions politiques y trouvaient plutôt accès que les fêtes et les plaisirs.” There are competing representations of Talleyrand as regards the diplomacy of pleasure: it is generally mentioned that he concerned himself with hiring a cook and a musician and finding an appropriate hostess for his salon prior to his arrival in Vienna. He would have also suggested to the painter Isabey to seek employment at the Congress (Isabey has remained known for his portraits of Congress participants and his participation in the planning of official festivities).

1822. These festivals display a thoughtful use of sonorous and visual symbols that highlight and shape the idea of harmony in international relations.

METTERNICH AND THE FIGURATION OF HARMONY IN CEREMONIAL FESTIVITIES

1810: matrimonial relations, international cooperation, and the path to glory. The program of the wedding festivities at the Austrian embassy in Paris aptly illustrates the international significance of this matrimonial arrangement.⁴¹ Music, punctuating the guests' parade with fanfares, choirs, and symphonies, sonorously mirrored the allegorical figures of the entertainment: the Muses, surrounding Apollo, sang in a choir, while trumpet fanfares complemented the choir in the temple of Fame in the company of Victory and Clio (History). In between the grace of the Muses and the glory of Fame, the guests circulated in a pastoral space. In the "alley of the waterfall," they could hear "a harmony" placed in the cave—music perhaps mingling with the sounds of nature. Under a canopy of vines, "ornamented with symbols (*chiffres*), flowers, garlands, and mirrors," Napoléon and Marie-Louise heard concerts of vocal and instrumental music, one in German, the other in French, along with the instrument "newly invented [*sic*]" by Benjamin Franklin, the glass *armonica* (here referred to as *glass-cord*, as it was popularly known), which might have elicited ideas of transcendence and gentleness.⁴²

In short, the pastoral interlude fused international and matrimonial relations under the sign of natural harmony. The program of festivities perhaps prefigured Metternich's attempt to restore

⁴¹ Reproduced as a footnote in Prince de Metternich, *Mémoires, documents et écrits divers*, ed. Richard de Metternich and A de Klinkowstrøm (Paris : Plon, 1880), I, 301-2.

⁴² On the cultural significance of the glass armonica, see Heather Hadlock, "Sonorous Bodies: Women and the Glass Harmonica," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53/3 (2000): 507-42. Franklin's invention dates from 1761.

Austria's independent sphere of influence in Central Europe, or it veiled Metternich's decision "to accept defeat, to surrender Austria's historic roles in Central Europe."⁴³ The wedding ensured, at least temporarily, the survival of the Austrian empire, at the cost of reinforcing Napoléon's hold over the Emperor of Austria.⁴⁴ At the same time, it signaled the French emperor's appropriation of traditional diplomatic practices and dynastic considerations: it symbolically normalized Napoléon's position within the "society of princes."⁴⁵ With the performance of German music, Marie Louise's foreign identity was carefully emphasized. The festivities' program cast the wedding as a bid for international cooperation based on a relative parity of German and French voices. Far from abstract and idealist, the pastoral interlude was only a way station toward the Temple of Fame. The Austrian proposal of international cooperation did not ignore Napoléon's concern with power, but offered him an opportunity to pursue this goal through harmony. The wedding festival subtly iterated what became the tenor of Metternich's policy until Austria's declaration of war against Napoléon in August 1813.⁴⁶

October 18, 1814: Peace Festival, Allied Victory, and the Glory of God. With the reversal of loyalties, from cooperation with France to an alliance with its enemies, Metternich also revised his definition of harmony. Soon after the first Allied conquest of France in 1813-1814, Metternich conceived of a Peace Festival in Vienna, where the signatories of the Paris Treaty would convene to establish the new order of Europe. The Emperor would pay the bills, but Metternich himself would receive the European guests in his villa at Rennweg, where he ordered

⁴³ See Schroeder, *Transformation of European Politics*, 407.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 406-8.

⁴⁵ On the significance of royal marriages and dynastic alliances in international relations, see Lucien Bély, *La société des princes, XVI^e – XVII^e siècle* (Paris : Fayard, 1999).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 465-6.

the construction of a ballroom. A preliminary program, apparently drafted by a general inspector of the Royal Academy of Music in Paris, appears in the *Mémoires et documents*:

2. *Ballon enlevant dans les airs un soleil d'artifice formé de lances à feu avec les armes des Souverains, au bruit des trompettes et tambours, pour annoncer le commencement de la fête.*

5. *Pelouse qui servira de théâtre : trois temples décoreront ce vaste théâtre ; le plus considérable occupera le milieu et sera dédié à la Paix ; les deux autres, placés à quelque intervalle, auront pour inscription : Aux Arts, A l'Industrie. Derrière ces deux temples, on apercevra une partie des fortifications et des habitants de deux grandes villes.*

La pantomime suivante s'exécutera au feu d'artifice. Scène première. La Discorde, escortée de divinités infernales et traînée sur un char attelé de trois chevaux noirs, parcourt le théâtre en secouant ses torches ; elle va d'une ville à l'autre et disperse sur sa route les groupes des peuples qui fuient devant elle ; des troupes de diverses nations s'attaquent ; le siège des villes commence ; des pelotons de cavalerie se chargent ; l'infanterie se mêle, les chefs se défient au combat singulier, le bombardement des villes continue, les créneaux des remparts sont renversés, les tours s'écroulent, un incendie général embrase les maisons, les femmes se sauvent emportant leurs enfants, et vont se réfugier dans les temples. Un bruit de victoire se fait entendre, des chants plus doux viennent frapper l'oreille, l'espérance renaît ; le temple de la Paix, fermé jusqu'alors, s'ouvre de nouveau : les divers habitants sortent des asiles où ils s'étaient réfugiés et forment des groupes. Ensuite, une marche générale où chaque nation est représentée par un officier général monté sur un char tiré par deux chevaux blancs et portant des drapeaux et attributs caractéristiques de chaque puissance. Ce cortège, entourant un autel élevé à la Paix, entonnera les chants de la Concorde et prononcera un serment d'alliance. Pendant ce temps, des feux de joie, tirés des deux villes, couronnent ce tableau et terminent la pantomime.⁴⁷

2. Balloon carrying into the air an artificial sun formed from firework spears with the insignia of the Sovereigns, to the noise of trumpets and drums, to announce the beginning of the festival. . . .

5. Lawn serving as a theatre: three temples will ornament this large theatre; the most important, in the middle, will be dedicated to Peace; the two others, at some distance, will have for inscriptions: *To the Arts, To Industry*. Behind these two temples will be seen part of the fortifications and the inhabitants of two large cities.

The following pantomime will be performed at the fireworks. *First scene*. Discord, accompanied by divinities from hell and carried on a chariot harnessed with three black horses, goes all over the theatre shaking torches; she goes from town to town and scatters on her way groups of people who run away from her; troops from various nations fight with one another; the siege of each city begins; cavalry squads charge each other; infantries run into each other; chiefs challenge one another to single combat, cities are further bombed, the ramparts' crenellations are knocked over, towers fall, a general fire sets the houses ablaze, women escape carrying their children and hide in the temples. A victory noise makes itself heard, gentle songs strike the ear, hope returns; the temple of Peace, closed till now, opens its doors once more: the various inhabitants emerge from the refuges where they had found shelter and gather in groups. Then, a general march where each nation is represented by an officer-general on a chariot pulled by two white horses and carrying flags and attributes

⁴⁷ Metternich, *Mémoires et documents* I, 268-270 (note 80).

characteristic of each power. This procession, surrounding an altar built to honor Peace, will strike up the songs of Concord and make a pledge of alliance. Meanwhile, musketry salutes, shot from both cities, crown this *tableau* and bring the pantomime to its end.

The program outlines at once an allegorical representation of recent events and a roadmap for the diplomats and sovereigns: the representation of war among nations and the misery it causes; the noise of victory and the softer airs of hope; the parade of the nations and their songs of Concord; and finally, the pledge of alliance. The image of the sun which opens the festivities firmly places them under the traditional sign of imperial or absolutist monarchies, but the sign itself has been turned into a common insignia of sovereignty, carrying the mark of the various European potentates. The representation of war carries no concrete references to actual circumstances. The identities of the two cities at war remain as abstract as the motives of Discord. Various nations oppose each other in armed conflict, but the “noise of victory” has no specific origin, at least in this draft. The military parade to the temple of peace, on the contrary, directly references “each nation and “each power,” with its “characteristic flags and attributes.” While the victorious parties remain relatively indistinct, special care has been given to signal the identity of those who sing of Concord and pledge themselves to an alliance. Music emerges from the sound of war like peace from the use of force, as the happy resolution of sublime conflagration. Both cities, then, though a moment earlier divided by Discord, rejoice in a victory that transcends enmity—indeed, a victory over enmity itself. The pantomime elides the time of diplomacy, or more precisely, denies diplomacy any purpose, since on the theater stage at least, all characters share the same conviction.

At the same time, Metternich’s personal claim to fame consisted precisely in his capacity to dispel Discord among the Allied powers. Symbolically, the Battle of Leipzig commemorated by the Peace Festival constituted a turning point in Metternich’s personal trajectory: soon after

the victory, Francis I elevated Metternich to Prince (he had been, till then, a count). The cantata composed by Jean-Emmanuel Veith (poetry) and Count Kinsky (music) to celebrate the Chancellor's return to Vienna in 1814 presented Metternich to his best advantage:

Salut (...) à toi dont la vigilance a empêché la Discorde, hostile à l'alliance des princes, de railler tes efforts et de déployer ses ailes!

Hail to you whose vigilance kept Discord, hostile to the alliance of the princes, from mocking your efforts and spreading her wings!

Organized by Count Palffy, the serenade, which also included Beethoven's overture to *Prometheus*, claimed for Metternich the status of a great man, and made it known beyond the event by way of the press.⁴⁸ The program of the festivities was also, in a sense, a program for political action. Metternich, in a letter to his wife dated June 3, 1814, dreamt of a soiree that would "breathe 20 years of peace," with "nothing military (...) but everything pacific."⁴⁹

While neither Anny nor Jean-Gabriel Eynard, attending the event on October 18, reported any of the proceedings outlined in the program, they both captured the decorative commemoration of the Battle of Leipzig: two rooms, the first decorated with military attributes, the second as a temple, preceded the ballroom and its dazzling lights. Following the traditional *polonaise*, the orchestra performed Russian dances before a dinner that primarily honored the ladies and the sovereigns.⁵⁰ Women, dressed in white and blue, the colors of peace, wore laurels

⁴⁸ The source for the information provided in the *Mémoires* is an article in *Der Wanderer* (July 23, 1814). See *Mémoires et documents*, 264-265.

⁴⁹ Unpublished letter, quoted in McGuigan, 365.

⁵⁰ Alville, *Anna Eynard-Lullin*, 180-82. See also Jean-Gabriel Eynard, *Au congrès de Vienne*, 42-48; and Gräfin Elise von Bernhorff, *Ein Bild aus der Zeit von 1789 bis 1835: Aus ihren Aufzeichnungen* (Berlin: Ernst Sigfried Mittler und Sohn, 1899⁴), I, 158-159. For historians' narratives, see McGuigan, 367-68; Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon & the Congress of Vienna* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 321-23; and David King, *Vienna 1814: How the Conquerors of Napoleon Made Love, War, and Peace at the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2008). The narrative of the Peace Festival has become stereotyped. When they pay any attention to the event, historians seem to take at face value the editors' claim in the *Mémoires et documents* that the program drafted in Paris was "carried out exactly down to the most minute detail." Jean-Gabriel Eynard speaks of the "magnificent music" that marked the sovereigns' arrival, but not of any fireworks and artificial sun. He also asserts that the sovereigns immediately began to dance the *polonaise*, which does not necessarily contradict the program, but certainly limits the significance of the sovereigns' stations by allegorical *tableaux*. There is no mention of the pantomime, neither by the Eynards, nor by the Countess Elise von Bernstorff, another Congress socialite; see *Ein*

while the sovereigns donned official and military uniforms. Indeed, military power remained a force to reckon with in the negotiations of the Congress of Vienna, and its display October 18, 1813, while ostensibly a gesture of thanks to God for victory and peace, also conveyed a reminder of Austria's contribution to the liberation of Germany and its capacity to engage in armed conflict. Whether or not the pantomime described in the program drafted the previous summer in Paris was indeed performed that evening, the final tableau perhaps inspired in part the grand military parade Emperor Franz ultimately ordered.

In his *Fêtes et souvenirs du congrès de Vienne*, La Garde-Chambonas left a detailed description of the military festival organized to commemorate the Battle of Leipzig and celebrate peace.⁵¹ The literary ambition of the author perhaps contributed to the embellishment of the author's memory, or perhaps sharpened his interpretation of the scene. Where La Garde-Chambonas recalls a scene of sudden and spontaneous religious communion, Jean-Gabriel Eynard finds an opportunity to reflect on the "slow sensations" and "ordinary apathy" of the "brave Germans". Singularly prone, in his journal at least, to draw conclusions on national characters from his observations in Vienna, Eynard compares the Viennese with the French:

Une pareille fête en France aurait occasionné une joie universelle, qui se serait manifestée par des cris d'allégresse ; ici tout le peuple était tranquille et silencieux ; on voyait le flegmatique Allemand se promener avec la même gravité que s'il allait à un enterrement.

Such a festival in France would have caused universal joy, which people would have shown in shouts of happiness; here everybody was calm and silent; the phlegmatic German could be seen strolling with the same gravity as if he were on his way to a funeral.

Bild aus der Zeit von 1789 bis 1835: Aus ihren Aufzeichnungen, 2nd edition (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1896), I, 158-159. If the pantomime was performed during the dinner, Alexander appeared significantly more interested in courting the ladies.

⁵¹ Auguste La Garde-Chambonas, *Fêtes et souvenirs du congrès de Vienne: Tableaux des salons, scènes anecdotiques et Portraits, 1814-1815* (Paris: A. Appert, 1843), 51-57.

