

SOUNDING STREETS:  
Music and Urban Change in Paris, 1830-1870

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and approved by

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Sounding Streets: Music and Urban Change in Paris, 1830-1870

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Street space has inspired much scholarly investigation in the humanities and social sciences, and has been treated as a site where social communities, hierarchies, and politics are made visible. Absent from street studies, however, is the notion that the streets might have influenced, mediated, or shaped the social exchanges they hosted. Instead of seeing the street as a passive location, this project views the street as a mediator and an actor that influences and shapes social activity. As such, the street not only functions as the site of the study, but it also is part of the analysis.

Looking specifically at musical life in Paris between 1830 and 1870, I present three different studies that illustrate the influence of the changing urban environment, specifically the streets, on the city's musical scene. In the first study, I claim that a fleet of omnibuses, named and painted after Boieldieu's comic opera *La dame blanche*, profoundly affected the historical reception of the work, connecting the opera with democratic and working class ideologies. As the omnibuses trumpeted the opera's refrains on a novelty mechanical horn for decades, Boieldieu's opera became part of the streetscape and Parisian urban identity. In the next study, I respond to Charles Gounod's

analogy between the street and the residential music scene, a metaphor that inspired my investigation of Second Empire music salons and their perceived street-like characteristics. Considering the events hosted by Princess Mathilde Bonaparte and others, I argue that society music salons utilized multiple reception rooms, fostered a motion-filled environment, and featured musical programs that responded to the salon's circulation. In the last study, I contend that itinerant musicians problematized the Parisian streets. Performing through residential windows and in the interior courtyards of urban mansions, they subverted boundaries between public and private space. The street provided a platform for their otherwise disempowered voices, provoking bourgeois and governmental fears about civil resistance and stimulating the development of urban street policy. Building upon the work of Georgina Born, Adam Krim, and Benjamin Piekut, this study ultimately shows that space was an important mediating factor in nineteenth-century Paris, influencing the dynamics of musical performance, circulation, and reception.

## —ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS—

At the outset of my dissertation project, my advisor Nancy Rao compared the research process to simmering a broth – just as the cook boils the *bouillion*, the researcher sifts through information, sources, and materials and, through this process, the product grows in depth and complexity. As I now reflect on this metaphor, I am reminded of the folktale *Soupe au caillou* (Stone Soup) about generosity, published in 1720 by Madame de Noyer, in which a host of townspeople contribute ingredients and spices that gradually enrich and expand a modest broth for a hungry soldier. My dissertation has similarly developed from a mixture of insightful comments, constructive suggestions, and supportive encouragement, and I am indebted to the mentors, colleagues, friends, and family who have so generously helped me develop this project.

I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to work with the inspiring and knowledgeable faculty in the Rutgers University Music Department, and I was honored and grateful to be endowed with the Graduate Student Fellowship in Music to support my course studies.

I extend my most heartfelt thanks to my advisor Nancy Rao, who has offered me continuous support during my independent research and who has adapted as my project developed in new and unexpected directions. Her mentorship has helped me to grow as a scholar at many levels: she has guided my writing process with critical rigor; she has challenged me to interrogate details as well as broad concepts; and, she has helped me to develop a framework for my research that will serve as a foundation for my professional

and academic growth. Above all, she has offered her expertise and counsel with great kindness and patience, sharing in my enthusiasm for the project and making this endeavor a truly positive and rewarding experience.

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Chia-Yi Wu and Solomon Guhl-Miller, have offered me support, understanding, and constructive feedback throughout this endeavor, and I feel lucky to have spent many musical moments with them as colleagues, as writing companions, and as dear friends.

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## —CHAPTER ONE—

### THE STREET AS ACTOR IN MUSICAL PARIS

Street space has inspired much scholarly investigation in the humanities and social sciences. Researchers have asserted that social relationships and bonds are particularly visible in the street, a space that accommodates and encompasses the gamut of society. Some studies have focused on the collective social behaviors expressed during street parades and religious processions. Others have analyzed the social hierarchies and politics made visible in street revolts, police regulations, and other social frictions arising from the shared space. Still others have seen the street as a mirror of society, its sounds and geography reflecting the surrounding culture.<sup>1</sup> In such research, the street is treated as a conduit, a vessel, and a site of observation. The street only enters the analyses insofar as it provided the geographic parameters for the investigation. Absent from such studies is the notion that the streets might have influenced, mediated, or shaped the social exchanges they hosted.

Instead of seeing the street as a passive location in which people interact, this study views the street as a mediator and an actor that influences and shapes social activity. As such, the street not only functions as the site of the study, but it also becomes part of the analysis. This approach resonates with recent musical studies that incorporate space into the analytical framework. While historical studies in music have traditionally centered

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<sup>1</sup> Such topics were addressed at an interdisciplinary conference at the Université de Rouen in 1996, in which presenters examined social interactions in the street from antiquity to modern times. See Alain Leménorel, editor, *La rue, lieu de sociabilité? Rencontres de la rue* (Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 1997).

on texts (musical compositions, performances) and groupings of texts (genres), as well as people (composers, performers, audience) and groupings of people (institutions), space adds another dimension to musical analysis that changes the ways that we might view texts, people, and their groupings. Drawing from the perspectives of urban geography, Actor-Network Theory, and Georgina Born's recent work in this arena, my dissertation adopts the premise that spaces mediate social and musical interaction.<sup>2</sup>

In this dissertation, I examine the ways that the urban environment shaped the social history of music in Paris between 1830 and 1870. Particularly examining the role of the streets during a period marked by heightened public involvement in music and tremendous urban change, I interrogate the interactions between space, music, and social practices in three case studies. In the first study, I contend that the reception history of Boieldieu's comic opera *La dame blanche* was profoundly affected by the street circulation of the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses, named and fashioned after the opera. In the next study, I respond to metaphors that connected the street to Second Empire music salons, showing that the interior architecture of salons encouraged street-like circulation. In the last study, I illustrate how the street environment mediated the performances of *musiciens ambulants*, or itinerant musicians. Ultimately, these studies show how the

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<sup>2</sup> This concept draws from Actor-Network Theory, developed by social science scholars Michel Callon and Bruno Latour, and distilled in the work of musicologist Benjamin Piekut. With this approach, objects are seen as actors or agents in history, equally important to people in the shaping of social relationships. This theory relates to studies of music and space, as in the work of Georgina Born, in which spaces are seen to have bearing on the social dynamics. See Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques." *Twentieth-Century Music*. Vol. 11, No. 2 (2014): 191 - 215. And, Georgina Born, *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Parisian streets, from their materiality to their quality of movement to their symbolism, have played a role in shaping urban musical culture.

## **PARISIAN DISCOURSE ON URBAN SPACE**

The time and place for this study is significant, marking a period when a city's attention was acutely attuned to the urban environment, particularly its streets. A large number of historical studies have focused on Parisian urban life between 1850 and 1870, when the administration of Prefect of the Seine Georges-Eugène Haussmann authorized and implemented drastic changes to Parisian topography, most visibly widening the streets and constructing new, streamlined boulevards.<sup>3</sup> While this era brought about the most dramatic transformation in the city's urban history, one might view Haussmann's tremendous project as the culmination of several decades of urban thought and discussion. As the work of urban historian Nicholas Papayanis has shown, the public's concentration on reshaping city life was an interest sparked much earlier.<sup>4</sup>

Parisians had been contemplating street space for many decades before Haussmann's reconstruction project. Plans to redesign the roadways of Paris were developed in early city plans drafted by Prefect of the Seine G. J. G. Chabrol de Volvic, and were based upon research gathered in a series of detailed, statistical studies conducted in the 1820s. Chabrol's study of Parisian street circulation and urban infrastructure was continued by

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<sup>3</sup> Stephane Kirkland, *Paris Reborn: Napoléon III, Baron Haussmann, and the Quest to Build a Modern City* (New York: St. Martin's Press 2013). Also, David P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* (New York: Free Press, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Papayanis, *Horse-Drawn Cabs and Omnibuses in Paris: The Idea of Circulation and the Business of Public Transit* (Baton Rouge, La: Louisiana State University Press, 1996).

successive prefects, indicating that the streets and their impact on society was an enduring priority for the civic administration.<sup>5</sup>

The topic of the street was not only important to Parisian politicians and public officials, but it was also the subject of general public reflection during the nineteenth century. The population saw it as a site of deficiency as well as innovation. Antiquated in comparison to other major European metropolises, the Parisian streets sparked public reflection, particularly as visitors and travel journalists highlighted the inadequacies of the urban infrastructure. In 1835, English travel journalist Frances Trollope published letters reporting on the state of Parisian streets, and critiquing their narrowness, lack of proper drainage, scant lighting, and absence of sidewalks.<sup>6</sup> A decade later, English travel writer James Grant devoted the second chapter of his 1844 book *Paris and its People* to discussion of the streets, commenting on similar shortcomings.<sup>7</sup> Since reforms would not correct these concerns until the second half of the century, street space remained a public concern for a prolonged period of time.

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<sup>5</sup> Prefect of the Seine Chabrol de Volvic initiated a series of detailed studies of Parisian circulation and traffic movement using large-scale data collection. These compendiums, *Recherches statistiques sur la ville de Paris* published in 1821, 1824, 1826, and 1829, used statistics to determine more efficient ways to conduct daily movement in the city, offering convenience, safety, speed, and, of course, control. Chabrol's research was continued by his successors, Comte Claude Philibert de Rambuteau and Baron Georges Haussmann. See Gilbert-Joseph-Gaspard Chabrol de Volvic, *Recherches statistiques sur la ville de Paris et le département de la Seine recueil de tableaux dressés et réunis d'après les ordres de Monsieur le comte de Chabrol, conseiller d'état, préfet du département* (Paris: Imprimeur royale, 1826). For pre-Haussmann urban planning, see Nicholas Papayanis, *Horse-Drawn Cabs and Omnibuses in Paris*, 38. Also, Nicholas Papayanis, *Planning Paris Before Haussmann* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

<sup>6</sup>Frances M. Trollope, *Paris and the Parisians* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1985), 112-119.

<sup>7</sup> James Grant, *Paris and Its People* (London: Saunders & Otley, 1844), 9-35.