Eynard ends his reflection with thanks to Providence; he finds the cause of Napoléon's original military success in the difference of national characters, and sees in Providence the ultimate author of his defeat. La Garde-Chambonas begins precisely where Eynard leaves off: in the intoxicating enthusiasm of the Allies, he also sees the unhoped-for triumph over a "giant of glory," outnumbered rather than defeated.

In his carefully constructed narrative of the festival, La Garde-Chambonas progressively weaves sonorous cues within the visual "spectacle," a merging of senses that culminates in a "mixture of war and religion"—a "unique *tableau* (...) that the painter's brush cannot render, a poetic and sublime scene beyond all description." Before surrendering to the ineffable, however, the author first describes the arrival of the sovereigns and the disposition of the armies in a double square. Force supports and guarantees peace: a tent, transfigured into a temple of peace, rests on columns that, in the Roman manner, bear weapons and flags like war trophies.⁵² The focal point of the festival, however, is the Catholic altar where the aged archbishop of Vienna, surrounded by his clergy, celebrates a mass of thanks. In a visual and political crescendo, La Garde-Chambonas offers an ever-expanding list of those gathered to attest their gratitude for their victory and peace: from the sovereigns and the soldiers, to "the empresses, queens, archduchesses," the "brilliant assembly, the crowd of soldiers, courtiers, horsemen, pages," the clergy, and finally, the "entire population of Vienna and its vicinity." Up to this point, the festival has been a visual display: the reader might infer the noise and music of the military parade, but as far as the text is concerned, no sound has yet been referenced. Noise then erupts into the mass at the moment of the Consecration, under the guise of a musketry salute to the "God of armies,"

⁵² French trophies, weapons, and flags, captured during the war, also decorated the banquet pavilions; see Ingrid Haslinger, "Parties for the Princes, Parties for the People," in *Denmark and the Dancing Congress of Vienna: Playing for Denmark's future*, ed. Ole Villumsen Krog and Preben Ulstrup (Copenhagen: Christiansborg Slot, 2002), 238.

initiating a physical and spiritual communion that transcends the division between participants—“all these warriors, princes, kings, generals, soldiers”—and spectators—a less defined, “huge crowd.” All kneel in silence, prostrating themselves before the Lord: “The canon falls silent: a religious silence succeeds the imposing rumble of bronze.”

In this regard, Eynard’s comparison with French festivals is pertinent. In effect, the Peace Festival mirrored the 1790 Festival of the Federation at the Champ-de-Mars in Paris, and the numerous Revolutionary and Napoleonic festivals held at the Tuileries.⁵³ One year after the taking of the Bastille, the *Fête de la Fédération* had celebrated the institution of a constitutional monarchy with a performance of civic religion and national concord at the “altar of the fatherland.” Charles Marie de Talleyrand, in 1814 the legitimist ambassador of the restored king Louis XVIII, but then the revolutionary chaplain of the nation, officiated at a mass of thanks surrounded by national guards, members of the *Assemblée nationale* and the Parisian people. On the same altar, La Fayette, Louis XVI and the president of the Assembly took an oath to the Constitution. Mona Ozouf, in her study of the Revolutionary festival, analyzes the social division inscribed in the spatial organization of the Champ-de-Mars, which confined the people to the part of spectators: in the margins of the field, they witnessed the oath which soldiers and notables took at the center of the ceremonial space:

The topographical disposition of the [Federation] festival stressed this separation (...). Around the altar of the fatherland was a circle of soldiers, around it a circle of notables. Around it were the people: they attended as the oath was taken by the first two groups and sometimes were bold enough to demand that they themselves should take an oath. Nevertheless, they had to demand it.⁵⁴

⁵³ On the Fête de la Fédération, from a musical perspective, see Adélaïde de la Place, *La Vie musicale en France au temps de la Révolution* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 156-163, and on music in public festivals, studied through the lens of Third-Republic historians, see Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music a Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2009), 107-134.

⁵⁴ See Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 60.

But Ozouf also points out the indeterminate, neutral quality of open-air spaces, which the circulation of sound could illustrate better than sight.⁵⁵ At the *Fête*, music still fulfilled the ceremonial functions it traditionally performed in aristocratic or royal celebrations. It brought order, accompanying the march and punctuating the various pledges.⁵⁶ It sanctified the moment with a joint performance of Gossec's *Te Deum* by the musicians of the National Guard and civilians from Paris. But more fundamentally, it made audible the unity of the nation. On the field of the Champ-de-Mars, music and noise, fanfare and chant, mass and song, applause and canon fused into one sound world. Writers competed in erasing the social division of sounds, and in particular the dichotomy between noise and music. One heard the "harmonious noise of concerts which the repeated yells of all souls formed."⁵⁷ "The mass," another recalled, "was then sung to the noise of military music and artillery."⁵⁸ In the narratives of the day, music granted the unity which the spatial separation between the various participants and spectators otherwise denied or mediated. After the king's pledge, in yet another account, "the air rang in the distance with cries of 'long live the king,' and applause, which together with the noise of the cannon, formed the most sublime concert one could ever hear."⁵⁹ After the sounds of the *Fête* had vanished, iconographic documents prolonged this sonorous metonymy of social harmony: in one engraving,

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 127-132.

⁵⁶ *Description de la fête du Pacte Fédératif, du 14 Juillet, fixée par la ville, avec le règlement de police : grande illumination* ([Paris]: Chez Garnéry, [no date]), 5: "Pendant la messe, célébrée par le grand aumônier de France, une musique assortie au local [sic] et composée des morceaux les plus frappants. Le célèbre serment de *Dardanus* ne sera point oublié... après le serment universel, grand *Te Deum* [de] la composition de M. Gossec. Le peuple et la musique chanteront alternativement les couplets. L'accord et l'effet en seront parfaits."

⁵⁷ *Confédération nationale, ou Description fidèle de tout ce qui a précédé, accompagné et suivi cette auguste cérémonie* (Paris: De l'imprimerie Simon et Jacob-Sion, 1790), 15: "au bruit harmonieux des concerts que formaient les cris répétés par toutes les âmes : Vive la Nation, Vive le Roi."

⁵⁸ *Extrait du procès verbal de l'Assemblée Nationale, Dont l'Assemblée Nationale a ordonné, par son décret du 17 du même mois, l'impression et la distribution aux Députés & à la Fédération Nationale. Du 14 juillet 1790* (Paris: Chez Baudoin, Imprimeur de l'Assemblée Nationale), 7: "On a chanté ensuite le *Te Deum* au bruit de la musique et de l'artillerie."

⁵⁹ *Suite de la Fédération Nationale ou Bouquet de Henri IV, Et avis aux Députés de toutes les troupes nationales & autres* (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Lailley & Garnéry, [no date]), 4-5: "À peine eut-il le temps d'achever, que l'air retentissoit au loin des cris de vive le roi, & d'applaudissemens, qui, se mêlant au bruit du canon, formoient le concert le plus sublime qu'il soit possible d'entendre. Le *Te Deum* fut ensuite entonné & chanté par tout le peuple, qui l'interrompoit souvent pour se livrer à ses transports & renouveler ses acclamations."

Cupid himself performed the drum call that brought together Louis XVI, Lafayette, the people and the soldiers.⁶⁰

At the Peace Festival in Vienna, then, the silence that Eynard perceived as a want of vivacity set the record straight for La Garde-Chambonas; the Peace Festival invested the ritual gestures of Communion from the Catholic liturgy with the compelling spontaneity, the “sudden movement” of collective emotion. Participants and spectators, unanimously moved, unite in the same religious gesture—kneeling, bowing down, falling silent.⁶¹ At the end of the religious service, sound, until then absent from the narrative, provides a clue for the interpretation of the event as the mixture of war and religion:

*L'office divin est terminé : les fronts prosternés se relèvent, le cliquetis des armes fait retentir les airs. Alors un chœur de musiciens entonne, en langue allemande, l'hymne de la paix, qu'accompagne un nombreux orchestre d'instruments à vent. Aussitôt l'armée tout entière et la foule des assistants mêle sa voix à celle des chanteurs. Non, jamais l'oreille humaine n'entendit rien de plus imposant que ces milliers de voix, qui n'en faisaient qu'une pour célébrer le bienfait de la paix et la gloire du Tout-Puissant. Cet hymne immense de reconnaissance et d'adoration s'élevant vers le ciel avec l'encens qui fume; le bruit de l'airain qui tonne, le son des cloches de toutes les églises ; ces souverains entourés de leurs brillants états-majors, ces uniformes variés, ces armes, ces cuirasses, ce bronze de l'artillerie, étincelant au soleil, ce prêtre en cheveux blancs bénissant du haut d'un autel la foule prosternée, ce mélange de guerre et de religion, formaient un tableau unique (...).*⁶²

The religious service is over: heads, bowed down, are raised again; the rattle of weapons resounds in the air. Then a chorus of musicians strikes up, in German, the hymn of peace, accompanied by a large wind orchestra. Immediately, the entire army and the crowd of spectators join *its* voice to that of the singers. No, never did the human ear ever perceive anything more impressive than these thousands of voices that formed into one to celebrate the wholesomeness of peace and the glory of the Almighty. This great hymn of thanks and adoration rising to the skies with the incense's smoke; the noise of bronze that rumbles, the sound of bells tolled in all churches; these sovereigns surrounded by their brilliant military staff, these varied uniforms, weapons, breast plates, the bronze of artillery, shining in the sun, this white-

⁶⁰ *Cupidon, Tambour Major National* (Paris: Printed by Driancourt, [1790]), in Kroch Library, Lafayette Collection, Cornell University, Box 178, Item 17.

⁶¹ On the participation of French clergy members in 14th-of-July celebrations till 1801, and on contemporary comparisons between Christian services and public festivals in France, see Bernard Plongeron, “La fête révolutionnaire devant la critique chrétienne (1793-1802),” in *Les fêtes révolutionnaires: Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand (juin 1974)*, ed. Jean Ehrard et Paul Viallaneix, 537-51 (Paris: Société des Études Robespierriennes, 1977). One aspect of this comparison concerns re-inscribing religious celebrations as a component of the social fabric.

⁶² La Garde-Chambonas, *Fêtes et souvenirs*, 55.

haired priest blessing the crowd bowing down from the top of an altar, this mixture of war and religion, formed a unique image (...).

The performance of musicians, far from interrupting this moment of collective communion, reinforced it: participants (“the entire army”) and the “crowd of spectators” remain joined as a single body, as a singular voice; from this perspective, the misuse of the possessive adjective “*sa*” or “*its*” to designate the voice of not one, but two subjects (the army and the crowd) amounts to poetic license. In an amplification of this process, the thousands of voices once again become one in the performance of religious devotion. In a final series of appositions, La Garde-Chambonas merges sound and sight (“this great hymn (...) rising to the skies with the incense’s smoke”), then the sounds of war and religion (the noise of bronze, the sound of bells), and finally the successive sights of war and religion merged into one image (the sovereigns, the white-haired priest).⁶³

Despite Metternich’s dream, then, the Viennese Peace Festival did not expel war from the international stage. It transformed military power into a principled force based on Christian religion and European harmony. The Peace Festival opposed the amoral “spirit of conquest”—what Jean-Gabriel Eynard saw as Napoléon’s political legacy.⁶⁴ But it did not rule out war. Indeed, the Allied Powers promptly resumed war against Napoléon—officially declared an outlaw—after his return to power in 1815. This is also consistent with Metternich’s efforts not only to dispel the perception that he had resisted joining the fight against Napoléon in 1813, but also to convey the impression that his policy intended to secure the material and legal conditions of Austria’s declaration of war.⁶⁵ From this perspective, the theorist of international relations who

⁶³ La Garde-Chambonas could have been referring to the simultaneous sight of armies and clergy, but the description of the crowd bowing down not long after all had already raised their heads suggests the merging of two different moments into one image.

⁶⁴ Eynard, 68 and 268.

⁶⁵ Metternich requested the destruction of letters dated 1813 from his confidant and mistress, the Duchess of Sagan; see McGuigan, xii: “It is clear now that she burned at his request only those letters of early 1813, so at variance with the late-in-life picture of himself he presented in his *Memoirs* as the farsighted nemesis of Napoleon.” The

assume that threats and shows of force violate implicit norms of the Concert may be misguided.⁶⁶ If this is the case, it follows that Realist critics do not disprove the existence or significance of the Concert of Europe as an international institution of cooperation when they point to threats of war and use of force by one of the participating powers against another.⁶⁷ What the resilience of power politics demonstrates, at best, is (1) that the concept of international harmony encompassed a representation of war as much as an ideal of peace, and (2) that the Concert of Europe did not prevent conflicts of interpretation, even on those occasions when it ultimately succeeded in securing agreement despite differences in worldviews and interests. The misrepresentation of the status of war in 19th-century international harmony has especially affected historians' understanding of the Holy Alliance.

November 24, 1822: The *Festa di Concordia*, or harmony under one baton. The Treaty of the Holy Alliance, signed September 26, 1815 in Paris, traditionally receives little credit in studies of international relations, on account of both its origins and its effects. The text bears the imprint of Alexander's sudden display of religious mysticism and spiritual conversion in the preceding months. Historians of international relations traditionally emphasize Alexander's transformative encounter with Julie von Krüdener, a self-fashioned, evangelist prophetess who proclaimed her faith in the Russian Emperor's divine mission. In its final version, amended by Metternich, the Treaty of the Holy Alliance establishes "the precepts of the [Holy Religion of our Savior],

Autobiography does not mention Russia and Prussia's impatience with Metternich throughout the Congress of Prague, and Russia's ill will toward any negotiation of peace; see *Mémoires et documents*, I, 160.

⁶⁶ Korina Kagan, "The Myth of the European Concert: The Realist-Institutionalist Debate and Great Power Behavior in the Eastern Question, 1821-41," *Security Studies* 7/2 (1997/1998): 19-21.

⁶⁷ Kagan, 51-57. Similarly, Dan Lindley finds that "the frequent use of coercion and realpolitik by the great powers of the Concert period undercuts the norm-based arguments of the optimists;" see "Avoiding Tragedy in Power Politics: The Concert of Europe, Transparency and Crisis Management," *Security Studies* 13/2 (2003-2004): 201. This argument oversimplifies both the definition of the norms discussed here and the relation between norms and practice. The process by which a norm compels one to a certain behavior is no less complicated in the case of states than in the case of individuals.

namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity, and Peace” as the norms of private ethics, public government, and international relations. The Treaty consists of three articles. The first defines the contracting Monarchs as “brethren” compelled to lend each other “aid and assistance,” but also as “fathers of families” and protectors of “Religion, Peace, and Justice.” Too often ignored, the second article redefines principled force as a “reciprocal service” among “members of one and the same Christian nation.” The sovereigns further enjoin their people “to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind.” The third and last article opens membership in the Holy Alliance to all Powers ready to “avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present Act.”⁶⁸ Historians have found more than one reason to dismiss the document. Edward Vose Gulick saw in its language a faux-pas that confused the “clichés of diplomacy” with actual “diplomatic conduct.”⁶⁹ Harold Nicolson, altogether ignoring the reference to force at the beginning of the second article, sees in the treaty the latest of multiple proposals to “renounce war as an instrument of policy.”⁷⁰ Paul Schroeder amplifies this reading when he describes Alexander’s conception of the Alliance as a “fraternal union between rulers and peoples banishing war and conflict from the earth.” To some extent, Schroeder argues, the Holy Alliance might have partially contributed to Russia’s restraint from using force on certain occasions.⁷¹ Kissinger concurs, seeing in the treaty the “ethical expression” of the newly accepted European equilibrium.⁷²

⁶⁸ René Albrecht-Carrié, *The Concert of Europe* (New York: Walker and Company, 1968), 33-34.

⁶⁹ Edward Vose Gulick, *Europe’s Classical Balance of Power: A Case History of the Theory and Practice of One of the Great Concepts of European Statecraft* (New York: Norton, 1955), 285-6.

⁷⁰ Nicolson, *Congress of Vienna*, 248-9.

⁷¹ Schroeder, *Transformation of European Politics*, 558-9.

⁷² Kissinger, 190. Regina Akopian extrapolates Alexander’s, Castlereagh’s, and Metternich’s distinct interpretations of the relation between the Treaty of the Holy Alliance and the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance signed on November 20, 1815, in *The Great Powers and the Establishment of Security Regimes: The Formation of the Concert of Europe, 1792-1815* (PhD diss., The State University of New Jersey, 2008), 198-204.

But, as the Viennese Peace Festival suggests, Alexander's religious regulation of international relations did not entail a renunciation of war. Nor was his concern entirely unique or new. In December 1814, Alexander had already suggested that Christian principles offered a substantive basis on which to prolong the "harmony of feelings and principles" that had characterized the relation of the Allied sovereigns in war:

*Pénétrés également des principes immuables de la religion chrétienne commune à tous, c'est sur cette base unique de l'ordre politique comme de l'ordre social, que les souverains, fraternisant entre eux, épureront leurs maximes d'État et garantiront les rapports entre les peuples que la Providence leur a confiés.*⁷³

Also impressed with the immutable principles of the Christian religion shared by all, the sovereigns, on this unique basis of the political and social orders, and in fraternity with one another, will purify the maxims of the state and guarantee the relations among the peoples that Providence has placed in their care.

A similar appeal to Christian Powers and a belief in shared principles had guided the Declaration of the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris on May 30, 1814, relative to the Abolition of the Slave Trade—a declaration ultimately attached to the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna (Art. CXVIII). Significantly, Alexander had prefaced his proposal of the Holy Alliance with his own ceremonial "mixture of religion and war" in a two-day festival celebrating his name day. On September 10, on the plain of Virtues (near Aubervilliers, in the vicinity of Paris), the 150,000 men of the Russian army paraded for the benefit of the Emperor's guests, among whom were the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Allied generals and ministers. After the performance of a mock battle, guests were further entertained with a large and sumptuous banquet. The following day, during the simultaneous celebration of a mass on

⁷³ "Notes du comte de Nesselrode, adressées le 31 décembre 1814 aux Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche, de la Grande-Bretagne et de la Prusse, contenant les idées de la Russie sur les moyens propres à fixer les rapports entre les États et à consommer l'œuvre de la Paix," in *Le Congrès de Vienne et les traités de 1815*, ed. Comte d'Angebert (Paris: Amyot, 1863), 579; mentioned in Kissinger, 188.

seven different altars, and under the spiritual guidance of Julie von Krüdener, “Ambassadress of Heaven,” Alexander publicly consecrated his armies to God.⁷⁴

The ineffectiveness of the Treaty stems not from its proclamation of peace as the purpose of international relations, but from a duplicitous transfer of sovereignty to an abstract “Christian Nation” that alone could legitimately use force as a “service” to a moral cause. The Treaty, indeed, does not establish any collective procedure to establish just cause for war. Instead, it conflates power and knowledge, most notably in reference to God, whose power derives from “treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom.” In the end, the Allied sovereigns, as “delegates of Providence,” remain individually responsible for the just use of force. The members of the Holy Alliance, then, have rightly been described as a European Areopagus: congresses between 1818 and 1822 busied themselves with establishing the justice of armed force against revolutionary movements throughout Europe. In the absence of either an authority or a procedure to determine a shared meaning of war, dissent yielded unilateral action, which the Congress of Verona in 1822 did not prevent. On this occasion, however, Metternich still endeavored to promote concord as a value in and of itself by inviting a European musical figure—Rossini—to the Congress.

Called upon as the “god of harmony” to restore good relations among the Powers, Rossini pieced together two cantatas from previously composed music, on texts by Gaetano Rossi. Rossini’s famous recollection of the event does not lack a subtle political humor. Pressed for time, Rossini could not avoid having a dissonance fall on the words “Holy Alliance” in his setting of the cantata—a misfortune that Metternich accepted with good humor. Conducting the music under the aegis of Concord, Rossini feared throughout the performance that the statue might fall

⁷⁴ McGuigan, 491-2, and Nicolson, 248.

on him.⁷⁵ What matters here is that one music and one baton symbolize the Alliance (which contrasts, for example, with the performance of both German and French music in 1810).

Hypotheses on Metternich's official and private patronage of Italian opera. Metternich's recourse to Rossini takes place in what might have been a consistent, lifelong engagement with Italian opera music, of which one finds traces in his published correspondence and in the scholarly literature: on October 9, 1814, Metternich "suggested to Emperor Francis that La Scala in Milan might be subsidized by the Austrian state so as to show the Italians how their new masters appreciated their cultural heritage"—to no avail; on April 8, 1822, the Chancellor took credit for introducing Italian opera to Vienna and rejoiced in the happy relief from work which the rehearsals of Rossini's opera brought to him; Italian singers and musicians visiting Vienna appeared at Metternich's private concerts until the 1840s, and indeed, a large majority of the musicians listed in the index of the *Mémoires et documents* are Italian; after rumors of Donizetti's fatal illness had reached Vienna, Metternich also sought to protect the financial interests of the composer who had been named Kapellmeister at the Imperial Court in 1842; and till the end of his life, he hoped Rossini would return to composition.⁷⁶

A further clue to the political meaning Metternich assigned to his musical passion consists in his corollary deprecation of German music. On July 27, 1822, Metternich disparaged the taste for German opera as an illusory pretense of radical ideology:

⁷⁵ Herbert Weinstock, *Rossini: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1968), 124-127. Irby C. Nichols, Jr. misdates the performance and consistently misspells "cantata" in *The European Pentarchy and the Congress of Verona, 1822* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), 78-79. The three drafts of Rossi's libretto for the *Sacra Alleanza* are reproduced in Vittorio Cavazzocca Mazzanti, "Rossini a Verona durante il Congresso del 1822," *Atti e Memorie Dell'Accademia di Agricoltura Scienze e Lettere di Verona* IV/24 (1923): 53-112. For a general account of Rossini's relation with Metternich, see Bernd Rüdiger Kern, "Rossini e Metternich," *Bullettino del Centro Rossiniano di Studi* XXXIX (1999): 5-20.

⁷⁶ Palmer, 136; *Mémoires et documents*, III, 540.

C'est une chose remarquable que l'esprit faux et le mauvais goût marchent toujours de pair ; c'est ainsi que tous les mécontents professent l'horreur de la musique italienne. En Allemagne, on dispute sans fin sur la question de savoir, de la musique allemande ou de la musique italienne, laquelle mérite notre préférence. Notre pays même donne dans ce travers. Les frontières d'un État n'arrêtent jamais les épidémies, de même qu'elles n'arrêtent ni la science ni les idées. Or il existe ici une minorité qui voudrait se faire passer pour la majorité, qui est libérale, radicale, et doctrinaire, et qui, par suite, déteste aussi le chant italien. On devrait donc s'attendre à voir cette minorité courir à l'opéra allemand ; mais il n'en est rien. Elle recommande des choses dont elle se moque, et le théâtre reste vide. Ces avocats du diable sont toujours les dupes de leurs propres systèmes (et ce sont encore les plus honnêtes), ou bien ils cherchent à tromper les autres ; et c'est là le plus grand nombre.⁷⁷

It's a remarkable thing that wrong ideas and bad taste go hand in hand; hence, all the malcontents profess their horror of Italian music. In Germany, one disputes endlessly whether German or Italian music deserves our preference. Even our country lapses into this debate. Just as the borders of states never stop epidemics, so they do not stop the spread of either science or ideas. But there exists here a minority that would like to pass itself off as the majority, which is liberal, radical, and dogmatic, and which, consequently, also hates Italian singing. One would then expect this minority to rush to the German opera, but this is not the case at all. It recommends things it does not care for, and the theatre remains empty. These devil's advocates are always fooled by their own systems (and those are still the most honest), or else they aim at deceiving others—those make the largest number.

From this perspective, the quasi-absence of a relationship between Beethoven and Metternich is also remarkable, especially if one takes into account Metternich's attention to musical icons of political harmony. Beethoven's music received some attention in Metternich's circles: the serenade performed to celebrate his return to Vienna in 1814 featured the *Prometheus* overture, and "Beethoven's most recently published trios" were heard in Metternich's salon in the Spring of 1822.⁷⁸ The apparent absence of relations between Vienna's prominent composer and a preeminent court official is as puzzling as his investment in and partiality for Italian opera music.

If German opera music symbolized an intellectual and aesthetic corruption, what place, then, did Italian music hold in Metternich's perception of international relations? Several hypotheses come to mind, which further research in Metternich's archives could perhaps support.

⁷⁷ *Mémoires et documents*, III, 553.

⁷⁸ Weinstock, 122.

First, Metternich's cultural policy arises within the context of the empire's territorial expansion in Italy; it is the counterpart to repression in the struggle against revolutionary and liberation movements in the peninsula. In this regard, Metternich's cultural policy would have impeded a direct assimilation of the Austrian court into a German identity and the harnessing of German nationalism to reinforce a hegemonic position increasingly challenged by Prussia. Beethoven's public allegiance to the German idea, while it might have ingratiated him with a fragment of Viennese political leaders, would have run counter to Metternich's efforts. From this perspective, one might wonder, once more, to what extent Viennese social and musical life prolonged conflicts among political competitors (Metternich, Stadion, Schwarzenberg, as regards internal politics, but also the Prussian, Russian, and French courts during the Congress of Vienna): did Beethoven take sides, consciously or involuntarily?

A second hypothesis regarding Metternich's investment in Italian opera speaks to the Chancellor's perception of European politics as a conflict between revolutionary movements and aristocratic order. Italian opera in the beginning of the 19th century constituted an unlikely common ground for such paragons of constitutional liberalism and conservatism as Lafayette and Metternich.⁷⁹ At the beginning of the 1840s, opera composer Gaetano Donizetti symbolized this accord of opposites: securing financial security as *Hofkapellmeister* at the Imperial Court despite his sympathies with revolutionaries, but upholding his Italian allegiance as solid ground for declining an invitation to apply for citizenship in France and a seat at the *Institut*.⁸⁰ More to the point, Donizetti might be said to have composed this accord of opposites in such operas as *La*

⁷⁹ See for example Lafayette's support to the famous Malibran, see Lloyd Kramer, *Lafayette in Two Worlds: Public Cultures and Personal Identities in an Age of Revolutions* (Chapel Hill/London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 129-134. In her journal, Metternich's second wife sums up her perception of Lafayette on May 24, 1834: "Lafayette est mort—trop tard pour le monde" (Lafayette is dead—too late for the world); in *Mémoires et documents*, V, 575.

⁸⁰ John Stewart Allitt, "Aspects of Donizetti's Letters Written In Vienna," in *Donizetti in Wien* (*Musikwissenschaftliches Symposium, 17.-18. Oktober 1997*), ed. Leopold M. Kantner (Wien: Praesens, 1998), 4 and 11. On Donizetti's appointment also William Ashbrook, 171.

Fille du Régiment and *Linda di Chamounix*, which respectively received acclaim in Paris and Vienna. Both works stage the reconciliation of aristocracy and commoners in the successful union of two lovers separated by their social positions. In *La Fille du Régiment*, the Marquise of Birkenfeld ultimately gives her consent to the marriage of her illegitimate daughter Marie to an Italian commoner who has proved his valor in the ranks of the French army. In *Linda di Chamounix*, a score Donizetti dedicated to the Austrian empress, a reverse situation provides a similar lesson; the libretto is by Gaetano Rossi, from whom the text of the cantatas performed at the Congress of Verona had been commissioned. In this opera, the Visconte di Sirval renounces a marriage of convention in Paris to wed Linda, a young woman who has grown up in a modest, rural environment but proves the nobility of her character in the trials she faces in Paris. In both cases, the sensitivity to moral excellence opens the gate to familial reunion and social reconciliation.