Innovation also brought the Parisian streets into the spotlight in 1828, when residents witnessed the advent of the omnibus, the first mass public transportation system.<sup>8</sup> The omnibuses fostered the mobility of the lower classes and accommodated an increase in daily circulation, transporting 34 million passengers annually by the 1850s.<sup>9</sup> They enabled the public to develop an overview of urban topography and, from this new point of view, the general population even became ever more aware of their social situation in the city.

The omnibus and street culture became entwined in the public's sense of identity, and inspired literature, art, and music that celebrated this unique social space. As I discuss at length in chapter two, urban identity, street space, and culture were synthesized in the *Dames Blanches*, a fleet of omnibuses inspired by and fashioned after François-Adrien Boieldieu's comic opera. Featuring a mechanical horn that played the opera's melodies, the omnibus horn's daily, sonic presence embedded Boieldieu's opera into the urban identity of Paris. Furthermore, the omnibus's associations with working classes and democratic ideals colored the public reception of the opera.

The street and its carriages constituted such an important part of urban life that they even inspired a musical treatise on valve-less coach horn playing. During my research on the *Dames Blanches* musical omnibuses at the Carriage Museum of America in Lexington,

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<sup>8</sup> The first two public omnibus companies launched in 1828, *Entreprise générale des omnibus* and *Entreprise générales des dames blanches*, and revolutionized urban transportation in Paris. By the following year, ten more omnibus companies were founded and 409 vehicles were in circulation. Papayanis, *Horse-Drawn Cabs*, 67.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 78.

Kentucky, I came across Victor Viney's *Methode de trompe de mail-coach* (1893), a pedagogical guide that brings the musical concepts of concert performance, composition, and notation to the study of street instruments commonly associated with signals, circulation, and urban life.<sup>10</sup> This was an exciting discovery because the book appears to be extremely rare, neither documented in the holdings of any other American or European libraries nor referenced in prior academic research, to my knowledge. Furthermore, its preservation in a carriage archive indicates that the sonic and musical attributes of the street scene were significant to coaching culture. Viney's method book guides the student through rigorous technical lessons, and implements the instructional material in compositions, including three-part fanfares, marches, mazurkas, fantasies, polkas and, for the most advanced, six-part "*morceaux concertants*."<sup>11</sup> Though military, hunting, and pastoral horns have often been employed in serious music, Viney's horn settings do not adhere to contemporary musical conventions. In other works, the horn calls often appear as topical references or disparate elements in the context of a serious composition.<sup>12</sup> In Viney's ensembles, however, the coach horns *are* the context for the music and they are treated as serious instruments. Viney's treatise merges urban culture

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<sup>10</sup> No other American or European libraries have documented holdings of this rare source. The special collections at the Carriage Museum of America in Lexington, KY contain a host of materials about French coaches, horn traditions, and even musical material related to carriages. Victor Viney, *Methode de trompe de mail-coach* (Paris: Passevant, 1893).

<sup>11</sup> In the six-part "*morceaux concertants*," three coach horns were joined by three cavalry horns ("*trompettes de cavalerie*"), an addition that offered more harmonic diversity.

<sup>12</sup> Topical use of hunting horns can be found in Weber's *Der Freischütz* (1821), Rossini's *La dame du lac* (1824), Wagner's *Tannhäuser* (1845), *Tristan und Isolde* (1865), Franck's *Le chasseur Maudet* (1882). For further discussion of military, pastoral, and hunting horns in music, Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

and musical practices in a new way – it looks at music through the lens of the street and, conversely, comments on the street through musical composition.<sup>13</sup>

**Example 1: Victor Viney's *La bienvenue* (1893)**



Viney's treatise was accompanied by a supplemental cassette featuring modern performances of his pieces on valve-less coach horns – with curiosity, I listened to the robust timbre of the coach horns playing the three-part polka *La bienvenue* in an ungainly

<sup>13</sup> The interest in preserving the practices of coach horn playing ran parallel to the Parisian bourgeois and high society's cultivation of carriage racing. Horse and carriage racing interests were shared in London and America. The practice of coach horn playing was cultivated largely by those with shared interests in music, horns, horses, and the military. Viney's treatise contains three part fanfares that were written by General Comte Friant Louis Francois Léon III (1822-1899), an active general during the Second Empire; Michel Ephrussi (1844-1914), French banker who bred and raced horses; Comte Félix-Nicolas Potocki (1845-1921), Polish aristocrat and husband to Parisian *salonnière* Emanuela Potacka; M Lambert de Rothschild, Belgian banker living in Paris; Comte Henry II Coustant d'Yanville, officer of the Légion d'honneur; as well as, Marquis de Bourg, Baron Léonino, Castro-Maya, P. Schneider, and the Baron de Roger.

yet imaginative profusion of triadic harmony (see example 1).<sup>14</sup> While the piece's limited resources seemed almost comic, the earnest and serious performance highlighted the fact that the composer had set these utilitarian instruments with considerable thoughtfulness and care. The setting offers unique insight into the cultural significance of the street, its coaches and instruments. This is apparent in Viney's conception of the coach horn – it is not used as a solo signal instrument but, rather, as an ensemble instrument, suggesting that he viewed the coach horn less as a practical tool and more as a symbolic artifact.<sup>15</sup> The horn's gregarious treatment portrays the street and omnibus scene as an interactive arena. Even the polka summons a social scene since the genre had been popularly used for dancing at Parisian salons and soirées since the 1840s.<sup>16</sup> With references to the nineteenth-century Parisian lifestyle in both public and private spaces, *La bienvenue* synthesizes the cultural memories of urban social life. The compositions were cultivated by horse-and-carriage racing enthusiasts, a community that repurposed utilitarian vehicles and their coach horns for entertainment. In doing so, this group affirmed the social importance of street life, a concept central to Viney's treatise.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, the cassette did not identify performers' names, recording location, or even the date of recording. Further information on the recording was also absent from the Carriage Museum archive records.

<sup>15</sup> By the time Viney wrote his treatise, coach horns were not commonly used and were replaced by mechanical horns. However, Viney does briefly nod to the coach horn's original function by notating and labeling the various street signals. Viney, *Methode de trompe*, 37-39.

<sup>16</sup> Henri Cellarius, *La danse des salons: par Cellarius; dessins de Gavarni, gravés par Lavieille*. 2. éd. (Paris: L'auteur, 1849).

<sup>17</sup> The use of coach horn compositions is not entirely clear. They may have been performed at racing events. They may have been used for social entertainment. An illustration appeared in Harper's Weekly depicting an informal coach horn performance in a barn stable. See James Edward Kelly, "Scene in a Coaching Club Stable," *Harper's Weekly* Vol. 25, No. 24 (11 June 1881): 380. Wood engraving.

## MUSICAL LANDSCAPE IN PARIS

Just as the streets were important to urban society, music similarly engrossed the populace. This period was marked by a high degree of popular involvement in music-making and musical patronage. The aristocratic and bourgeois classes fueled a flourishing opera culture and precipitated the widespread cultivation of music salons. Street musicians were also important contributors, as they affirmed popular musical tastes. With musical activity saturating everyday life, the nineteenth-century Parisian scene constitutes a ripe period for studying the intersections of music, urbanism, and sociability.

The proliferation of theaters catered to the market demand of a musically-voracious population. In 1866, France boasted 337 theaters, a number that far exceeded all other European countries, save Italy.<sup>18</sup> In Paris, the population supported three major opera houses -- the Opéra, Théâtre-Italien, and Opéra-Comique. Their patrons purchased seasonal subscriptions, and had the opportunity to attend the opera every day of the week. The Opéra and Théâtre-Italien presented operas on alternate days, and the Opéra-Comique offered performances every evening, even throughout the summer.<sup>19</sup> These plentiful offerings encouraged the cross-pollination of opera audiences, and enabled patrons to attend multiple performances each week.

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<sup>18</sup> In 1866, 1581 theaters were operating in Europe: France 337, Italy (including Venice) 346, Spain 168, Great Britain 150, Austria 150, Germany 191, Russia and Poland 41, Belgium 34, Holland 23, Switzerland 20, Sweden and Norway 18, Denmark 15, Portugal 16, Turkey 4, Greece 4, Rumania 3, and Serbia 1. See David Tunley, *Salons, Singers, and Songs: A Background to Romantic French Song 1830-1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 11.

<sup>19</sup> Steven Huebner's study of Parisian opera audiences contains detailed information on the houses' seasons of operation and weekly schedules. See Huebner, "Opera Audiences in Paris 1830-1870." *Music & Letters* Vol. 70, No. 2 (1989): 206-225. Also, Patrick Barbier, *Opera in Paris, 1800-1850: A Lively History*, translated by Robert Gust Luoma (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1995), 111-113.

The musical immersion of Parisian society continued in the residential arena, with an estimated 850 salons offering weekly concerts by mid-century.<sup>20</sup> Salon concerts were scheduled at all times of day, and salon-goers could potentially attend several daily. As I discuss in chapter three, Charles Gounod attended salons nearly every day of the week and, in his essay *The Artist and Modern Society*, expressed his astonishment over the tremendous residential involvement in musical life.<sup>21</sup> Bringing together over one hundred guests at each event, the salons' enabled and encouraged this popular participation.<sup>22</sup> Though salon programs catered to the tastes of the host, the concerts generally reflected the musical trends of the time. From chamber music to opera to song, the salons' diverse programs offered the guests a map of the current tastes and trends, orienting the public with the music scene.<sup>23</sup>

The musical saturation of Paris extended to its streets, where *musiciens ambulants* played an important role in the dissemination of music and the affirmation of public tastes. The music sung and played on barrel organs, violins, and guitars by these itinerant musicians constituted pieces that were broadly relevant to Parisians. Much of the street repertory

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<sup>20</sup> Journalist from *Theaterzeitung* reflected upon the 1845 salon season in Paris in an article published on 16 April 1846. Cited in William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848*, 2nd edition (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 36.

<sup>21</sup> Gounod kept weekly appointments on Mondays at Camille Saint-Saëns', Thursdays at Pauline Viardot's, Saturdays at Gioachino Rossini's, and Sundays at Princess Mathilde Bonaparte's. Gounod's salon appointments are noted in, Tunley, *Salons, Singers, and Songs*, 24; as well as, Nigel Simeone, *Paris: A Musical Gazetteer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 118 and 142. He reflected on this activity in, Gounod, "The Artist and Modern Society," *Autobiographical Reminiscences, with family letters and notes on music*, translated by W. Hely Hutchinson (New York: Da Capo, 1970), 253-267.