HIGH SOCIETY, OR THE SECOND SPHERE OF DIPLOMACY AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

In Vienna, social events allowed for a breach of decorum, in which all the participants mingled without regard to their ranks. Royalty could partially relinquish the solemnity of its distinction, and mingled with members of the aristocracy, high bourgeoisie, and even, on some occasion, petite bourgeoisie.⁸¹ Other societal norms, however, governed these festivities and the

⁸¹ See *La Garde-Chambronas*, I, 438-40 (the salon of the rich banker Arnstein); II, 98-99 (the sovereigns make a brief appearance in the public ball organized by Sidney Smith as a fundraising event for the purchase and liberation of white slaves in Arab countries); and II, 135ff. (balls of the Apollosaal where “kings, generals, bourgeois, statesmen, craftsmen, and working-class girls mingle in the freedom of incognito). For Eynard’s critique of this aspect of Viennese life, see above, 202. See also Otto Biba, “The Congress of Vienna and Music,” in *Denmark and the Dancing Congress of Vienna: Playing for Denmark’s Future*, ed. by Ole Villumsen Krog and Preben Ulstrup (Copenhagen, Denmark: Christiansborg Slot, 2002), 200-2.

transnational high society that came to life on such occasions. In this context, rules of politeness and friendship, but also distaste and argument structured and informed the performance of the Concert of nations. In short, the Viennese society of pleasure could constitute a vector for disseminating international norms of behavior distinct from the rule of force.

The process evokes the theorization of court and public *divertissements* as a source of the king's power, particularly in the memoirs of Louis XIV. The reference to the Sun King is not out of place in discussing the Congress of Vienna. In a program of lessons prepared for the sons of the Austrian Emperor in 1825, Metternich precisely dated the development of politics and diplomacy into a science to the era of Richelieu and Louis XIV.⁸² 17th-century *divertissements* constituted a model to emulate for the organization and performance of the carrousel by the Imperial court's Festivals Committee.⁸³ Costumes made the debt explicitly apparent in this instance as in the case of an Elizabethan-themed ball at Lord Stewart's; the dresses of the *belles d'amour*, the ladies whom the horsemen represented in the arena, alluded to 16th- and 17th-century fashion, while other costumes reproduced dress codes from the reigns of François I and Louis XIII.⁸⁴

This society of pleasures, applied to the realm of international relations, emerged in a context where no authority could seek and exert a monopoly of coercion.⁸⁵ High society, then, could not command a cosmopolitan allegiance that would consistently trump nations' interests, any more than dynastic policies and matrimonial diplomacy had in the past.⁸⁶ For the reader's

⁸² *Mémoires et documents*, IV, 261-3.

⁸³ La Garde-Chambonas, I, 83, reporting on a conversation in a salon: "on consultait toutes les descriptions imprimées et gravées des carrousels si célèbres de Louis XIV."

⁸⁴ On Lord Stewart's ball, see La Garde-Chambonas, II, 238-40.

⁸⁵ Louis XIV, *Mémoires pour l'instruction du Dauphin* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1992), 135.

⁸⁶ Matthew Rendall invalidates the idea of a cosmopolitan allegiance in "Cosmopolitanism and Russian Near Eastern Policy, 1821-41: Debunking A Historical Canard," in *Das europäische Mächtekonzept: Friedens- und Sicherheitspolitik vom Wiener Kongreß 1815 bis zum Krimkrieg 1853*, ed. Wolfram Pyta, 237-55 (Köln: Böhlau, 2009). Bély, *société des princes*, 18-19.

benefit, La Garde-Chambonas reasserts his French loyalty at the end of his opus, perhaps betraying his perception of national identity as the contemporary dominant norm at the time of the publication: his intimacy with foreigners, the writer asserts, has “not blinded him.”⁸⁷ In this regard, Metternich, while maintaining a distinction between the particular and general interests of states, also established the “society of nations” as constitutive of the modern condition. In theory then, social rules provided the conceptual basis for international relations.⁸⁸ Music and dance, in this context, offered a safe experience and prefiguration of *bons procédés* in the shared performance of national differences and their coexistence.

Informal diplomacy. Music, dance, theatre, social games, and dinners offered pretexts to pursue negotiations outside diplomatic conferences, and in certain cases, to establish direct contacts between sovereigns and diplomats (sovereigns did not generally take part in diplomatic conferences). High society and its entertainments formed a “second arena of diplomacy,” to borrow a phrase by Dorothy Gies McGuigan.⁸⁹ It offered a forum where one could deliberately leak secrets in order to influence the behavior of certain governments, and where one could

⁸⁷ La Garde-Chambonas, II, 500: “Qu’on ne croie pas cependant que j’en sois moins resté français de cœur et de pensée. Oui, j’ai vu tous ces hommes de pays divers, j’ai vécu avec eux dans cette facile intimité du moment, j’ai rendu justice à leur caractère, à leurs talents. Mais jamais cette appréciation, que je crois encore très légitime, ne m’a aveuglé.”

⁸⁸ Metternich, *The Autobiography, 1773-1815* (Welwyn Garden City, UK: Ravenhall Books, 2004), 36-37: “The fundamental rule of every human fraternity, applied to the state, means in the political world reciprocity, and its effects is what in the language of diplomacy is called *bons procédés*, in other words, mutual consideration and honorable conduct.”

⁸⁹ McGuigan, 333: “The political work of the Congress was by no means separate from the Congress festivals but was rather imbedded in them. The parties were a second arena of diplomacy where the discussions of the conference table often continued in a casual and informal setting. Important talk could continue around a dinner table, or in a corner of a salon where teacups tinkled and fans swished. Opinions might be elaborated and arguments marshaled under the palm trees in a conservatory with the lilting measures of the latest waltz floating in from a nearby dance floor. More than once crucial documents were exchanged and read under the light of a candelabrum in the corner of a crowded ballroom. And since the sovereigns appeared at many of the festivals as private persons, it was quite possible to approach and talk with them informally, foregoing all the complications of appointment and protocol.” Otto Biba paints a similar landscape: “There were entertainments and events of the greatest variety, enabling the negotiating parties to get to know one another personally, dispel jealousy and suspicion, resolve old political disputes, provide relaxation after negotiations, and keep the many inquisitive visitors busy,” in Biba, “The Congress of Vienna and Music,” 200.

discreetly test the ground and prepare for shifts in official positions. The history of negotiations, hence, must extend to these sparsely documented conversations as much as possible. The negotiations on the Polish-Saxon question are a case in point. Alexander I sought to reconstitute a Polish kingdom under Russian protection, and had agreed to support Prussia's extension in Saxony. France, the Austrian empire, and in the end, England opposed this settlement both on the basis of principle and self-defense: Talleyrand advocated the respect of dynastic legitimacy over the right of conquest, while most diplomats grew increasingly concerned with Russia's expansion into Western Europe.⁹⁰ Conversations continued from evening to evening, progressively shifting the terms of disagreement from a political disagreement to a personal antagonism between Metternich and Alexander I. On October 22, Metternich showed his draft of a memorandum about the Saxon question to Castlereagh at Zichy's ball, and the following night, the Tsar harangued Talleyrand and Castlereagh at the palace ball.⁹¹ Leaving Vienna on October 24 with Francis I for a visit to Hungary, Alexander vainly solicited Metternich's dismissal from his Austrian counterpart.⁹² A few days later, on October 30, at a masked *redoute*, Metternich claimed an attempt was made to bribe him, ostensibly in the name of the Tsar.⁹³ By mid-December, the Tsar had come close to challenging Metternich to a duel—the equivalent to a declaration of war in the sphere of individuals.⁹⁴ Both men demonstratively ignored each other when attending social events, and Alexander refused to attend Metternich's balls well into January 1815. Their relation did not return to normal until Napoléon's return to the continent (on March 1st) compelled them again into close cooperation.

⁹⁰ For a summary of the Polish-Saxon question, see Nicolson, *Congress of Vienna*, 148-81, and Schroeder, *Transformation of European Politics*, 523-38.

⁹¹ McGuigan, 373-4.

⁹² Palmer, 138.

⁹³ McGuigan, 391.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 415-6.

In the arena of high society, the conflict between Alexander and Metternich consisted in discrediting diplomats as decision-makers via a critique of the artificiality and duplicity of transnational social norms. On October 18, 1814 (the festivities of the day have been discussed in some detail above), Alexander, addressing successively Princess Esterházy and Count Razumovsky in such a manner that Archduke Ferdinand overheard him, publicly undermined the significance of Metternich's Peace Ball. He indicated his conviction that the military and religious festival should have sufficed on its own, and furthermore regretted the hypocrisy which diplomacy introduced to the ball.⁹⁵ Alexander's strategy quickly proved harmful to his own image; by November 11, Castlereagh described the Tsar as "another Bonaparte" in a letter to Liverpool.⁹⁶ In the end, Alexander partially bowed to the requisites of diplomatic performances in high society. At the ball given by Count Zichy on New Year's Eve in the presence of the sovereigns, Alexander's dance partner temporarily interrupted a polonaise to speak "as Europe's translator in favor of maintaining the general peace and for the union of all people;" Alexander gallantly answered he had no other wish and would spare no sacrifice for this purpose.⁹⁷ The dancers resumed the polonaise after, according to La Garde-Chambonas, a feminine ovation.

In this situation, festivities offered a window on secret negotiations, albeit an imperfect one, not only vulnerable to disinformation, but also to deformation.⁹⁸ Even at the apex of Alexander and Metternich's public enmity, diplomatic business continued in the closed

⁹⁵ Commandant Maurice-Henri Weil, *Les Dessous du Congrès de Vienne* (Paris: Payot, 1917), I, 339 (No. 457). Metternich took a posthumous revenge when he described the distance between the direction of his cultured mind and Alexander's "bourgeois" instincts. Disingenuously praising the "simple and pure tastes" of the Russian Emperor, Metternich noted his absence of interest in sciences, his limited interest in the fine arts, and his incapacity to appreciate the liberal arts because of his difficulties in hearing and seeing (see *Mémoires et documents*, I, 318, and 321-2). Metternich does not say a word of the Tsar's successes in Viennese ballrooms. La Garde-Chambonas (I, 283) also mentions on one occasion the Russian emperor's and the Austrian empress's difficulties of hearing.

⁹⁶ Quoted in Nicolson, *Congress of Vienna*, 175.

⁹⁷ La Garde-Chambonas, II, 74.

⁹⁸ In this regard, the descriptions of La Garde-Chambonas (I, 302-4) are directly corroborated by the journals of Friedrich Gentz and Jean-Gabriel Eynard (for Eynard, see for example, 84, 146, 157, 222 and 228, among others).

committees that constituted the first arena of diplomacy, while theatres and conversationalists indifferently represented the nations in concert.⁹⁹ Anna Eynard, who later performed duets with Castlereagh, asked humorously: if Castlereagh, Metternich, and Nesselrode, were to gather around a piano and for once be in agreement over their love of music, would they also sing in tune?¹⁰⁰ “Peace,” La Garde-Chambonas wrote on one occasion, “had found refuge at the theatre,” and the nations danced hand in hand on the stage, while their official representatives threatened to come to blows.¹⁰¹ Indeed, the King of Prussia made a point of attending Metternich’s ball on January 10, 1815; despite the stormy conferences of his diplomats, he played the game of harmonious relations and “honorable conduct” in the absence of any real alternative, since his own ally, Alexander, had compelled him to renounce his project of annexing Saxony.¹⁰²

Stages, salons, and conference rooms formed worlds of their own where diplomats could imagine and institute the regular relations of nations. The Republican and realist denunciation of festivities as a veil placed on the struggle for power relied on the observation of this partial disjunction between the different spheres of diplomacy:

While we are stunned with the music of monster concerts, and confounded with a tumult of military fêtes, varied with grotesque revivals of the customs of the middle age . . . we cannot but bear in mind, that the map of Europe is spread out itself like a banquet, for each royal guest to take his according to his might. At *this* feast there is no harmony; each eyes the other with distrust and suspicion; and while Alexander is laying his heavy hand upon Poland, and the whisper of partition of France is going round, Talleyrand and the English minister are signing a secret treaty with Austria, with the object of raising a barrier against the dangerous rise of Russian power.¹⁰³

Playing with the two spheres of international relations, one ruled by interest, the other by politeness, diplomats and monarchs performed in character. But this elaborate counterpoint of

⁹⁹ See, for a similar observation, Eynard, *Journal*, 250.

¹⁰⁰ Alville, 176 and 237

¹⁰¹ La Garde-Chambonas, II, 22-23 (performance of *Les Étrangers à Vienne* at the Leopoldstädter Theater). The nations of Europe appear one of another, gathered in Vienna by concord and pleasure; they dance a general ballet.

¹⁰² Eynard, *Journal*, 251.

¹⁰³ “Article X,” *Foreign Quarterly Review* 32/43 (October 1843): 195.

identities did not only structure cognitive dissonances. In theory, it creates the conditions for decision-makers not only to directly engage with the means of conflict, but also to learn about the very terms of conflict resolution—identity formation, enemy images, and forms of coexistence.¹⁰⁴

Diplomats in national characters: Performing the Concert of nations. Through dance and music, diplomats sustained a performance of the Concert of nations. This performance could consist in the coordination of multiple identities with a singular motive or motion (as in a ball); the display of one's identity in relation with others; and the reproduction of other national characters to honor a guest and recreate oneself. Balls typically offered a kaleidoscope of nationalities. La Garde-Chambonas saw in the first *redoute* he attended a “bazaar of all the nations of the world.”¹⁰⁵ Friedrich Gentz wrote that Metternich's ball on October 18, 1814 constituted “a reunion of all the courts, all the sovereigns, all the high potentates of Europe.”¹⁰⁶ Less than a month later, on November 8, Metternich's masquerade, where ladies wore national costumes, made the international meaning of social entertainment explicit; Metternich and the Emperor wore regional costumes of the Austrian empire.¹⁰⁷ Once again, all—the Emperor and

¹⁰⁴ For an introduction to this topic, see Janice Gross Stein, “Image, Identity, and the Resolution of Violent Conflict,” in *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, ed. Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, 189-208 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001); reprinted in *Peace Studies: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, ed. Matthew Evangelista, I, 364-89 (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

¹⁰⁵ La Garde-Chambonas, I, 58. See also his description of “a miniaturized world” in the Apollosaal (II, 153).

¹⁰⁶ Friedrich von Gentz, *Tagebücher* (Leipzig: Brodhaus, 1873), I, 320-321. “Fêtes pour célébrer l’anniversaire de la bataille de Leipzig! (...) Aller a 8 heures au fameux bal du prince Metternich ; grande magnificence, dans un style très-correct. Réunion de toutes les cours, de tous les souverains, de tous les grands personnages de l’Europe. J’en aurais joui un peu plus (quoiqu’en général je ne fusse rien moins que content, car les affaires vont bien mal) si au milieu de cette fête Metternich ne m’avait pas annonce la fâcheuse nouvelle du renvoi de Belio de Vienne.”

¹⁰⁷ McGuigan, 397-8; Eynard, *Journal*, 98-99; Alville, 184-6. On the costumes of the Emperor and Metternich, see Ludwig Hevesi, “Wien. Stadtbild, Festlichkeiten, Volkerleben,” in *Der Wiener Kongress: Culturgeschichte. Die bildenden Künste und das Kunstgewerbe. Theater – Musik. In der Zeit von 1800 bis 1825*, ed. Eduard Leisching, (Wien: Artaria, 1898), 92.

Empress of Austria, the Archdukes, and all the foreign sovereigns—were present.¹⁰⁸ The Congress stimulated the perception of national differences, and while it could reinforce stereotypes of cultural superiority, it also favored incremental changes in perception: Jean-Gabriel Eynard, for example, gradually learned to appreciate what he perceived as English manners, the apparent lack thereof had initially led him to compare Castlereagh's salon to a café.¹⁰⁹

The performance of national characters, in the private as in the public spheres, provided both a way to honor a guest and to entertain oneself. From London, after the first conquest of France by the Allies, Nesselrode's wife writes, "Platof and Blücher are at the level of Potentates; everywhere they go, people sing the national air; in the streets, people pull their cars and when they enter the theatre, people applaud them."¹¹⁰ Orchestras performed national airs as background music, and professional dancers entertained spectators with character dances.¹¹¹ More importantly, members of the Congress learnt each other's dances.¹¹² Finally, a private host could honor Lord Stewart with a performance of English airs and of character dances reminding him of the countries he had seen.¹¹³ Similarly, sovereigns could present themselves in foreign uniforms to honor a guest.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Gentz, *Tagebücher*, I, 328, "la plus belle fête que, de l'aveu de tout le monde, on ait jamais vue; grand souper; l'empereur, l'impératrice (d'Autriche), tous les archiducs, tous les souverains étrangers etc. présents."

¹⁰⁹ La Garde-Chambonas, II, 37-49 (Lord Stewart asserts the superiority of the English character in comparison with the French and the German characters, and according to the author, the French guests had no qualms in objecting to his claim of their indisputable superiority...). On the *soirées* at Castlereagh's, see Eynard, *Journal*, 67-68

¹¹⁰ Nesselrode, V, 196 (June 17, 1814).

¹¹¹ La Garde-Chambonas, I, 155 (People's festival at the Augarten, performances of Bohemian, Hungarian, Austrian and Tyrolian dances); I, 228 (old Bohemian melodies performed at a hunting party); II, 94 (national airs in the background during Sidney Smith's fundraising diner); I, 447 (at Rasumovsky's, Russian dances to entertain the guests, and performances of moscovite folk dances and mazurkas);

¹¹² La Garde-Chambonas, I, 467 (Count Z*** exhausted from teaching mazurkas to German ladies). Lord and Lady Castlereagh also learnt to waltz in Vienna.

¹¹³ La Garde-Chambonas, 36. As mentioned above (p. 213), Metternich honored the Tsar with Russian dances at the Peace Ball on October 18.

¹¹⁴ Eynard, *Journal*, 190 (Francis I wears Russian uniform to honor Alexander).

For these reasons, tensions could also arise the context of ceremonies and social events. The rift between England and Russia in 1814 emerged publicly in musical clashes during the visit of Alexander I and his sister, the Grand Duchess Catherine. In Paris, at a ball the English diplomat Charles Stewart was giving in honor of Wellington on May 14, 1814, the host commanded the orchestra leader to interrupt the waltz that the Grand Duke Constantine was dancing so that he might perform a quadrille with Wellington's niece, Priscilla Burghersh. The Russian guests immediately left the party.¹¹⁵ On at least two instances during the Grand Duchess's visit to London, which was generally disastrous, she requested the interruption of a musical performance midway through the event, arguing that music made her sick to her stomach: first, at Oxford, the performance of the famous organist Dr. Crotch, and then in London, during a banquet at the Guildhall, the performance of Italian singers interrupted at the displeasure of both guests and hosts.¹¹⁶ Metternich took advantage of the rift to positively redefine the image of Austria in England.

Most diplomats were, by their education, in a position to appreciate music and dance through the benefit of practical experience. Contrary to some representations, then, the progressive professionalization of diplomacy in the 18th century did not imply a dismissal of earlier reflections on the diplomat as gentleman or *honnête homme*.¹¹⁷ In Strasbourg, where increasing numbers of diplomats and nobles from all over Europe prepared for a diplomatic career in the 18th century, the training of diplomats consisted first and foremost in refining one's knowledge of the "world," defined both as a social unit and a political arena. As presented by

¹¹⁵ McGuigan, 274.

¹¹⁶ Both La Garde-Chambonas and Eylard describe the Grand Duchess in the most positive light, adding to the suspicion of a deliberate musical offense.

¹¹⁷ See in this regard the contradictory introductory assessments of *The Art of Diplomacy* by François de Callières in relation to his previous literary work, especially as regards the education of the *honnête homme* in *The Art of Diplomacy*, ed. By H. M. A. Keens-Soper and Karl W. Schweizer (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983), and Jean-Claude Waquet, *François de Callières: L'art de négocier en France sous Louis XIV* (Paris: Rue d'Ulm, 2005).

Jean Daniel Schöpflin for the benefit of his Austrian pupil Ludwig Coblenz in 1766, the institution's goal consisted in "training someone that might in his time shine in the world and occupy a high position in a Court."¹¹⁸ The curriculum included not only topics in history, law, philosophy, mathematics, and classics, but regular training in music and dance—three to five hours for each every week.¹¹⁹ Along with shows and concerts, the school provided its select society of students with an opportunity to discipline and refine their manners. Among the diplomats present at the Congress of Vienna, Prince von Metternich, Count Andrez Razumovsky (1752-1836), the Baltic count Gustav von Stackelberg (1766-1847), and Count Nesselrode had attended the diplomatic school in Strasbourg.¹²⁰ There are ample testimonies of Castlereagh's, Nesselrode's, and Talleyrand's attention to music, and of the occasional performances of music by diplomats.¹²¹ If Metternich did not go so far as Lord Burghersh, who organized performances of his own compositions while ambassador in Florence, he still took an active part in making music. As a young diplomat at the Congress of Rastatt, he wrote on January 16, 1798:

Nous avons eu hier un concert où j'ai beaucoup joué. Un des envoyés de l'Empire a un jeune homme ici avec lui qui a un talent bien distingué pour le violon (...); nous lui avons arrangé un concert entre amateurs (...). La musique a été bien choisie et le concert parfait, au point que tout le monde en a été étonné. J'ai mené l'orchestre dans les symphonies et dans les concerts, et j'ai joué avec le héros de la fête et deux amateurs un quatuor qui a été si bien, que tout le monde en parle encore aujourd'hui.

¹¹⁸ "former un sujet qui puisse a son temps briller dans le monde et occuper une place supérieure dans une Cour, que l'Europe respecte ;" quoted in Jürgen Voss, *Universität, Geschichtswissenschaft und Diplomatie im Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Johann Daniel Schöpflin (1694-1771)* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1979), 166. See also Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *Le mythe de l'Europe française au XVIII^e siècle: Diplomatie, culture et sociabilités au temps des Lumières* (Paris : Autrement, 2007), 148-59.

¹¹⁹ Jürgen Voss provides two examples of private curriculum. The first one, from 1746, concerns the young Count August Josef von Töring from Bavaria; the second one, dated 1766, the Austrian diplomat Ludwig Coblenz. See *Universität, Geschichtswissenschaft und Diplomatie*, 147 and 165.

¹²⁰ See Jürgen Voss, "Les étudiants de l'Empire russe à l'université de Strasbourg au XVIII^e siècle," in *Deutsch-Russische Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert: Kultur, Wissenschaft und Diplomatie*, ed. Conrad Grau, Sergueï Karp, and Jürgen Voss, 351-71 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997).

¹²¹ On January 25, 1813, in the middle of the war, Nesselrode writes to his wife that his dinner guests put to use the piano found in his room, and that he distinguished himself performing the march of *La Vestale*. He pleasantly jokes that they will nonetheless continue to attend shows. See *Lettres et papiers du chancelier comte de Nesselrode*, V, 25. Castlereagh seemed to have regularly absorbed himself in the musical performances of others, but he could also sing. Anna Eynard recounts an impromptu duo on an English national air in his salon; see Alville, 236-7.

*Voilà à peu près la meilleure soirée que j'ai encore passée à Rastadt, car j'aime à la folie à faire de la musique.*¹²²

We had yesterday a concert where I performed a lot. One of the [Holy Roman] Empire's envoys has here a young man with a quite distinguished talent for the violin (...); we arranged for him a concert of amateurs (...). The music was well chosen and the concert perfect, to the extent that everybody was astonished. I led the orchestra in the symphonies and [concertos?], and with the hero of the festival and two amateurs, I played a quartet that went so well that everybody still speaks of it today. Here is virtually the best evening that I have spent in Rastatt till now, because I passionately love making music.

TRANSNATIONAL CIVIC SOCIETY AND THE FIGURATION OF HARMONY IN TODAY'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Professional musicians as actors in international relations. Transformations in musical life and diplomatic training have made the musical practices of the Congress of Vienna history, but a comparison nevertheless highlights a final interrogation of music-making as a form of diplomacy. Professional musicians today occupy a large share of diplomacy's "second arena." Musical diplomacy today emanates most visibly from non-governmental agents, though states play an important part in the organization of international concerts, and the UN has solicited musicians and musical institutions as celebrity figures and event promoters. Musicians are numerous among Goodwill Ambassadors (43 out of a total 183 in 2010, with high proportions also in UNICEF, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the World Health organization) or Messengers of Peace (Daniel Barenboim, Midori Goto, Yo-Yo Ma). It might be said without exaggeration that the "concert for peace," has become, across musical genres (rock, classical music, Arab music, etc.), a category of performance unto itself. Concert performances in various musical genres have been organized as ways to influence political leaders, promote the value of peace, and legitimize state policies; examples include the joint performance, sponsored by the U.S. government, of Iraq's

¹²² *Mémoires et documents*, I, 359.

and Washington's National Symphony Orchestras at the Kennedy Center in 2003, which White House spokesman Scott McClellan, indirectly legitimizing the second War in Iraq, described as "another instance of the Iraqi people realizing the benefits of freedom;" in 2008, the invitation of the New York Philharmonic by the North Korean government for a concert in Pyongyang in 2008 that began with the national anthems of North Korea and the United States; and in 2009, the "Peace Concert" organized by Colombian rock star Juanes in the Revolution Plaza in Cuba, with, according to journalist Ginger Thompson, "significant logistic and licensing assistance from the Obama administration."¹²³

In this context, the orchestra, despite current challenges to its economic and social model, has found renewed meaning as a performance and prefiguration of peace in international relations—a symbolic elaboration that reaches as far back as the 17th century (recall the allegorical ensemble of international musicians under the French baton, Figure 2.3) and has more immediate resonances in the 20th century, including in the United States, with Henri Higginson's defense of foreign musicians in the Boston Symphony Orchestra during World War I.¹²⁴ German conductor Uwe Berkemer, for example, founded the Caucasian Chamber Orchestra with musicians from Armenia, Georgia and Dagestan.¹²⁵ Swiss conductor Charles Dutoit seeks to create an Inter-Korean Orchestra, while conductor Daniel Barenboim, the first person to hold both Israeli and Palestinian citizenships (along with Argentinean and Spanish passports) plans on

¹²³ On the Iraqi orchestra, see "Iraqi Orchestra Plays US Concert," *BBC News*, December 10, 2003, accessed July 15, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/entertainment/3305007.stm>; and for a follow-up, Edward Wong, "And the Orchestra Plays on, Echoing Iraq's Struggles," *New York Times*, September 29, 2006. See, among other reports of the New York Philharmonic tour to North Korea, Daniel J. Wakin, "North Koreans Welcome Symphonic Diplomacy," *NYT*, February 27, 2008. On music in recent U.S.-Cuba relations, see Damien Cave, "Juanes's Plan for Havana Concert Starts Furor in Miami," *NYT*, September 19, 2009; Associated Press, "Cuba 'Peace Concert' draws multitudes," *NYT*, September 21, 2009; Ginger Thompson, "Trying to Sway America's Cuba Policy With Song," *NYT*, December 29, 2009.

¹²⁴ Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music & Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 192.

¹²⁵ Meline Toumani, "Hoping Music Is the Food of Peace, an Orchestra Plays On," *NYT*, August 24, 2005.

holding a peace concert at the South Korean border town of Imjingak on August 15, 2011 with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra.¹²⁶ Perhaps the most celebrated orchestra for peace, the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, founded by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said in 1999, has gathered musicians of Arab, Israeli, and Jewish descent to perform music from the Western classical repertoire, with a particular emphasis on Beethoven and the Ninth symphony. Initiated in Weimar, the European Union's 1999 cultural capital, the youth orchestra, which now also includes Spanish musicians, relocated to Seville, with funding from Andalusia's regional government in 2002.¹²⁷

Musicians, as transnational civic actors, can mobilize considerable symbolic and financial resources. Live 8, a commercial mass media event organized to influence decisions on debt relief and humanitarian aid, cost £11 million, successfully inscribing humanitarian aid on the political agenda of the 2005 G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland.¹²⁸ If celebrity diplomacy, led by musicians like Bono, has effective results in fundraising, its effective leverage on governments varies with time: freed the pressure of the moment, and facing other constraints (terrorism, economic downturn), G8 governments did not fulfill their pledges.¹²⁹ From this perspective, the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra and the Barenboim-Said Foundations illustrate a potential combination of celebrity diplomacy (Barenboim) and non-governmental action (music education

¹²⁶ Hyung-Jin Kim (Associated Press), "Charles Dutoit Pushes For Inter-Korean Orchestra," *The Washington Times*, July 22, 2011.