<sup>22</sup> According to Henri Blanchard, a typical salon event comprised one hundred guests. See Blanchard, "Auditions musicales," *Revue et gazette musicale* Vol. 19, No. 7 (15 February 1852), 2-3.

<sup>23</sup> For discussion of musical repertory cultivated in the nineteenth-century Parisian salon, see James Ross, "Music in the French Salon," *French Music Since Berlioz*, edited by Caroline Potter and Richard Langham Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 98-99.

was being performed concurrently in theaters and salons.<sup>24</sup> However, when a piece of music ultimately sounded on the street, the music was seen to have crossed the final threshold into popular fame.<sup>25</sup> In his anthology *Les refrains de la rue de 1830 à 1870* containing the texts of songs heard in the streets, Henri Gourdon described street music as the “thermometer of the public spirit,” suggesting that music heard in the street was the most discerning representation of the urban trends.<sup>26</sup> From the opera houses, concert halls, and salons to the street, musical activity in Paris was multi-dimensional, occurring in a multitude of spaces and contexts.

In nineteenth-century Paris, music was connected to sociability. For one, music was cultivated in social contexts, opera patrons and salon goers attending performances as much for the socialization as for the music.<sup>27</sup> In addition, music was a part of common discourse: popular interest supported the proliferation of musical periodicals, audiences described performances in their daily journals, and writers regularly incorporated musical scenes into novels.<sup>28</sup> Parisians also were attracted to the aspects of performance that

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<sup>24</sup> “Toutes les orgues de Barbarie ont moulu cet air au coin des carrefours: Mon beau navire fit fureur; on le chanta au théâtre, aux concerts, dans les salons, dans la rue, partout.” (“All the barrel organs have grinded this air on the corner of an intersection: *Mon beau navire* was all the rage; one sang it at the theater, at concerts, in the salons, in the street, everywhere.”) From H[enri] Gourdon de Genouillac, *Les refrains de la rue de 1830-1870* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1879), 21.

<sup>25</sup> Édouard Fétis describes this decisive moment, claiming that music heard in the street was marked as universal and ever present. See Fétis, “De la musique des rues,” *Revue Musicale* Vol. 9, No. 37 (13 September 1835), 289-293.

<sup>26</sup> “...la chanson des rues était considérée comme le thermomètre de l’esprit public...” Gourdon, *Les refrains de la rue*, 7-9.

<sup>27</sup> Cormac Newark, “Not Listening in Paris: Critical and Fictional Lapses of Attention at the Opera,” *Words and Notes in the Long Nineteenth Century*, edited by Katharine Ellis and Phyllis Weliver (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 35-55.

<sup>28</sup> Music journals included, *La France musicale*, *La revue musicale*, *La revue et gazette musicale*, *Le ménestrel*, and *L’art musical*. Journal entries describing musical activity can be found in, Caroline L. Murat, *My Memoirs*, edited by Robert Leighton (New York: Putnam, 1910), and also, Marc Roch Horace de Salviac de Viel-Castel, *Memoirs of Count Horace de Viel-Castel*, translated and edited by Charles Bousfield (Covent Garden: Remington and Co., 1888). Proust and Zola include musical scenes prominently in their writing.

related to human experience. Audiences encouraged the abundance of virtuoso concerts that featured emotive gestures and expressive performances.<sup>29</sup> In addition, the rise of amateur music-making, stimulated by the salon scene, offered enthusiasts tactile and experiential engagement with music. Furthermore, stirred by music's connection to social themes, nineteenth-century Parisians applauded programmatic symphonies that engaged the audience's human empathy, and that merged abstract genres with tangible and human topics.<sup>30</sup>

Interested in the connections between music and human experience, Parisian composers found the street to be a natural subject for musical study. Some pieces offered a close and immediate portrayal of the street. Charles Valentin Alkan's programmatic piano variation *Les omnibus* (1829) plunges the listener in an active urban scene.<sup>31</sup> Such a representation offers a glimpse into how Parisians experienced and perceived urban space. Other pieces offered more critical distance, commenting on the street and the ways that it shaped urban life. In his symphony *Les cris de Paris* (1857), Georges Kastner explores the sonic temporality of urban life as the soundscape morphs across the span of a day.<sup>32</sup> The symphony is divided into three sections, *Le matin*, *Le jour*, and *Le soir*, each

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<sup>29</sup> Performative gestures addressed in, Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); as well as Katharine Ellis, "Female pianists and their male critics in nineteenth-century Paris," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 50, No. 2-3 (1997): 353-385.

<sup>30</sup> Such programmatic symphonies include, Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* (1830), *Harold en Italie* (1834), *Romeo et Juliette* (1839); the symphonic poems of Franz Liszt and César Franck; Kastner's *Cris de Paris* (1857); and Saint-Saëns' *Danse Macabre* (1874).

<sup>31</sup> Charles-Valentin Alkan, *Les omnibus. Variations pour le piano forté* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1830), musical score.

<sup>32</sup> Georges Kastner and Edouard Thierry, *Les voix de Paris: essai d'une histoire littéraire et musicale des cris populaires de la capitale, depuis le moyen âge jusqu'à nos jours, précédé de considérations sur l'origine et le caractère du cri en général, et suivi de Les cris de Paris, grande symphonie humoristique vocale et instrumentale* (Paris: G. Brandus, Dufour, 1857).



section comprising several through-composed vignettes of daily Parisian life. Discussed at length in chapter two, *Le matin* illustrates the street's sonic infiltration of private life as street cries filter through windows and awaken a sleeping Parisian. After the infantry parades past playing an instrumental march, the Parisian resident's day is traced further in *Le jour*; from his home, the Parisian listens to the competing sounds of residential music-making as the lyrical strains of a romance are comically interrupted by the pedagogical exercises of a neighboring pianist. Directly following, the cavalry is heard playing another instrumental march. Finally, the Parisian's evening excursions are chronicled in *Le soir*, from his street encounters with newspaper vendors and ticket hawkers to his patronization of the Opéra. Kastner's composition highlights the centrality of the street to city life: the street is shown to host commerce and support civil order; the street's sonic presence is shown to extend into surrounding buildings and residences; and, the street is shown to be the urban network that binds together the people, activities, and institutions of Paris.

In the opera arena, Parisian composers began to use the street as a site for character development. Employing this public space as a dramatic tool, composers and librettists created street scenes in which opera characters assert or discover their identity and role in society. Such street scenes appear in Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* (1825), Halévy's *La juive* (1835), Gounod's *Faust* (1859), and Bizet's *Carmen* (1875).<sup>33</sup> A particularly compelling example occurs in Act III scene i of Jules Massenet's *Manon* (1884), when

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<sup>33</sup> In *La dame blanche*, Georges Brown begins to recall his forgotten identity in the plaza where townspeople sing the Avenel Anthem in Act III scene iii; in *Faust*, Marguerite and Faust first meet and evaluate each other amid festivities in a town square in Act II; and, in *Carmen*, the opera opens in a city square, immediately establishing the character of Carmen in a crowded scene.

the juvenile title character seemingly emerges into womanhood during this scene on the Parisian promenade Cours-la-Reine (see example 2). In this environment, Manon observes how the city responds to her. Interacting playfully with the crowd, she becomes aware of her allures and how they distinguish her in society. The street space provides the conditions that enable the transformation of her perspective.

The text of Manon's recitation preceding the *Gavotte* illustrates how the street fosters the development of her social awareness. The scene, filled with the commotion of street vendors and promenaders, shifts its focus as the young lady enters and sings,

*Je marche sur tous les chemins  
Aussi bien qu'une souveraine;  
On s'incline, on baise ma main,  
Car par la beauté je suis reine!*

(I walk through all the streets  
As finely as a sovereign;  
They bow, they kiss my hand,  
Because in beauty I am the queen!)

**Example 2: Manon, Act III, “Je marche sur tous les chemins” (1884), mm. 189-196**

[illegible]

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Gr. Fl.

P. Fl.

Hautb.

Clar.

Bass.

Pist.

Triangle.

Viol.

On s'en-clin-on bai - se ma main, — Car par la beauté je suis rei-net Je suis rei - net!

From the outset, Manon identifies the street as the context for her social interactions, referencing “*les chemins*” (“roads”) in the first phrase. In a later verse, she uses metaphors of carriages and streets to describe her life, explaining that horses pull her through Parisian adventures at a galloping pace.<sup>34</sup> Manon also underscores the social exchanges she experienced in this environment. As people bowed, kissed her hand, and tipped their hats, Manon discovers these gestures to be clues about her status and desirability in society.<sup>35</sup>

Massenet’s musical treatment illustrates the nature of these social exchanges. Manon’s declamatory phrases are designed to attract the attention of the public, each verse beginning with an assertive leap (m. 189) and ending with an agile and flashy vocal flourish (m. 196). Between each sub-phrase, Manon sustains a pitch, offering her an opportunity to observe the crowd’s response, expressed as a burst of enthusiasm from the orchestra (mm. 190, 192, 194). At each of these intersections, the meter changes from 12/8 to 9/8, creating a stop-and-go, disjointed texture. Listeners’ ears and eyes are drawn between Manon and the crowd/orchestra, observing the public response to Manon and deciphering cues about her status in the scene. Ultimately, Manon’s social observation leads her to the conclusion that she is queen (“*je suis reine*”), a perception that, not coincidentally, conflates her location at Cours-de-Reine with her sense of identity. In this sense, the public promenade is a conduit for her growing self-awareness and, through word-play, it is also shown to become a part of her perceived identity.

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<sup>34</sup> “*Mes chevaux courent à grands pas devant ma vie aventureuses.*” (“My horses run at a brisk pace before my adventurous life.”) See Jules Massenet, Romain Rolland, Henri Meilhac, and Philippe Gille, *Manon opéra comique en 5 actes et 6 tableaux*, Act III, scene i (Paris: G. Hartmann, 1884).

<sup>35</sup> “*Les grands s’avancent chapeau bas...*” (“Nobles approach, hats lowered...”) Ibid.

## STREET AND CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

Parisians were interested in social exploration and reassessment because of the vast changes that occurred during the course of the century. Due to the political upheaval and frequent regime changes following the French Revolution, the organization of aristocratic society was no longer ordered as it was during the Ancien Régime. The balance of power was constantly in flux as aristocratic houses contested rights to the throne: after the house Bourbon regained control after the fall of Napoleon I in 1814, the throne was seized by the house of Orléans in 1830; amidst this tumult, the Bonaparte family plotted their return to power, and instigated a *coup d'état* that reestablished their sovereignty in 1850. As the politics shifted during the century, aristocrats came and went from the Parisian scene.

The Duchess of Berry, who played an important role in the early reception of Boieldieu's *La dame blanche*, fled Paris in 1830 after the fall of the Bourbon Restoration. Princess Mathilde Bonaparte lived in exile until the age of 29, when she settled in Paris and began her career as a *salonnière*.<sup>36</sup> Since the prominent aristocratic figures frequently changed, upper class society relied upon salons and other social gatherings to reassess their status and role in Paris. Members of this class developed a sense of discretion, and conducted their daily activity primarily in interior spaces; although, as my study of salon shows, they were keenly aware of parallel social exploration on the street.

The bourgeois class, which grew and prospered during the nineteenth-century, broadly describes middle-class, non-aristocratic society, though the wealth and status of its

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<sup>36</sup> Princess Mathilde spent most of her early life in Italy. For detailed biographical information on Princess Mathilde, see Joanna Richardson, *Princess Mathilde* (New York: Scribner, 1969).

constituents varied considerably. The bourgeois class flourished in Paris and achieved different degrees of financial success, with some becoming quite wealthy and powerful through industrial commerce and banking. The rich bourgeois sought ways to distinguish themselves from the lower tiers of the middle class, a social negotiation that was acted out in public and semi-public spaces.<sup>37</sup> The wealthy bourgeois purchased exclusive, boxed and preferred seating in theaters, a means of regrouping themselves with Parisian aristocracy and spatially distancing themselves from the middle-class seating.<sup>38</sup> Fueling the consumer industry, the bourgeois displayed their wealth through their clothing and appearance, only the most affluent staying fashionably current.<sup>39</sup> In addition, public places, such as streets and parks, became important spaces in which the bourgeois could assess their status, as well as observe and imitate the mannerisms of elite society.<sup>40</sup>

The working class, constituting the lowest class in Parisian society, were visually distinct from the middle and upper classes. Since women's tight corsets, long trains and large crinolines were impractical for laborious work and financially inaccessible, the lower classes could be easily distinguished by their appearance. The low-class population in Paris grew during the nineteenth century, particularly as poor workers migrated to the city from the surrounding rural areas, such as Brie, Valois, Flanders and Piccardy.<sup>41</sup> As I

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<sup>37</sup> William Weber contended that the middle class was multilayered and complex. He also illustrated how the wealthy bourgeois sought to distinguish their elite status and distance themselves from others in the middle class. Weber shows how this manifested in exclusive theater seating and ticket pricing. See Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, 9 and 27.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>39</sup> Denise Z. Davidson, "Making Society 'Legible': People-Watching in Paris after the Revolution," *French Historical Studies* Vol. 28, No. 2 (2005): 270.

<sup>40</sup> Davidson contends that the interaction and observation of strangers in public spaces helped make social class and status more legible in a changing landscape. *Ibid.*, 265-296.

<sup>41</sup> Clifford D. Rosenberg, *Policing Paris: The Origins of Modern Immigration Control between the Wars* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 27-29.

discuss in the study of itinerant musicians, Italian musicians also settled in Paris after the Congress of Vienna and established a strong presence as street entertainers. The professions of Parisian laborers included railroad construction and industrial work, as well as jobs that were conducted in the street, such as sweepers, vendors, hawkers, tinkerers, and performers. Parisians were attuned to the migrant workers' accents and different cultural backgrounds. In his 1857 treatise *Les voix de Paris*, Kastner documented the nuanced intonations of Parisian street cries, noting the regional accents of various vendors: Kastner indicated that glass workers were typically from Piedmont and Limousin with cries that were, "*très intense, très aigu et lancé brusquement*" ("very intense, very sharp, and suddenly emitted"), and noted that a young umbrella vendor from Savoy spoke with a nasal and lazy tone, pronouncing his product, *la parapluie*, instead as "*pérépluie*."<sup>42</sup> As the multi-cultural working classes crossed paths with the urban middle classes in the Parisian streets, they deepened the complexity and breadth of urban landscape. This rich scene was significant for Parisians because it offered an opportunity to develop a broader overview of metropolitan life and the various social groups that comprised the city.

Just as Manon interacted with people on the promenade and discovered her position in society, Parisian residents similarly found that streets helped to situate themselves in the urban social scene. These revelations occurred as Parisians were increasingly exposed to street interactions over the course of the nineteenth century. They were encouraged to circulate through the city with the emergence of sidewalks and advent of public

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<sup>42</sup> Kastner, *Les voix de Paris*, 28 and 102.

transportation. Parks and promenades even changed the way Parisians viewed walking – strolling was no longer a means to a destination, but it became a mode of entertainment. Furthermore, cafes and outdoor restaurants opened into streets and sidewalks, allowing socialization to spill into urban space. With the abundance of social activity on the streets, Parisians became interested in people-watching, a practice that helped them better understand how they fit into urban society.

The Parisian fascination with the street has been most extensively analyzed in studies of the *flâneur*, an intellectual, urban explorer who gathered information about society and synthesized modern culture through social observation in public spaces.<sup>43</sup> However, this practice was not exclusive to the *flâneur*; such habits were cultivated throughout the city. In his book *The American in Paris* (1835), John Sanderson admitted to paying six sous simply to experience the humor and novelty of seeing people ride the omnibus.<sup>44</sup> Adolf Menzel's painting *Weekday in Paris* (1869) encapsulates the Parisian interest in studying society on the street (see figure 1). Illustrated from the perspective of a Parisian pedestrian, the painting does not hold the viewer at a polite distance but, instead, immerses the viewer in the motion, implied sounds, and realism of the space. Portraying a host of human interactions, Menzel shows that the Parisian streets brought together a cross-section of society, from the turban-clad peddler to the neatly-groomed bourgeois lady with children, the man in military dress to the distinguished gentlemen with top hats.

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<sup>43</sup> Critical perspectives on the *flâneur* were addressed in, Walter Benjamin, "The Flâneur," *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, translated by Harry Zohn (London: Verso, 1985), 35-66.

<sup>44</sup> John Sanderson, *The American in Paris* (Philadelphia: Carey, 1839), 127.



These social interactions are highlighted in Menzel's landscape, suggesting that Parisian society could be understood from the weekday exchanges on its streets.

**Figure 1: Adolf Friedrich Erdmann von Menzel, *Pariser Wochentag* (1869)**



The notion that vital social information was encoded in street life is reflected in numerous nineteenth-century books that used the street as a lens for studying society. In her book about salon life, *Les salons de Paris* (1857), writer and socialite Virginie Ancelot takes her reader on a walking tour of Paris and introduces the salons from street view.<sup>45</sup> In the same vein, historian Charles Nodier's *Paris historique: Promenade dans les rues de Paris* (1838-1839) and Bathild Bouniol's *Les rues de Paris: biographies, portraits, récits*

<sup>45</sup> Marguerite-Louise-Virginie Ancelot, *Les salons de Paris: foyers éteints* (Paris: J. Tardieu, 1858).

*et legends* (1872) use the Parisian streets as the framework for their studies of notable people and urban events.<sup>46</sup> In response to the public's fascination with the subject, Edgar Mareuse went so far as to edit and republish Guillot de Paris' *Le dit des rues de Paris* (1300), a medieval poem citing and describing all 310 streets of the capital. Synthesized with Mareuse's editorial comments, the 1875 edition of the book illuminated the city's geographic development and, in particular, fueled the public's curiosity about the socio-urban history of Paris.<sup>47</sup>

Implicit in this street craze was the underlying belief that the streets situated Parisians socially. As the streets oriented the public, they facilitated the development of self-awareness, a clear sense of historical identity, and present place in society. Historian Victor Fournel, one of the most prolific writers about Parisian urban life, went so far as to describe his street experiences as an odyssey.<sup>48</sup> As in all voyages – by sea or by street – the traveler gains new perspective on his or her home, returning with a rejuvenated, altered or deepened sense of self.

As Fournel implied with his odyssey metaphor, the Parisian streets were not seen as passive sites that hosted human interaction, but rather as participants that fostered the

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<sup>46</sup> Charles Nodier, Augte Regnier, and Champin Regnier, *Paris historique, promenade dans les rues de Paris ... avec un résumé de l'histoire de Paris* (Paris: F.G. Levrault, 1838), and Bathild Bouniol, *Les rues de Paris biographies, portraits, récits et légendes* (Paris: Bray et Retaux, 1872).

<sup>47</sup> Mareuse wrote, "...nous permet de nous transporter par la pensée à l'époque où elle formait la ceinture de Paris." ("...we allow ourselves to be transported by thought to the era where the body of Paris was formed.") See Guillot de Paris and Edgar Mareuse, *Le dit des rues de Paris (1300)* (Paris: Librairie générale, 1875), preface, iv.

<sup>48</sup> Victor Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris* (Paris: A. Delahays, 1858), 267. Fournel's body of literature about Parisian street life supports the notion that the street was viewed as a powerful shaping force in society. Such books include, Fournel, *Énigmes des rues de Paris* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1860), and Fournel, *Chroniques et légendes des rues de Paris* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1864).

journey, mediated the adventures, and propelled the voyage. Honoré Balzac seemed to share this view when he personified Parisian streets in his *Histoire des Treize* (1834-39), and wrote, “the streets of Paris...possess human qualities”.<sup>49</sup> In addition, artist Camille Pissarro tried to capture the personality of the Parisian streets in the 1880s when he painted over forty studies of Boulevard Montmartre, Boulevard Saint-Honoré, Avenue de l’Opéra, and Boulevard des Théâtres-Français in different weather, seasons, and times of day. Unlike Menzel’s painting which focuses on everyday interactions, Pissarro’s *Avenue de l’Opéra: Morning Sunshine* (1898) presents an aerial perspective that makes the street itself the subject of the painting (see Figure 2).<sup>50</sup> The pedestrians and carriages are dwarfed by the expansive street, a silent force directing and carrying the people through the city. The material embodiment of the city, the street was deeply connected to the everyday activity and cultural production of Paris.