¹²⁷ For an analysis of the orchestra's meaning in Andalusian and Spanish politics, see Rachel Beckles Willson, "The Parallax Worlds of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 134/2 (2009): 324, and "Whose Utopia? Perspectives on the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Music & Politics* 3/2 (2009): 10-11, accessed May 15, 2011, <http://www.music.ucsb.edu/projects/musicandpolitics/>

¹²⁸ See John Street, Seth Hague, and Heather Savigny, "Playing to the Crowd: The Role of Music and Musicians in Political Participation," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 10 (2008): 269-85, and C. Michael Elavsky, "United as ONE: Live 8 and the Politics of the Global Music Media Spectacle," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 21/4 (2009): 384-410.

¹²⁹ See Evalsky, "United as ONE," 389. See also Daniel W. Drezner, "Foreign Policy Goes Glam," *The National Interest* 92 (2007): 22-28, and Andrew F. Cooper, "Celebrity Diplomacy and the G8: Bono and Bob as Legitimate International Actors," *CIGI Working Paper* 29 (Waterloo, CA: The Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2007).

in Gaza and the West Bank). It also combines the attention-generative temporality of events (summer tours, individual concerts in symbolic locations) with the long-term effects of a sustained musical experience (orchestra participants can return from year to year), and beyond orchestral performance, many discursive elaborations (lectures, public speeches, declarations, press releases, books, interviews to the press and with scholars, and DVDs).

As a professional and artistic institution, the Orchestra theoretically offers musicians an alternate identity to their national allegiances. In this joint redefinition of themselves and others, musicians might find an opportunity to question their images of enemies, and even in some instances, the very conception of conflicts in the Middle East.¹³⁰ In the sphere of concert performance, the Orchestra is a musical institution of peace. It aims at unsettling the participants' sense of identity as they voluntarily bind themselves together in a temporary community. In relation to the Orchestra, Said once stated: "discipline and dedication had provided [them] with a motor to bring [their] communities together in concert."¹³¹ But this representation of the orchestra holds only so long as one actively constructs music-making as a separate activity, distinct from politics, if not society. It requires both a literal and figurative displacement, away from Israel and Palestine, towards a musical identity. *Knowledge Is the Beginning*, a documentary film by Paul Smaczny, makes a point of demonstrating what the idea of concert music can achieve where conversations fail: those individuals reluctant to talk about peace agree to perform music with an Other who is, in any other situation, an enemy, but now becomes a stand partner in the orchestra.

At the same time, the orchestra reaches beyond its immediate constituency to concert audiences, public opinion, and policy makers. Indeed, Barenboim, the Orchestra, and the

¹³⁰ Frédéric Ramel, "Israelis and Palestinians beyond the 'double-bind'? A middle-range couple in action, no political couple on the horizon?," in *Building Sustainable International Couples*, ed. Brigitte Vassort-Rousset (London: Palgrave MacMillan, forthcoming). My thanks to the author for sharing this article with me.

¹³¹ Speech at the ceremony for the reception of the Prince of Asturias Award for Concord.

Foundations partially rely on governments to pursue their activities, and have effectively acted as a lobby for the musicians' freedom to circulate and communicate. Since its foundation, the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra has grown from an international organization to a global enterprise, with performances in Europe, Asia, the Americas, and the Middle East. The musicians' participation in the workshops and performances depends on the authorities' willingness to authorize their travel and participation; in 2001, for example, the Cairo Conservatory prevented its students from joining the orchestra. Performances in Ramallah and Gaza require specific assistance of governments or international organizations, particularly to trump travel restrictions imposed by the governments in conflict. For the Orchestra's celebrated 2005 performance in Ramallah, Spain issued temporary diplomatic passports for the orchestra members.¹³² Israel, however, recently declined to authorize the travel of European musicians to Gaza. Barenboim instead performed under the auspices of the United Nations with an ad-hoc "Orchestra for Gaza," gathering European professional musicians for the occasion. The musicians travelled via Egypt, where the new government is considering reopening its border with the West Bank. They received the logistical and political support of the UN Relief and Welfare Agency and Palestinian non-governmental organizations, temporarily overcoming concerns of Hamas officials as regards the political meaning of the event.¹³³ The plethora of peace awards, official honors, and honorary degrees that Barenboim has received in the past decade reinforces Barenboim's legitimacy at the same time as it confirms the informal, *ad-hoc* partnerships he has built with diplomats, governments, international institutions, and other non-governmental organizations.

¹³² Rachel Aspden, "Changing Man," *New Statesman*, August 4, 2008, 31.

¹³³ Michael Kimmelman, "Mozart Leaps Perilous Hurdles to Reach an Audience in Gaza," *NYT*, May 5, 2011: "Hamas officials, fractious as always, almost derailed the entire undertaking, insisting it would somehow be interpreted as a celebration of Osama bin Laden's killing, which the leader of the Hamas government, Ismail Haniya, had just publicly condemned. But in the end, after backstage arm-twisting by some local United Nations representatives, Hamas agreed not to interfere and had no visible presence at the performance." UN officials, however, received death threats from Islamist extremists during the performance, and the musicians had to be rushed away at the end of the Concert.

Apolitical diplomacy? Benefits and discontents. Despite this clear involvement in international politics, and an equally clear critique of Israeli military policy, Barenboim stubbornly claims that his action is not political. In this regard, Barenboim's discourse illustrates a general trait of musicians' participation in transnational civic society. Regarding the New York Philharmonic concert in North Korea and Juanes's "Peace Concert" in Cuba, both the Bush and the Obama administrations downplayed the diplomatic significance of the event they had allowed, if not enabled. More importantly, the performers themselves issued seemingly self-contradictory interpretations of the performance. According to the Associated Press report, Juanes, seeking to prevent the appropriation of the event by Cuban officials, insisted: "the concert was about music, not politics." Still, he also described the concert as "the most beautiful dream of peace and love." Similarly, in 2008, Lorin Maazel declared: "We just went out and did our thing." He nonetheless added, "I think it's going to do a great deal. . . . I was told 200 million people were watching. That's important for the people who want relations to improve."

In short, the separation of music from politics is both a blessing and a curse. The distinction between musical and national identities opens a space for action and change. At the same time, the difficulty in enunciating the political quality of musical performances complicates any debate on the form and value of the sonorous coexistence constituted in music—which is to say, in this case, by the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra. Scholars have thus taken both Said and Barenboim to task in this regard.¹³⁴ Indeed, the separation of music and politics partially hinders any interrogation in terms of government, autonomy, and power. In practice, however, the

¹³⁴ The initial impulse came from an examination of the orchestra in the light of Said's conception of music and polyphony; see Rokus de Groot, "Perspectives of Polyphony in Edward Said's Writings," *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 25 (2005): 219-40; Ben Etherington, "Instrumentalising Musical Ethics: Said and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Australasian Music Research* 9 (2007): 121-9, and "Said, Grainger and the ethics of polyphony," in *Edward Said: The Legacy Of A Public Intellectual*, ed. Ned Curthoys and Debjani Ganguly, 221-40 (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2007). Ethnographic fieldwork and sociological reflections have added to this first corpus: Rachel Beckles Willson, *op. cit.*, and Solveig Riiser "National Identity and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra," *Music & Arts in Action* 2/2 (2010): 19, accessed May 15, 2011, <http://musicandartsinaction.net/>.

Orchestra's alternative to national loyalties consists of a relatively conservative professional identity centered on German canonic repertoire and performance practice. Further concerns arise first and foremost from the charismatic power of Barenboim, which is reinforced by the deference of music instructors and the assistant conductor to his interpretative decisions and Barenboim's perceived control of music scholarships and career opportunities. Resistance and contest highlight this authoritarian domination of the conductor only when Barenboim seeks to exert his power beyond the rehearsal room, to compel musicians of different nationalities to interact with one another, or as in 2006, to corral the orchestra into adopting a common declaration against the war in Lebanon.¹³⁵ While diplomats at the Congress of Vienna could generally opt out of social recreation, musicians' choices are more constrained.¹³⁶ Indeed, the demand of concert performance on the participants amounts to no less than a conversion to a collective norm, perhaps akin to religion.¹³⁷

A second challenge lies in the meaning of the relations forged in music for the everyday world. While this disjunction might recall the distinct spheres of diplomacy in the Congress of Vienna, key political decision-makers do not take part in the activities and performances of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra: this division of labor recasts musical performance as a representation, equivalent to the theatrical representation of the Concert of nations during the Congress of Vienna. In what sense, then, can one consider, as Said did, that music constitutes "an alternative model for coexistence"? Concert performance relates to international relations in the manner of a "dream" intensely compelling and yet entirely unreal—a parallel world in which one finds oneself temporarily transported ("dream" has been used to describe both Juanes's concert in

¹³⁵ See for example Daniel Cohen's thoughts on this declaration in Elena Cheah, *An Orchestra Beyond Borders: Voices of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra* (London and New York: Verso, 2009), 22.

¹³⁶ Willson, "Parallax Worlds," 343.

¹³⁷ Cheah's publication, prefaced by Barenboim, seemingly allievates this situation by opening a space for dissent.

Cuba and Barenboim's concert in Seville). But—with all due respect for the conductor's peace activism—Barenboim's dreams are rather frightening. In the fanciful text "I Have A Dream," first published in *Die Zeit* in 1999, but recently reprinted, the conductor dreams of himself as prime minister of Israel in the act of composing a peace treaty. If the world might seem a better place for it, it is neither the dream of a pacifist nor that of a democrat:

Whoever strikes out against peace would be sentenced to five years in a kind of gulag. Even Palestinians would be sent here. A type of atonement that will ensure reformed behavior. Let them strike out their own eyes!¹³⁸

If the distance gained from everyday life via music offers a critical experience, it does not ensure that all musical dreams should inform human polities.

Musicians like Barenboim take part in celebrity diplomacy: they optimize on their personal identity and political action as a form of brand recognition, and through their access to entertainment media, package political participation as a variant of entertainment consumption. At the same time, musicians tend to claim a specific competence in human affairs, gained in the thoughtful practice of music.¹³⁹ In a way, non-political music is a strategy to contain politics within matters of power and resources, a conceptual shield for musicians to deflect opponents' objections as they institute sonorous coexistence as a distinct sphere of transnational relations. The corollary, however, is also an identification of music (and more specifically, of certain scores) with a truth content that it does not carry. In short, conflicts also are constitutive of music. The musician's expertise is not in having the knowledge of who we are, but in living a life of collective interrogation and (re-)formation.

¹³⁸ Daniel Barenboim, *Music Quickens Time*, ed. Elena Cheah (London and New York: Verso, 2008), 112-3.

¹³⁹ This is the tenor of Barenboim and Said's joint reflection on music, culture, and society, in *Parallels and Paradoxes: Explorations in Music and Society*, ed. Ara Guzelimian (New York: Vintage Books, 2002). Barenboim has further pursued this conceptual elaboration in the 2006 BBC Reith Lectures, accessed May 15, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/reith2006/>, and *Music Quickens Time*, *op. cit.*

CONCLUSION

DISENCHANTING MUSIC, RE-ENCHANTING POLITICS

From a general perspective, music is neither universal, nor transnational; like peace, however, it can be dreamt and lived as such. In the best cases, music allows one to sound and feel like an *other*, and sometimes even like *the* other, the enemy. But the dream of universal music can veer toward tragedy, for human beings cannot be created in the image of musical subjects: the dangers of the metaphor that makes legislators and rulers the composers of the polity should also be acknowledged, at least so long as the composer, on the model embodied by the mythical figure of Beethoven, remains the original fountain of musical authority, in principle impervious to the opinions of performers and audiences alike (the reality, thankfully, is more complex and changing). In short, music will not always bring peace, and moreover, it will not always bring about a desirable regime of coexistence.

The solution, however, is not to save music from politics, despite what many good souls have traditionally recommended. Writing on the Sound Jerusalem Festival, founded in 2005 by former member of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra Erich Oskar Huetter, Laurent Zecchini reports the difficulty of a sustainable musical exchange between Palestinian and Israeli musicians.¹⁴⁰ Of Iraqi-Jewish descent, Yair Dalal plays violin and oud, and leads peace concerts with musicians from Palestine and other Arab countries.¹⁴¹ A guest of the Festival, he explains that, since the second Intifada, musical cooperation has become almost impossible: “here, politics gets deep into art, it perverts it.”

¹⁴⁰ Laurent Zecchini, “Les harmonies de Jérusalem,” *Le Monde*, July 3, 2011.

¹⁴¹ Benjamin Brinner, *Playing Across a Divide: Israeli-Palestinian Encounters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 149-62.

But this is inexact: musicians are no less entitled to anger, conflict, and division than any other human subjects—as truly sorrowful as this is to admit. One might recall here Vladimir Jankélévitch’s paradigmatic renouncement of any German music after the discovery of the death camps.¹⁴² In the face of this extreme crime, the philosopher’s position is radically unforgiving, precisely because Jankélévitch recognized the human nature behind Nazi politics, and especially the entitlement of Nazi musicians and intellectuals to interpret past German music. Beethoven’s and Wagner’s works will always exceed Nazi music, but they will also always be that—Nazi music. Those thinkers who find music perverted by the ugliness of hate and politics fail the values that guide their construction of music as art. With good intentions, in the name of humanity and freedom for example, they expel some emotions (anger, hate) and ideas (war) from music-making. In brief, they demand a certain kind of self-control—what sociologists may describe as an internalization of societal norms.