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<sup>49</sup> Honoré Balzac, *Histoire des Treize: Ferragus, chef des dévorants*, vol. 13, translated by George Saintsbury (London : J.M. Dent, 1898), 9.

<sup>50</sup> Suffering from chronic eye infections during this period and confined to indoor spaces, Pissarro painted views from *hôtel* windows in Paris. His limited ability to circulate in Paris, perhaps gave him a unique appreciation of the interactions and movements of the streets below. Richard R. Brettell, Camille Pissarro, Joachim Pissarro, and Mary Anne Stevens, *The Impressionist and the City: Pissarro's Series Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 79.

**Figure 2: Camille Pissarro, *Avenue de l'Opéra, morning sunshine* (1898)**



### **MUSIC AND SPACE: Literature review**

Critically examining connections between music and space, the studies in this dissertation build upon the fields of soundscape studies and urban geography, and they particularly draw from theorizations of space developed in the field of gender studies. While gender scholars have explored space from a multitude of approaches, the scholarship most relevant to my research is that which refined critical understanding of public and private space.<sup>51</sup> Such studies have brought texture and depth to environments that had previously

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<sup>51</sup> Some scholars have discussed space within music compositions, locating a place of femininity in gender-conscious analysis of music, such as Susan McClary's study of Laurie Andersson and Elie Hisama's



received superficial historical attention. In addition, they have shown that music's purpose, cultural impact, and interpretation has been affected by the spaces in which it has been performed. Such concepts are reflected in the work of Ruth Solie, particularly her study of "girling" at the piano that illustrated how the behaviors cultivated in Victorian parlors shaped feminine identity and musical practice.<sup>52</sup> The study of space in gender research has cross-pollinated with studies in identity and difference.<sup>53</sup> These closely-related analytical fields have shown that space, defined conceptually or literally through geography and architecture, is a critical factor in creating individual and collective identities. Implicit in this body of work is the notion that spaces cultivate specific social and musical habits, a premise that I bring to my study of the street.

Theories of music and space suggest that different musical venues have the potential to foster unique and specific cultural and music-making practices. While musical scholarship has addressed the spatial features of concert halls and opera houses, the study of salon spaces is less developed.<sup>54</sup> The salon has sparked discussion about the conceptual division between the public and private sphere, the material and architectural

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analysis of Ruth Crawford Seeger's String Quartet. Others have addressed the spaces that women have historically occupied in the musical world, as in Nancy Reich's study of class and female musicians, and Katherine Ellis' work on nineteenth-century female concert pianists in Paris. See Susan McClary, "This Is Not a Story My People Tell: Musical Time and Space According to Laurie Anderson," *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Ellie Michiko Hisama, "The question of climax in Ruth Crawford's string quartet, Mvt. 3," *Concert Music, Rock, and Jazz Since 1945: Essays and Analytical Studies*, edited by Elizabeth West Marvin and Richard Hermann (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1995), 285-312; Nancy B. Reich, "Women as musicians: a question of class," *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, edited by Ruth Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 125-46; and Ellis, "Female pianists and their male critics," 353-385.

<sup>52</sup> Ruth A. Solie, "Girling at the Parlor Piano," *Music in Other Words*, 85-117.

<sup>53</sup> The volume of work on identity and difference includes race, class, gender, and LGBTQ studies.

<sup>54</sup> Analyses of concert halls and opera houses can be found in, James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), and Cormac Newark, "Not Listening in Paris."

aspects of the salon have not been extensively addressed. Literature on music salons has focused on the patronage of salon hosts: Sylvia Kahan's biography of the Princess of Polignac as well as Miriam Chimènes' monograph on patronage have displayed how salon hostesses played an important role in shaping musical aesthetics and history.<sup>55</sup> Other studies have centered on identifying and discussing the repertory, composers and performers of the salon world, as in the writing of James Ross and David Tunley.<sup>56</sup> Tunley, however, engages in a brief discussion about the distribution of salons in Paris, characterizing salons by their *faubourg*, or neighborhood.<sup>57</sup> I develop this concept further in chapter three, showing that the identity of salons and their guests were closely tied to urban geography. In this same chapter, I endeavor to demonstrate the relevance of spatial analysis in salon research by examining the architectural organization of residences and by considering how interior features affected the habits of performers and guests.

While the study of interior design has remained peripheral in salon studies, such approaches have precedent in theater and concert hall research. Scholars have argued that theater designs affected audience's behavior, habits, and engagement with music. Particularly notable in this vein is the work of James Johnson, who claimed that Parisian audiences fell silent by 1850, and analyzed emerging theater features such as lighting, box seating, and curtains that caused audiences to interact with musical performance in new, and more silent, ways.<sup>58</sup> This notion is also addressed in part by Lydia Goehr, who

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<sup>55</sup> Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), and Myriam Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens: du salon au concert à Paris sous la IIIe République*. (Paris: Fayard, 2004).

<sup>56</sup> James Ross, "Music in the French Salon," 91-116, and Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs*, 18-20.

<sup>57</sup> Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs*, 18-20.

<sup>58</sup> Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, and Newark, "Not Listening in Paris."

submits that the advent of concert halls, the “museums of music”, changed the public reception and conception of music.<sup>59</sup>

A volume of research on music and space has focused on the influence of the urban environment on musical aesthetics and music-making culture. A forerunner to later studies on music and urbanism, Anselm Gerhard argues in *The Urbanization of Opera* that the development of Parisian grand opéra in the mid-nineteenth century could not be entirely explained using teleological and organicist approaches to form, and he asserted that the music was influenced rather by urban space. Though his analysis is rooted in genre study rather than spatial analysis, Gerhard made the leap in suggesting that surrounding spaces were influencing Parisian musical life.<sup>60</sup> Successive studies searched for new frameworks to study this phenomenon.

Since then, historians have found much application for soundscape theory in studies of music and space. Growing from Murray Schaefer’s seminal work on the subject, soundscape has offered musicologists an opportunity to treat sounds as landmarks imbued with social meaning.<sup>61</sup> This approach has been employed in the work of Derek B. Scott, Alain Corbin, and Aimée Boutin.<sup>62</sup> Soundscape framework is useful for the

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<sup>59</sup> Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 239-240.

<sup>60</sup> Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

<sup>61</sup> Soundmarks are sounds that are recognized by a specific community. Signals are alerts that are heard in the foreground of the landscape. Keynotes are the base sound of a space, heard as background to the surface activity. Murray Schaefer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1994).

<sup>62</sup> Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University

close examination of the meaningfulness of sounds at a particular site. However, in this field, space itself is seen to be a passive vessel for sound. As such, only the sounds, and not the spaces, are investigated for their role in shaping the communities they encapsulate.

The field of urban geography offers a rich sense of how space engages with musical practices, and has significantly shaped my analytical approaches in this dissertation. Although this approach has been utilized primarily in ethnographic and popular music studies, it offers much insight to the pursuits of the historical musicologist.<sup>63</sup> This approach considers the *situation* of musical activity, examining how the location shapes and impacts the type of performance and its reception. It considers the *materiality* of the space, investigating the objects held by the environment and their cultural signification. In addition, studies in urban geography devote attention to the *organization* of spaces, considering how its construction affects people's circulation and social engagement. Finally, it considers the *symbolism* of a space, determining how the summation of these spatial features reflect a specific social ideology. Looking at these aspects of urban space, the historian has an opportunity to observe how the environment mediates society's engagement with music, and how music, in turn, shapes society.<sup>64</sup> These

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Press, 1998); and Aimée Boutin, *City of Noise: Sound and Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

<sup>63</sup> Adam Krims, *Music and Urban Geography* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Sara Cohen, "Bubbles, tracks, borders and lines: mapping music and urban landscape." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* Vol. 137, No. 1 (2012): 135-170. David Beer, "Unpicking the musical city: on Adam Krims's Music and Urban Geography." *Journal of Urban Cultural Studies* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2014): 127-135. Canova, Nicolas. "Music in French geography as space marker and place maker." *Social & Cultural Geography* Vol. 14, No. 8 (2013): 861-867.

<sup>64</sup> Krims contends that urban space and music culture are linked, not in a direct, causal relationship but, rather, deeply entwined as they "participate in each other." See Krims, *Music and Urban Geography*, 8.



inquiries are central to the work of Georgina Born, who argued that music and spaces have bearing on social dynamics. In *Music, Sound, and Space*, Born asserted that space, music and socialization interrelate at four levels: first, as musician and audience interact at a particular performance site; second, as collective communities form through shared experiences; third, as social hierarchies emerge; and, fourth, as music is regulated through institutions.<sup>65</sup>

Implicit in urban geography and Born's studies is the notion that space is an active force in culture. This assumption, that a non-sentient entity can have agency and bearing on society has been theorized in the literature of Actor-Network Theory. Developed by social science scholars Michel Callon and Bruno Latour, Actor-Network Theory treats material items as actors or agents in history, as equally as important as people in the shaping of social relationships. As distilled by Benjamin Piekut, this approach is relevant to musical study, particularly when considering the material circulation of sheet music and recordings.<sup>66</sup> In my research project, I contend that this theory is also useful to the study of space, and that, in particular, the streets of nineteenth-century Paris played a role in shaping musical life.

The ensuing studies in this dissertation show how three different realms of music making – opera, salon, and street performance – were mediated by the Parisian streets. Tracing the cultural path of a whimsical omnibus named and fashioned after Boieldieu's *La dame blanche*, chapter two shows how the Parisian streets shaped the cultural meaning of the

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<sup>65</sup> Born, *Music, Sound and Space*, 32.

<sup>66</sup> Piekut, "Actor-Networks," esp. 206-207.

comic opera, as the music became infused with the democratic and working class ideologies of the omnibus. The study not only illustrates the ways that the street shaped the public reception of music, but also how music also influenced the cultural concept of street space. As the omnibus trumpeted the opera's refrains on a novelty horn and circulated the music and images of *La dame blanche* for decades, Boieldieu's opera became attached to the personality of the Parisian streets and, ultimately, became a quintessential emblem of the city.