Music, like any other activity, is a matter of government, shaped by multiple authorities and forces in conflict. The faith one places in music is thus once again faith placed in humanity—that is, some might add with bitterness or cynicism, misplaced. The Concert of nations, in this regard, has alternatively constituted a vector of domination or medium for liberation, and quite often both at once. In the definition of international harmony too, there has been much variation and difference, from just war to competition, cooperation or hegemony. In any case, our understanding of government and history falls short so long as the part that sonorous coexistence plays in political constitutions and international relations remains ignored. The disenchantment of music, then, is good news. The world perhaps loses a bit of its magic, but we, as subjects, might find new food for thought and action.

¹⁴² For a discussion of Jankélévitch’s musical repertoire, see Louis-Albert Révah, “Sur la partialité en musique,” *Critique* 500-501 (1989): 57-70.

APPENDIX I

TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR *CHOIX DE DANSES*

1815	Choix de Danses Caractéristiques de Diverses Nations de l'Europe avec les danses exécutées à l'occasion du séjour des Hautes Puissances à Vienne pendant les Années 1814 et 1815. Sammlung verschiedener National-Tänze. No. 1, S. 1-23.		
1	4 Menuetten	No. 1 with Trio I	6 Redout Deutsche von Moscheles
2		Trio II	
3		No. 2 with Trio	
4		No. 3, von Hummel Trio	
5	Polonaise	No. 4, von Hummel Trio	12 Oestereichische Ländler von Pamer
6		vom bal pare Trio	
7		von Pamer Trio - Minore von Moscheles Trio	
8	6 Deutsche Tänze von Pamer	No.1 with Trio	No. 1 with Trio
9		No. 2 with Trio	No. 2
10		No. 3 with Trio	No. 3
11		No. 4 with Trio (Posthorn)	No. 4
12		No. 5 with Trio	No. 5
13		No. 6 with Trio	No. 6
		14	No. 7
		15	No. 8
		16	No. 9
		17	No. 10
		18	No. 11
		19	No. 12
		20	
		21	
		22	
		23	
		24	
		25	
		26	
		27	
		28	
		29	
		30	
		31	

1815	Choix de Danses Caractéristiques de Diverses Nations de l'Europe avec les danses exécutées à l'occasion du séjour des Hautes Puissances à Vienne pendant les Années 1814 et 1815. Sammlung verschiedener National-Tänze. No. 2, S. 24-42.			
32		No. 1	56	No. 1 "Zwey theilige Englaise ohne Wlazer"
33		No. 2	57	No. 2 "Zwey theilige Englaise mit Walzer"
34	6 Steyrische Tänze von Pamer	No. 3	58	No. 3 "Drey theilige englaise ohne Walzer"
35		No. 4	59	No. 4
36		No. 5	60	No. 5 "Schwert Tanz."
37		No. 6	61	No. 6 "Madratura"
38		No. 1	62	Menuet gentile
39		No. 2	63	Matelotte
40	6 Linzer von Pamer	No. 3	64	Tarentelle
41		No. 4	65	
42		No. 5	66	Mazurka
43		No. 6	67	
44		No. 1	68	Tempête
45		No. 2	69	
46	8 Ecosaises [sic] von Pamer	No. 3	70	[3?] Monferine von Pamer
47		No. 4	71	
48		No. 5	72	
49		No. 6	73	3 Monferine von Pollini
50		No. 7	74	
51		No. 8	75	
52	Ecosaises von Horzalka	No. 9	76	3 Monferine von Giuliani
53		No. 10	77	
54		No. 11	78	
55		No. 12	79	2 Deutsche von Pamer

1815	Choix de Danses Caractéristiques de Diverses Nations de l'Europe avec les danses exécutées à l'occasion du séjour des Hautes Puissances à Vienne pendant les Années 1814 et 1815. Sammlung verschiedener National-Tänze. No. 3, S. 43-60.			
80	No.1		No. 1	
81	No.2		No. 2	
82	No.3	4 Deutsche en huit [?]	2 Sautaises	
83	No.4		3 Kosaken Tänze	
84	No. 1 La Marechale			
85	No. 2 La Virginie			
86	No. 3 La nouvelle Polonaise	7 Quadrilles Francaises	3 Kosaken Tänze von Moscheles	
87	No. 4			
88	No. 5			
89	No. 6 "Allegro"			
90	No. 7			
91	"Andante"			
92	Menuet savojarde. Souvage [sic?]			Menuet a la reine Gavotte
93	Calamaika			
94	2 Strassburger	Menuet a la reine	Gallopade	
95				
96	2 Contratänze von Pamer	Quadrille russe	6 Ungarische Tänze	
97				
98				
99	2 Contratänze von Moscheles		No. 1 No. 2 No. 3 No. 4 No. 5 No. 6 "Presto" Legfrisebb [Last]	
100	Milanois			

1816		Choix de Danses Caractéristiques de Diverses Nations de l'Europe avec les danses exécutées à l'occasion du séjour des Hautes Puissances à Vienne pendant les Années 1814 et 1815. Sammlung verschiedener National-Tänze. No. 4, S. 1-20.		
120	Neue Deutsche Tänze von 1816	No. 1	Eccossaises von M. J. Leidesdorf	
121		No. 2		
122		No. 3		
123		No. 1		
124		No. 2		
125	Polonoise von M. J. Leidesdorf		No. 6 Aus der Eselshaut von Hummel	
126		with Trio	No. 1	
127		No. 1	No. 2	
128		No. 2	Alexanders Favorit [sic] Quadrille	
129	Eccossaises	No. 3	Fandango, d'après un Original espagnol	
130		No. 4 von J. v. H.	Deutsche Tänze	
131		No. 5 von J. v. H.		
		No. 6 von J. L.		
132	Nürnbergger Dreher Tanz von Hrn Seelig	No. 1		"Pomposo Moderato"
133	Walzer von Sailer	No. 2	No. 1 von M. J. Leidesdorf	
134		No. 1	No. 2 von J. v. H.	
135		No. 2	No. 3	
136		No. 3	No. 4	
			No. 5	
		137	Menuetto	
		138		with Trio
		139		No. 1
		140		No. 2
		141		No. 3
		142		No. 1
		143	Ländler	
		144		No. 2
		145	Alexanders Favorit [sic] Quadrille	
		146	Fandango, d'après un Original espagnol	
		147	Deutsche Tänze	
		148		No. 1 von M. J. Leidesdorf
		149		No. 2 von J. v. H.
		150	No. 3	
		151	No. 4	
		152	No. 5	
		153	Ländler von M. J. Leidesdorf	
		154		with Trio
		155		No. 1
		156	No. 2	
		157	No. 3	
		158	Ländler	
			Quadrille russe	
			"Andante"	

APPENDIX II

TABLE OF CONTENTS AND TEXT FROM *POLYMELOS*, BY JOSEPH HUGLMANN

Polymelos, oder Musikalischer Congress. Ein chatackteristisches Tongemälde für das Piano-Forte von Joseph Huglmann. Oeuv. 7^{me}

(Wien bey Schann Cappi auf dem Kohlmarkt No. 1220)

INHALT [CONTENTS]

der in diesen Polymelos vorkommenden Stücke sind:

1. Introduction
2. Marsch aus Titus
3. Österreichisches Volkslied. Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser.
4. Preussisches Volkslied. Heil Dir im Siegerkranz.
5. Englisches Volkslied. God save the King
6. Rule Brittainia
7. Russisches Lied als Marsch. Kathinuska.
8. Cosackisches Lied.
9. Bayer'ches Volkslied auf ihren König und Königin
10. Schwedisches Lied. Min Far var en Westgöthe, han, han
(Mein Vater war aus Westgothland, er, er)
11. Schweitzer Kuhreihn
12. Scottische Aria
13. Silenzio Faccia si. Aus der Opera Palmira.
14. O Saul ! Fürst voll Heldenmuth. Aus der Opera David. [von H^m Kapellmeister Liverati]

TEXT

<p>Introduction Stellt das Bild des in gespannter Erwartung harrendem Volke dar, die hohen Alliirten kommen zu sehen. Die zahllose Menge des Volkes, drängt sich strömend, und gedrängt—Wonnetrunken hinaus—den ersten Augenblick der Ankunft der Monarchen zu geniessen. Man unterhält sich mit wechselweisen Erzählungen. Die Sprechenden warden immer lebhafter. Manche scherzen, tändeln, kosen, lachen, necken sich, u.s.w.</p>	<p>Picture the people come to see the great Allies, waiting in anxious expectation. The innumerable mass of people surges forward, and yearns—completely drunk with delight—to enjoy the first moment of the monarchs' arrival. They entertain themselves by exchanging tales. The speakers grow ever more lively. Many joke around, show affection, laugh, tease one another, etc.</p>
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<p>Man hört aus der Ferne einen Marsch. Drauf dringt das Volk neuerdings vorwärts; Es entsteht Gewühl, Gestümmel, und Unordnung. Die Wacht befiehlt halt zu machen.</p> <p>Marsch aus Titus (Maestoso) Verkündet die Ankunft der hohen Alliirten. Bey Erblickung der Monarchen ruft das Freudentrunkne Volk — Vivat! [Theme and two variations on <i>Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser</i>] und alle Herzen stimmen einhellich, das oest: Volkslied, auf ihren gütigen Landes-Vater an</p> <p>Preussisch= und engl: Volkslied auf ihre Könige (Moderato).</p> <p>Rule Britannia.— Beliebtes engl: Volkslied (Moderato).</p> <p>Russicher Marsch—oder das bekante Kosackenlied—Katinuscka (Tempo di Marcia).</p> <p>Cosackisches Original Liedchen quasi Trio zum Marsch (poco vivo).</p> <p>Bayerisches National Lied zu Ehren ihres Königs, und Königin (Moderato) [Theme and two variations].</p> <p>Orig: Schwedisch Lied: <i>Min far var en Westgöthe han han: Mein Vater war aus Westgothland, er, er</i>— (Andante) [Theme and variation].</p> <p>Original, Schweitzer Kuhreihn (Andante) [Theme and three variations, the last variation Allegro].</p> <p>Scottische Aria (Andante molto) [and variation, Allegretto].</p> <p>Quartetto aus Palmira der 4 Könige: <i>Silenzio Faccia si etz:</i> (Larghetto—e sempre piano).</p>	<p>One hears a march in the distance. Once again, the people presses forward; There ensues bustle, turmoil, and disorder. The guard orders the people to stop.</p> <p>[March from Titus] announces the arrival of the great Allies. At the sight of the monarchs, the people call out, drunk with joy: Vivat!</p> <p>And all the hearts strike up in unison the Austrian folk song to the benevolent father of their land.</p> <p>Prussian and English folk songs to their kings.</p> <p>Rule Britannia, the well-loved English folk song.</p> <p>Russian March, or the well-known Cossack song</p> <p>Original Cossack ditty, almost a trio to the March</p> <p>National Bavarian song in honor of their king and queen.</p> <p>Original Swedish song: My father was from West Gothland, him, him.</p> <p>Original Swiss <i>Ranz des vaches</i> (herdsmen's song)</p> <p>Scottish Aria</p> <p>Quartet from <i>Palmira</i>, of the four kings: <i>Silenzio Faccia si etc.</i> [by Antonio Salieri, music, and Giovanni de Gamerra, libretto]</p>
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**[Aus der Opera David] von H^{rn} Kapellmeist:
Liverati.**

Recit: David.

O Saul! Fürst voll Heldenmuth! mit dir sey
Jehova. O dass meine Stimme doch, erheite
dein Herz, erheite dein Herz.

Nur durch Dich glorwürd'ger König! ward
Judäas Wohl entschieden, nur durch dich
genießt es Frieden Segen spendet, nur deine
Hand.

Du bist deines guten Volkes, deiner Kinder
güt'ger Vater, deiner Kinder güt'ger Vater,
warst und bleibest unser Stolz, warst und
bleibest unser Stolz.

Recit: Saul

Wohl einem Vater solcher Kinder! Ja, ich
fühl es meine Brust durch strömet das
Gefühl der Freude.

Doch! der Sang des Friedens, stimmt nun
nicht zu meiner Lage. Krieg nur, Tumult der
Schlachten, mahle mir im Liede, künde wie
Saul die Feinde voll Muth einstgeschlagen.

David

Seht den König, er eilet zum Kampfe,
zaudert nicht seinem Schwert zu entfliehen,
Gottes Grim liegt in Saul's kräft'gen Arme,
weicht ihr nicht trift er schnell euer Haupt,
weicht ihr nicht trift er schnell euer Haupt.

Ha! Schon zischt sein Schwert in den
Lüften, Tausend Gegner streckt schnell er
zu [B]oden, und zu klein ist das
Schlachtfeld zu fassen, alle Feinde die Saul
hier erschlug, alle Feinde die Saul hier
erschlug.

Wie der Sturm der die Bäume zersplittert,
und den Staub in den Lüften umherstreut, so
zerstreut, und zersplittert der König auch
das Heer der Philister im Kampf.

Seht! Kein Feind widersteht mehr dem
Helden, ihre Leichen sie ruhen im Grabe.

From Liverati's *David*

[From this point on, the text appears not
above the staff, but within it, as sung text,
and in both Italian and German.

Only the German is reproduced here]

Recit: David.

O Saul! Valorous prince! May Jehova be
with you. O that my voice, however, may
rejoice your heart, rejoice your heart.

Only by You glorious King! Has Judea's
wealth become firmly established; only
through you it enjoys the blessing of
peace given only by your Hand.

You the benevolent father of your good
people, your children, the benevolent
father of your children, were and remain
our pride, were and remain our pride.

Recitative: Saul

Happy the father of such children! Yes, I
feel, running through my breast, the
emotions of joy.

Still! The song of peace does not accord
to my position now. In your songs, paint
only war, the tumult of battles, tidings of
how Saul courageously struck his
enemies.