Chapter three focuses on the symbolic notion of the street and how its quality of motion was even perceived to pervade indoor spaces. Responding to Charles Gounod's lively description of the residential music scene – "our houses are not in the street any more; the street is in our houses"<sup>67</sup> – I examine the Second Empire salons of Princess Mathilde Bonaparte and others to show how salon guests might have perceived street-like circulation in this environment. This offers a new view of music salons as their programs of repertory, interior architecture, and event choreography are viewed through the lens of urban motion.

Returning to the materiality of the street in chapter four, I contend that the musical performances of the *musiciens ambulants* problematized the Parisian streets. As itinerant musicians performed in the street, they stirred apprehension among the Parisian bourgeois and public officials. The street offered a platform for the voices of the *musiciens ambulants* who were otherwise disempowered members of the lower class. In

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<sup>67</sup> Gounod, "The Artist and Modern Society," 258.

response to the itinerant performances, some Parisians developed the notion that street activities could influence public opinion and foster social change. The music-making of the Parisian *musiciens ambulants* ultimately sparked the development of urban policies to regulate and shape street life.

—CHAPTER TWO—

**THE OPERA AND THE OMNIBUS:  
The Urban Routes of Boieldieu's *La dame blanche***

A fleet of white omnibuses pulled by white horses appeared in the streets of Paris in the summer of 1828. Known as the *Dames Blanches*, these vehicles were fashioned and named after Boieldieu's comic opera *La dame blanche* (1825). Their large carriages were painted with the opera's pastoral scenery and gesturing characters, and they were equipped with custom-made mechanical horns which trumpeted Boieldieu's music across the boulevards. While these carriages have remained a whimsical anecdote in the urban history of Paris, they have not yet been examined for the role they played in the longstanding popularity of Boieldieu's opera. Circulating in Paris for almost thirty years, the omnibuses exposed the opera to a broad audience, embedded the opera in the urban scene, and enriched the cultural significance of the work.

Scholars have traditionally attributed the popularity of Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* to the appeal of the composition: Boieldieu's synthesis of French and Italian comic opera textures was innovative and fresh; the plot was based on the works of the highly-popular author Sir Walter Scott and capitalized on the rampant Scottish vogue in Europe at that time; and Eugène Scribe's pacing of the libretto was engaging, becoming the new template for future comic operas.<sup>68</sup> While these artistic features certainly contributed to

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<sup>68</sup> On Boieldieu synthesizing French and Italian styles, see Damian Colas and Hervé Lacombe, *The Keys to French Opera in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 89, 109, and 167-168. On Scribe's innovations with the opéra-comique genre, such as the pacing of large ensembles and delayed-action plots, see Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1979). Scribe's libretto draws elements from Scott's *Guy Mannering*, *The Monastery*, as well as *The Abbot* and narrative poem "Lady of the Lake." The popularity of Scottish

the public's appreciation of the work, the cultural imprint of this composition seems to extend beyond the stage or score. Following its initial success at the Opéra Comique, the opera received an uninterrupted run of performances continuing to the end of the century. In addition, a series of public tributes affirmed the urban acclaim of *La dame blanche* in Paris. In 1852, the plaza attached to the Opéra Comique was renamed "Place Boieldieu" and, in 1862, Boieldieu's bust was crowned before the public. The opera was spotlighted during the 1889 World's Fair in Paris and, furthermore, the Opéra Comique commissioned a mural for its lobby in 1898 featuring scenes from *La dame blanche*.

An investigation of the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses illustrates how the urban fame of *La dame blanche* was not forged in the opera house alone, but was also negotiated through its public reception in the streets of Paris. Nineteenth-century French writer and music critic Édouard Fétis described how the reputation of a piece of music was transformed when it was heard on the city streets of Paris in his 1835 article entitled *De la musique des rues*. He claimed that a street performance marked the music's moment of popular triumph, but also its moment of exile from the exclusive musical world. He wrote,

Malheur au compositeur auquel échoit l'honneur d'une telle popularité, du moment où son œuvre a passé dans la rue, on le repousse du salon. Malheur à lui, ai-je dit, s'il n'attache du prix qu'à l'opinion qui paie; mais s'il a de l'orgueil bien placé, si l'approbation gratuite de la masse lui est une récompense suffisante, il sera heureux; car sa musique, une fois adoptée par les orgues, deviendra populaire; elle sera dans toutes les bouches, elle le poursuivra partout dans le jour et dans la nuit.<sup>69</sup>

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lore in Europe is addressed in, Gerard Carruthers, David Goldie, and Alastair Renfrew, eds., *Scotland and the 19th-century World* (New York: Rodopi, 2012), especially the introduction and p. 267.

<sup>69</sup> Fétis, "De la musique des rues," 290.

(Woe to the composer who receives the honor of such a form of popularity; from the moment that his work passes through the street, people cast it out of the salon. Woe to him, I say, if he attaches importance to the opinions of the paying audience; but if he has a modest pride and if the free approbation of the masses is sufficient recompense, he will be happy; because his music, once adopted by the [barrel] organs will become popular; it will be at everyone's lips and it will be heard throughout the day and night.)

Fétis's observations are relevant to the study of *La dame blanche* because he acknowledges that spaces, particularly the street, affect musical reception. He suggests that the public regarded "street" music as universal and yet vernacular, both elevated and familiar. As the images and sounds of Boieldieu's opera were disseminated for decades on the streets of Paris, *La dame blanche* became woven into the identity of the city.

In this study, I contend that the omnibuses cemented *La dame blanche*'s place and prominence in Parisian culture. Looking at the carriage routes, cultural significance, and public response to these omnibuses, I argue that the *Dames Blanches* made the opera culturally relevant on an urban stage. Shifting away from its conservative origins under the Bourbon Restoration, Boieldieu's opera became linked to the progressive and democratic ideals fostered by the omnibus. I claim that the musical routes of the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses played a profound role in the reception of the opera and, ultimately, affected the reputation of the Opéra Comique as it was compelled to bend and change to contain the famed *La dame blanche*.

## BOURBON ROOTS: Early Reception

A popular sensation, Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* was premiered on December 10, 1825 at the Salle Feydeau of the Opéra Comique, and it was immediately embraced as a quintessentially French opera. This was a somewhat ironic classification since the opera was set in Scotland and based on Scottish literature. Nevertheless, in June 1826, the *Figaro* printed a letter citing composers such as Boieldieu as evidence of genius in French composition and referring to works such as *La dame blanche* as examples of the flourishing music culture in France.<sup>70</sup>

A compelling explanation for the opera's enthusiastic response in Paris was its congruence with the principles endorsed by the Bourbon Regime.<sup>71</sup> On the throne of France, Charles X's counter-revolutionary agenda reinstated the powers of the Catholic Church, increased censorship, and resurrected the traditions of the *ancien régime*. Boieldieu's opera fit into this environment well since it too endorsed social conservatism and celebrated a return to older ways. *La dame blanche* was generously supported by the royal court, a political endorsement that might indicate that the opera was perceived to align with Bourbon ideals. This association was initially established when Boieldieu dedicated the work to the Duchesse of Berry, the daughter-in-law to the King (see figure

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<sup>70</sup> Unknown, "Seconde lettre à un Italien, sur la musique française," *Le Figaro* Vol. 1, No. 134 (6 June 1826): 2-3. The first letter of the series ran on 1 June 1826 and broadly addressed differences between French and Italian styles. The second letter focused on the differences between French and Italian comic opera styles. The third letter was published on 10 June 1826 and focused on the idiosyncrasies of each language and the challenges they posed to poets.

<sup>71</sup> Vincent Giroud briefly noted the connection between *La dame blanche*'s plot and Bourbon politics, saying that the plot, "must have touched a personal resonance in the Restoration audience." From Vincent Giroud, *French Opera: A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 118.

1).<sup>72</sup> The work received additional support from the court when Boieldieu was invited to conduct a private performance of *La dame blanche* for Charles X at the Duchess's Elysée residence.<sup>73</sup> Boieldieu received further validation from Charles X who in 1826 awarded the composer a 1200-franc pension as well as a gold-plated toilet service, gifts that were notably bestowed shortly after the premiere of *La dame blanche*.<sup>74</sup> Since the opera was seemingly embraced by the reigning court, the public might have associated the work with the Bourbon regime. When audiences lavished attention on the opera, their approbation also ingratiated the court by affirming the tastes and values of the crown.

The plot of *La dame blanche* dramatized a restoration narrative similar to the Bourbons' return to power and, as such, it was well-positioned to win the approval of royalist sympathizers. Set in rural Scotland, *La dame blanche* opens with townspeople living under the governance of a corrupt steward while awaiting the return of the long-lost heir to the local Avenel estate. A passing soldier named Georges Brown sympathizes with the townspeople and volunteers to visit the Avenel castle to answer a mysterious summons from the *Dame Blanche*, a legendary apparition who watched over the Avenel family. At the castle, Georges is received by Anna, an orphan raised by the Avenel family who, disguised as the white spirit, convinces Georges to participate in a plot to free the town from the steward's control. According to plan, Georges wins the keys to the old estate at

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<sup>72</sup> François-Adrien Boieldieu and Eugène Scribe. *La dame blanche: Opéra comique en trois actes: Représenté pour la première fois sur le Théâtre Royal de l'Opéra Comique, le 10 décembre 1825* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1825). Musical score.

<sup>73</sup> Adrien Boieldieu, "Three autograph letters signed, 1820-1834," Memorial Library of Music, number 108a.

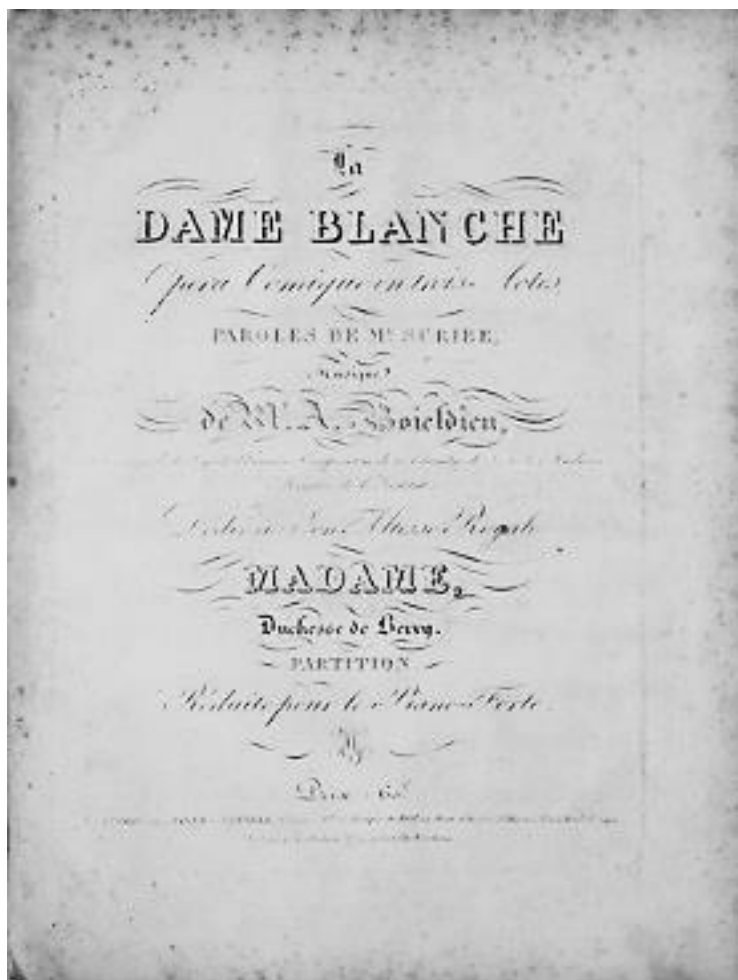
<sup>74</sup> Charles Gabet, *Dictionnaire des artistes de l'école française au XIXe siècle: Peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure, dessin, lithographie et composition musicale* (Paris: Chez Madame Vergne, 1831), 73-4.



a public auction. His victory is celebrated by the townspeople who sing the Scottish Anthem, a local ballade that briefly stirs Georges' forgotten childhood memories. When Georges cannot produce payment for the estate and is threatened with imprisonment, Anna, still disguised as the *Dame Blanche*, produces the Avenel inheritance on his behalf. In the commotion, Anna is unmasked and, furthermore, Georges discovers that he is Julian Avenel, the lost heir and rightful lord of the Avenel estate. The town is restored to order and the people rejoice.

**Figure 1: Dedication to Duchess of Berry in first-edition piano vocal score**

Inscription reads, "*paroles de M Scribe; mis en musique et dédié à son Altesse royale Madame Duchesse de Berry par A. Boieldieu.*" ("words by M Scribe, set to music and dedicated to her royal highness Mme Duchesse de Berry by A. Boieldieu")



The plot of *La dame blanche* emphasizes the importance of ancestral rule, and suggests that leadership was a hereditary quality found only in noble blood. The townspeople were shown to be weak: they were fearful of local legends and superstitions, their pooled finances were not enough to outbid the steward at the public auction, and their only salvation was the man whose power ultimately stemmed from his lineage. The parallel to the Bourbon family is easy to draw: the issue of heredity was not only central to Charles X's claim to the throne, but it was also important in his domestic policy as he tried to reinstate conservative inheritance laws.<sup>75</sup> In Avenel and Bourbon France alike, noble ancestry was the assumed predicate for political authority.

*La dame blanche* likely appealed to the Bourbons and their supporters because it presented a Restoration success story which was driven by public support. In Avenel, the old system was not imposed on the people, but it was welcomed by the townsfolk. This social approval is musically conveyed in the Scottish Anthem as the townspeople sing the words “*chantez, chantez*” (“Sing, sing”) descending from an E to a C (see example 1), a motive that will be later discussed in relation to the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses.<sup>76</sup> This sighing figure signals their security and relief while the accompanying arpeggiation, played on a harp, also contributes to the idyllic and nostalgic texture. The townspeople fervently sing the ballade which symbolizes feudal rule, choosing tradition over change.

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<sup>75</sup> Charles X attempted to reinstate the laws of primogeniture, the practice of passing property to the eldest son. Though this bill was defeated in the Chamber of Deputies, the entitlements of property and wealth were paramount in establishing power in Bourbon France. See Vincent W. Beach, *Charles X of France: his life and times* (Boulder: Pruett, 1971), 225.

<sup>76</sup> According to Adolphe Adam, the Scottish Anthem was added late in the compositional process. Boieldieu proposed the choral ballade to Scribe to further develop the third act. See Adolphe Adam, *Souvenirs d'un musicien* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1857), 386-8.

**Example 1: A. Boieldieu, *La dame blanche*, Act III, scene iii “Scottish Anthem,” mm. 116-131**

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system consists of two staves of piano accompaniment. The second system includes vocal entries for Soprano, Tenor, Bass, and Bassoon, followed by a piano accompaniment staff. The lyrics are in French and English.

*mp*

*f*

*mp*

(Un cortège paraît au haut de l'escalier. Des gardes écossais entourent un lévrier qui porte la bannière d'Arden-Bides jeunes filles viennent offrir à Georges les clés du château; les ménestrels jouent de la harpe, les trompettes sonnent.)

*Soprano, très doux et bien rythmé.*

*pp* Chan - tez, chan - tez, joy - eux mé - nes -

*Tenors.*

*pp* Chan - tez, chan - tez, joy - eux mé - nes -

*Basses.*

*pp* Chan - tez, chan - tez, joy - eux mé - nes -

*pp*

**Example 1: (continued)**

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system features three vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, and Bass) and a piano accompaniment. The vocal parts sing the lyrics: "trel, Chan - tez, chan - tez Re -". The piano accompaniment consists of a treble and bass staff with a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system continues the vocal parts with the lyrics: "frain d'amour et de guer - re! Voi - ci venir la han -". The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern, including a *p* (piano) dynamic marking. The score is written in a standard musical notation style with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C).

The scene also contained an important musical reference that would have caused the audience to experience a wave of nostalgic familiarity. Woven into the Scottish Anthem is the folk song *Robin Adair*, a Scottish melody popular in France; it appears first in the orchestra (see example 1, mm. 116-123) and is later sung by the choir and echoed by Georges Brown. The melody of *Robin Adair* stirs the memory of Georges and inspires

him to sing along. In a synchronized moment of sonic recognition, the audience would recognize the popular tune and Georges would recognize the melody of his childhood. This musical connection created sympathetic familiarity between the audience and the opera hero. As the patrons of the Opéra Comique joined Georges in his musical recollection, they also might have found that they identified with the plot, characters, and political scenario.

*La dame blanche* largely affirmed the social hierarchies, political ideals, and counter-revolutionary nostalgia among opera-going audiences during the Bourbon Regime, and it flourished in this symbiotic relationship. When Charles X was overthrown in 1830, however, *La dame blanche* did not become obsolete or dated but, instead, grew in popularity. The opera's longevity was ensured in 1828 when a significant cultural event profoundly impacted the public perception of Boieldieu's opera. This event -- the emergence of the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses -- brought *La dame blanche* onto an urban stage where, for the next twenty-seven years, the opera and the omnibus would become woven into the history of Paris.

### **URBAN ROUTES: Omnibus and Influence**

Entrepreneur Edme Fouquet was inspired by the initial popularity of Boieldieu's opera and established the omnibus company known as *Entreprise générale des Dames Blanches*, which operated in Paris between 1828 and 1855. This private business was one of the first mass transportation systems in Europe, an urban development which caused

tremendous change in the circulation of the population through the city.<sup>77</sup> Initially, the *Dames Blanches* only shared the streets with competitor *Entreprise générale des omnibus*, but they were soon joined by other omnibus companies in Paris. In 1829, ten more firms were founded and, within a decade, Paris was also served by a colorful array of omnibus lines, including the *Favorites*, *Parisiennes*, *Hirondelles*, *Orléanaises*, *Citadines*, *Diligentes*, *Béarnaises*, *Dames françaises*, *Constantines*, *Tricycles*, *Batignollaises*, *Petites parisiennes*, *Écossaises*, and *Gazelles*, with a total of 35 lines and 409 coaches running daily.<sup>78</sup> The omnibuses affected and benefitted a vast population: in 1836 alone, the Parisian populace of nearly 900,000 spent 4.4 million francs on omnibus transport and, by 1854, 34 million passengers traveled by omnibus each year.<sup>79</sup>

The *Dames Blanches* contributed to a fraction of this cultural movement, and yet, they were the most familiar and beloved in the public eye. They sparked the interest of the people and were represented in numerous paintings and engravings, such as this lithograph by Auguste Raffet (see Figure 2). They were also the subject of a musical composition and became the theme of a popular board game, points to which I will return below. Perhaps they received this special attention because they were one of the first companies to appear on the street. Or, perhaps they were the most visible because they operated in high traffic areas. The *Dames Blanches* fleet, totaling sixteen coaches in 1838, served two busy routes: one line made designated stops between l'Église de la

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<sup>77</sup> The *Entreprise générale des omnibus* and the *Entreprise générale des Dames Blanches* were the first two companies to submit applications to provide omnibus service in Paris. EGO had previously established similar, small-scale models which were successful in Nantès, Bordeaux, and Lyon. Parisian officials granted permits to EGO in May 1828 and to the *Dames Blanches* in June 1828. See Nicholas Papayanis, *Horse-drawn Cabs*, 59-67.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

Madeleine and the Bastille, and a secondary line traversed the Seine running from the Porte St. Martin to Place St. André-des-Arts (map shown later in Figure 4).<sup>80</sup> It is also likely that the *Dames Blanches* were renowned for their whimsical connection to Boieldieu's opera. Of all the vehicles, the *Dames Blanches* were the only omnibuses that were associated with music, that possessed a custom horn, and that were so elaborately decorated.

**Figure 2: Auguste Raffet, *Dame Blanche*, lithograph (1829)**



<sup>80</sup> On fleet size, see Papayanis, *Horse-drawn Cabs*, 67. On route information, see [Louis-Marie Debelleye], *Ordonnance concernant le service des voitures de place, précédée d'une table des matières, suivie de l'itinéraire officiel de toutes les nouvelles voitures, publiée avec l'autorisation de M. le Préfet de police* (Paris: Chez A. Pihan Delaforest, 1829), 29.