David

See the king, he hurries to battle,
Do not hesitate to flee his sword,
God's wrath is in Saul's strong arms,
If you do not yield, he will soon have
your head [repeat]

Ha! Already his sword hisses in the air,
he swiftly lays a thousand opponents on
the ground, and the battlefield is too
small to hold all the enemies that Saul
has here slain, all the enemies that Saul
has here slain.

Like the storm, which shatters the trees
and scatters the dust around, so does the
king disperse and shatter in battle the
army of the Philistines.

See! No enemy opposes the hero any
more; their dead bodies now rest in the

<p>Zu dem Siege, zu dem Siege, zu dem Siege erschallt die Dromette.</p> <p>Choro Zu dem Siege erschallt die Dromette, und es jauchzen die Völker Ihm zu [repeated three times] sie tönet, sie jauchzen, zum Siege, zum Siege, und es jauchzen die Völker Ihm zu, zum Siege! zum Siege! und zum Verein.</p>	<p>grave. Victory, Victory, Victory, the trumpets sound.</p> <p>Victory, the trumpets sound, and the people exult Him</p> <p>They shout, they exult, Victory, Victory</p> <p>And the people exult Him To the Victory! To the Victory! And to the Alliance!</p>
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APPENDIX III

A CHRONOLOGY OF J.S. BACH'S POLITICAL OUTPUT AND CAREER

MÜHLHAUSEN (1707-1708)

1708 *Gott ist mein König*, BWV 71 (Mühlhausen town council election; 4 February)

WEIMAR (1708-1717)

1709 Cantata, [lost, title unknown], BWV Anh. 192
(Mühlhausen town council election; 4 February)

1710 Cantata, [lost, title unknown]
(Mühlhausen town council election; 4 February)

1713 *Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd!* (Franck), *dramma per musica*, BWV 208
Glückwunschkantate zum Geburtstag des Herzogs Christian von Sachsen-Weissenfels
(birthday of Duke Christian of Saxe-Weissenfels, 21-22 February)
Glückwunschkantate zum Geburtstag des Herzogs Ernst August von Sachsen-Weimar
(birthday of Duke Ernst August of Saxe-Weimar, most likely in April 1716)¹

Alles mit Gott und nichts ohn' ihm (J. A. Mylius), BWV 1127
Geburtstag-Arie für den Erbprinzen Wilhelm Ernst von Sachsen-Weimar (birthday of
Duke Wilhelm Ernst of Saxe-Weimar, 30 October)²

CÖTHEN (1717-1723)

1718 *Der Himmel dacht auf Anhalts Ruhm und Glück* (C. F. Hunold), *serenata* [music lost],
BWV 66a (birthday of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen; 10 December)

Lobet den Herrn, alle seine Heerscharen (C. F. Hunold) [music lost], BWV Anh. 5
Kirchenkantate zum Geburtstag des Fürsten Leopold von Anhalt-Köthen (birthday of
Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen; 10 December)

1719 *Die Zeit, die Tag und Jahre macht* (C. F. Hunold), *dramma per musica*, BWV 134a

¹ Alfred Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht*, Neue Bach Ausgabe I/35 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964), p. 43.

² "Bach-Werk-finder, Ein Gespräch mit Michael Maul", *Musik und Kirche* 75/5 (September/October 2005), pp. 392-395.

- Glückwunschkantate zum Neujahrstag 1719 für das Haus von Anhalt-Köthen (New Year, 1 January)
- 1720 *Dich loben die lieblichen Strahlen der Sonne* (C. F. Hunold), BWV Anh. 6
(New Year, January 1)
- Heut ist gewiss ein guter Tag* (C. F. Hunold), BWV Anh. 7
(birthday of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen; 10 December)
- 1721 Six Concertos dedicated to the Margrave of Brandenburg (March 25)
- 1722 [lost, title unknown], BWV Anh. 194 (birthday of Prince Johann August of Anhalt-Zerbst)
Durchlauchster Leopold, serenata, BWV 173a
Glückwunschkantate zum Geburtstag des Fürsten Leopold von Anhalt-Köthen (birthday of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen; 10 December)

LEIPZIG (1723-1750)

- 1723 [lost, title unknown], BWV Anh. 8
(New Year, 1 January)
- Latin ode [lost, title unknown], BWV Anh. 20
(birthday of Duke Friedrich II of Saxe-Gotha, celebrated in the Leipzig University, 9 August)
- Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn*, BWV 119
(Leipzig town council election, 30 August)
- 1725 *Entfliehet, verschwindet, entweicht, ihr Sorgen* (Picander) [lost, reconstructed by Friedrich Smends], BWV 249a
(birthday of Duke Christian of Saxe-Weissenfels; 23 February)
- Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren*, chorale (J. Neander), BWV 137
Kantate zum 12. Sonntag nach Trinitatis (Leipzig town council election and Trinity XII)
- In conflict with the University of Leipzig, Bach addresses three requests to the King (14 September, 3 November, and 31 December).
- 1726 In response to the request, the King gives his Decree (21 January).
- Steigt freudig in die Luft* (? Picander) [music lost], BWV 36a

(birthday of Princess Charlotte Friedericke Wilhelmine of Anhalt Cöthen; 30 November)³

Die Feier des Genius: Verjaget, zerstreuet, zerrüttet, ihr Sterne (Picander), drama per musica [music lost], BWV 249b

(birthday of Joachim Friedrich, Graf von Flemming; 25 August)

1726 or 1728

Wünschet Jerusalem Glück (Picander), BWV Ahn. 4 (Leipzig town council election)

1727 *Ihr Häuser des Himmels, ihr scheinenden Lichter* (Picander), drama per musica [music lost], BWV 193a

(nameday of August II⁴; 3 August)

Entfernet euch, ihr heitern Sterne (C. F. Haupt) [music lost], BWV Anh. 9

(birthday visit of August II⁵, 12 May)

Ihr Tore zu Zion, BWV 193

(Leipzig town council election; 25 August)

Trauer Ode: Lass, Fürstin, lass noch einen Strahl (J. C. Gottsched), BWV 198

Kantate zum akademischen Trauerfestakt für die Kurfürstin Christiane Eberhardine (memorial service for Electress Christiane Eberhardine, 17 October)

1728 Death of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen

After 1728

Erwählte Pleissenstadt [music lost], BWV 216a

(for Leipzig city council)

1729 *O angenehme Melodei!* [music lost], BWV 210a
(visit in Leipzig of Duke Christian of Weissenfels)

Bach travels to Weissenfels (for the birthday of the Duke Christian), and is appointed capellmeister of the Saxon-Weissenfels court (c. 23 February).

Bach becomes Director of the Collegium Musicum

[lost, title unknown], no BWV number

(first funeral music for Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen, 23 March)

³ In *The New Bach Reader* (n° 117, p. 117), excerpts from the court account books indicate performances by Bach and his wife in 1724, 1725 and 1728. There is no excerpt for the year 1726. Regarding the 1725 performance, the editor adds that the performance relates to the birthdays of Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, but does not specify what cantata would have been performed on this occasion.

⁴ Title of the King of Poland; as Prince of Saxony: Friedrich August I (August der Starke)

⁵ The *Grove Music Online* mistakenly indicates August III – Friedrich August II was elected King of Poland (as August III) in 1733.

Klagt, Kinder, klagt es aller Welt (Picander) [music lost, text partly identical to St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244 and the Trauer Ode, BWV 198], BWV 244a
(funeral of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen; 24 March)

Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille, BWV 120
(Leipzig town council election; ? 29 August)

- 1730 Drei Kantaten zur Zweihundertjahrfeier der Augsbургischen Konfession
Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied! [lost], BWV 190a
(1st day of the 200th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession; 25 June)
Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille (Picander) [music lost], BWV 120b
(2nd day of the 200th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession; 26 June)
Wünschet Jerusalem Glück (Picander) [music lost], BWV Anh. 4a
(3rd day of the 200th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession; 27 June)

Gott, gib dein Gerichte dem Könige (Picander) [music lost], BWV Anh. 3
(Leipzig town council election; 28 August)

- 1731 *Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir*, BWV 29
(Leipzig town council election)

So kämpfet nur, ihr muntern Töne (Picander) [music lost], BWV Anh. 10
(birthday of Joachim Friedrich, Graf von Flemming⁶, 25 August)

Bach attends the premiere of *Cleofide* by the new Saxon court capellmeister, Johann Adolf Hasse (13 September). He gives an organ recital at St. Sophia's in Dresden (14 September).

- 1732 *Es lebe der König, der Vater im Lande* (Picander) [music lost], BWV Anh. 11
(nameday of August II)

- 1733 Death of Elector Friedrich August I of Saxony in Warsaw (1 February). Mourning Period, from February 15 to July 2.

Visit of the new Elector to Leipzig (20-21 April). Special reception by the city council. Special fealty celebration at St. Nicholas's (Sermon on Psalm 28:8-9).

⁶ Count Flemming had hosted the aborted Dresden contest between Johann Sebastian Bach and Louis Marchand in 1717. "He served . . . from 1724 to 1740 as governor of Leipzig and became one of Bach's most supportive aristocratic patrons there; Bach composed several congratulatory birthday pieces for him: the *Dramma per musica* BWV 249b of 1725 as well as later cantatas BWV Anh. 10 and BWV 210a." In Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York and London: Norton, 2000), p. 181.

Election of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach as organist at St. Sophia's Church, Dresden (22 June). Bach dedicates the *Missa* (Kyrie and Gloria), BWV 232¹, to Friedrich August II of Saxony (27 July)

Frohes Volk, vergnügte Sachsen (Picander) [music lost], BWV Anh. 12 (nameday of August III⁷)

First record at the Dresden court of Bach's petition for a title at the Court Capelle (Presentation entry, 19 August).

Hercules auf dem Scheidewege: Lasst uns sorgen, lasst uns wachen (Picander), drama per musica, BWV 213
Glückwunschkantate des Kurzprinzen (birthday of Friedrich Christian, Prince Elector of Saxony, 5 September)

Tönet, ihr Pauken! Erschallet, Trompeten!, drama per musica, BWV 214
Glückwunschkantate zum Geburtstag der Königin (birthday of Electress Maria Josepha, 8 December)

1734 Celebration in Leipzig of the coronation of Friedrich August II as King of Poland (17-19 January).⁸

Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde! Verstärket die Macht, drama per musica [adapted from 205⁹, music lost], BWV 205a (? Coronation of August III, ? 19 January)

Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen (J.C. Clauder), drama per musica, BWV 215
Glückwunschkantate zum Jahrestage der Königswahl Augusts III. (anniversary of the election of August III as King of Poland, 5 October)

[*Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248 (including parodies of BWV 213, BWV 214 and BWV 215), 25 December-6 January]

1735 [In the spring, publication of Part II of the *Clavier-Übung* ("consisting of a Concerto after the Italian Taste and an Overture after the French Manner")]

Auf, schmetternde Töne der muntern Trompeten, drama per musica, BWV 207a¹⁰
Glückwunschkantate zum Namenstage Augusts III. (nameday of August III, August 3)

1736 Second record at the Dresden Court of Bach's request for the title of "Compositeur to the Royal Court Capelle" (27 September)

⁷ Title of the King of Poland; as Prince of Saxony: Friedrich August II.

⁸ In his chronology, Christoph Wolff mentions the BWV number 214a on this occasion. (*The New Bach Reader*, p. xlix, and *Johann Sebastian Bach*, p. 531). I have not been able to identify this piece up to this point.

⁹ *Der zufriedengestellte Äolus: Zerreiſset, zerspringet, zertrümmert die Gruft* (Picander), drama per musica, BWV 205 (nameday of Dr. A. F. Müller, 3 August)

¹⁰ *Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten*, drama per musica, BWV 207 (installation of Professor Gottlieb Korte, circa 11 December 1726)

Schleicht, spielende Wellen, drama per musica, BWV 206
Glückwunschkantate zum Geburts- und Namenstage August III. (intended for the birthday of August III, 7 October 1734, postponed until the birthday of August III, 7 October)

The King of Poland and Elector of Saxony “[confers] upon Johann Sebastian Bach, on the latter’s most humble entreaty and because of his ability, the title of *Compositeur to the Royal Court Orchestra*” (19 November).

Bach gives an organ recital at Our Lady’s church in Dresden (1 December).

1737 *Angenehmes Wiederau, freue dich in deinen Auen* (Picander), drama per musica, BWV 30a,
(for Johann Christian Henricke, a favorite of Heinrich, Graf von Brühl).

Bach resigns from his position as Director of the Collegium Musicum (until October 1739)

In conflict with Magister Johann August Ernesti, Bach addresses a request to the King (18 October).

In response to the request, the King gives his Will (17 December).

1738 *Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter* (Gottsched) [music lost], BWV Anh. 13
(king’s visit and marriage of Princess Maria Amalia, 28 April)

C. P. E. Bach is appointed harpsichordist of the crown prince, later King Friedrich II of Prussia.

1739 [lost, title unknown], no BWV number
(birthday of August III, 7 October)

1740 *Schleicht, spielende Wellen*, drama per musica, BWV 206
(second version, nameday of August III, 3 August)

Herrscher des Himmels, König der Ehren [fragment], BWV Anh. 193
(Leipzig town council election; 29 August)

O angenehme Melodei! [music lost, mostly similar to BWV 210¹¹], BWV 210a
(homage to Joachim Fredrich, Graf von Flemming, before October 1740, after earlier version).

¹¹ *O holder Tag, erwünschte Zeit*, BWV 210 (wedding, ? 1738-41, after earlier version).

- 1741 Trip to Berlin. Michael Gabriel von Fredersdorf, chamberlain to King Friedrich II of Prussia, commissions the flute sonata BWV 1035.
- 1742 *Mer hahn en neue Oberkeet (Bauernkantate)* (Pidander), BWV 212 (manorial accession celebration for C. H. von Dieskau, 30 August).
- 1748 *Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele* (partly Knauer), BWV 69 (Leipzig town council election)
- 1745 Occupation of Leipzig by Prussian troupes (30 November-25 December)
- 1747 Visit with King Friedrich II of Prussia in Potsdam (7 May)
- Dedication of the *Musical Offering*, BWV 1079 (7 July)

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