When the omnibuses emerged in 1828, they immediately began to foster social change. The omnibuses transformed the way Parisians circulated through the city, raised the standard of living for lower classes, and united Parisians in a shared urban experience. Nineteenth-century writer Édouard Gourdon described the omnibus's expansive cultural footprint in his 1841 book *Physiologie de l'omnibus* and wrote, "All the world passes through the omnibus, making the history of the omnibus. This makes the history of society."<sup>81</sup> Gourdon suggested that the social reach of the omnibus was so broad that it was relevant to the lives of all Parisians. Because of the breadth and diversity of the omnibus patronage, the omnibuses were praised for serving society equally and democratically.

The omnibuses quickly became a symbol of egalitarianism because of their economic inclusivity. While mobility had long been a luxury reserved for the rich who owned their own carriages and horses, the omnibus offered this amenity at the low cost of 30 centimes, a fee that easily fit within working class budgets (see table 1).<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> "Tout le monde passe par l'omnibus; fait l'histoire de l'omnibus, c'est faire l'histoire de la société." From Édouard Gourdon, *Physiologie de l'omnibus* (Paris: Terry, 1850), 95.

<sup>82</sup>The *Dames Blanches*' fare rose from 25 to 30 centimes on January 2, 1830, standardizing the omnibus fare among competitors. See Roger-Henri Guerrand, "De l'omnibus à l'autobus," *L'Histoire: Société d'éditions scientifiques* Vol 81, No. 58 (1985): 130, also Papayanis, *Horse-drawn cabs*, 67.



**Table 1: Price comparison of goods and fees in the 1830s<sup>83</sup>**

<i>Dames Blanches</i> omnibus fare.....	30 centimes
Fiacre ride.....	1.80 franc
1 lb. loaf of bread.....	20 centimes
Ticket to <i>La dame blanche</i> at Opera Comique .....	1 franc

The *Dames Blanches* fostered a culture in which class divisions were minimized, mixing people of different professions and social status in their carriage compartments. Gourdon explored this phenomenon in *Physiologie de l'omnibus* and presented literary portraits of the diverse omnibus passengers. Along the same lines, American writer John Sanderson humorously insisted that everyone, from the Chamber of Peers to the king himself, rode the omnibus.<sup>84</sup> In addition, the 1829 *Almanach des omnibus, des dames blanches et autres voitures nouvellement établies*, recognizing and catering to the varied transport needs of omnibus patrons, outlined carriage routes and schedules as well as visiting hours at museums, theaters, municipal buildings, and other destinations.<sup>85</sup> The almanac drew attention to the omnibuses' ability to link diverse locations and people in Paris. Since the omnibus served so many and offered the convenience of transport without discrimination,

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<sup>83</sup>Price of bread from Rachel Ginnis Fuchs. *Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the Nineteenth Century* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 137. Fiacre pricing from Hervé Maneglier. *Paris imperial* (Paris: Armand, 1990), 238-9. Opéra Comique ticket pricing from Huebner, "Opera Audiences in Paris," 219.

<sup>84</sup> Sanderson, *The American in Paris*, 127.

<sup>85</sup> Anonymous, *Almanach des omnibus, des dames blanches et autres voitures nouvellement établies* (Paris: Lenormant fils, 1829). This particular almanac was tremendously popular, and fifteen editions were released merely in 1829. Noted in John Grand-Carteret, *Les almanachs français* (Paris: J. Alisie et cie, 1896), 514.

it began to subvert traditional divisions between people of different classes, genders, and levels of wealth.

The omnibus's equalization of class differences was a phenomenon observed by French historian C. L. Lesur in 1836, who wrote,

Since the revolution stimulated by the omnibus, one finds that a hundred thousand people, who would have remained on foot, now enjoy the comfort of vehicles, certainly a sign, among others, of the progressive ease in all the classes of society.<sup>86</sup>

Lesur emphasized the far-reaching impact of the omnibus, and boldly characterized this urban movement as a revolution. This classification resonates with the views of political critic Alexis de Tocqueville who suggested that revolutionary action in France worked towards closing gaps between classes and destroying the privileges of the entitled.<sup>87</sup> The omnibus had precisely this effect. Because of the omnibus, carriage transport was no longer a marker of privilege. It had become an essential urban utility.

The *Dames Blanches* became directly connected to democratic ideals during the Revolution of 1848. During the uprising, crowds constructed barricades in the streets of Paris to protest the leadership of King Louis-Philippe, who had replaced Charles X of the Bourbon regime but had similarly disappointed the public with his conservatism. An engraving by Paul Gavarni published in the *Illustrated London News* shows how the

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<sup>86</sup> C. L. Lesur. *Annuaire historique universel, ou histoire politique comprenant en outre un aperçu de la littérature française, une chronique judiciaire, un tableau de la littérature étrangère, avec un appendice contenant les actes publics, traités et un article variétés renfermant une petite chronique des événements les plus remarquables et une notice nécrologique* (Paris: Thoisnier-desplaces libraire, 1836), 175.

<sup>87</sup> Tocqueville said that revolution in France was motivated by “less the achievement of political rights than the destruction of privileges.” From Alexis de Tocqueville and Arthur Gobineau, *The European Revolution & Correspondence with Gobineau* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), 160.

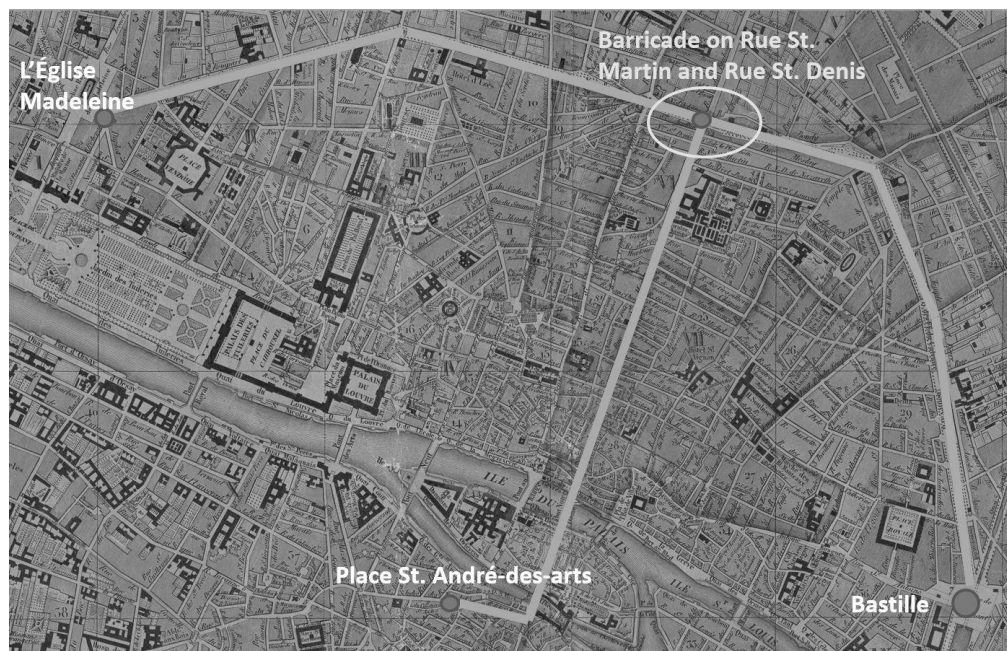
revolutionary barricades were crafted from repurposed materials such as planks, barrels, cobblestone, and wheels (see Figure 3). Mixed into the rubble, the unmistakable silhouette of an omnibus is visible on the lower left side of the mound. This particular barricade was erected at the intersection of Rue Saint Martin and Rue St. Denis, a major juncture in the *Dames Blanches* route. In all likelihood, the pale-colored carriage pictured in the blockade is a *Dame Blanche* vehicle (see Figure 4). The omnibus is embedded in the mountainous pile topped with the tricolore flag, associating the heap with the ideals of the French Revolution. The image of the *Dame Blanche* in the barricade is a visual manifestation of the social resistance the omnibus fostered daily on the streets of Paris.

The *Dames Blanches* omnibuses had a potent history, empowering the working and bourgeois classes and becoming a symbol of democracy and egalitarianism. Of course, the *Dames Blanches* accomplished this while decorated in images of Boieldieu's opera and while broadcasting Boieldieu's music through the boulevards. Through this association, *La dame blanche* had the potential to be connected to non-elite culture, urban space, and social change, qualities which may have repainted the public perception of Boieldieu's opera.

**Figure 3:** Engraving from *Illustrated London News* shows omnibus in barricade



**Figure 4:** *Dames Blanches* route coincides with barricade location



### MUSICAL ROUTES: Omnibus mediates operatic reception

The reception of Boieldieu's opera was shaped by the *Dames Blanches*' sonic presence in Paris, as they trumpeted the opera's refrains on custom-made, mechanical horns. These sounds accompanied the movements of the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses and became marked in the Parisian outdoors. The mechanical horn of the *Dames Blanches* was like none other heard on the street. While other Parisian carriages announced stops with a single chime, like the sound of a clock striking one, the horn call of the *Dames Blanches* was elaborate and unmistakable.<sup>88</sup> As a result, Boieldieu's music became a distinct part of the street scene. In Paris, residents might expect to hear the sounds of street tinkers clanking, dogs barking, and carriage wheels clattering just as much as they would expect the trumpets of Boieldieu's music.

Though no *Dames Blanches* horns survive to the present day, the mechanical horn call of the *Dames Blanches* has been serendipitously preserved in a set of piano variations by Charles-Valentin Alkan entitled *Les omnibus*, Op. 2 (1829). Alkan's composition, specifically dedicated "*aux Dames Blanches*," is an important historical clue, which not only offers musical insight into the *Dames Blanches*' horn call, but also shows how Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* became conceptually linked to urban space.

Beginning with the title page of Alkan's variations, the urban context of the music is emphasized (see Figure 5). In the pictured scene, an omnibus is surrounded by crowds entering the vehicle while the background contains the silhouettes of surrounding city

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<sup>88</sup> Grant, *Paris and its People*, 48.

buildings.<sup>89</sup> The image evokes the animation of the Parisian streets, and prepares the pianist for a musical encounter with the *Dames Blanches*.

**Figure 5: Alkan, *Les omnibus*, Op. 2 (1829) dedicated “aux Dames Blanches”**



<sup>89</sup> Ironically, the cover image of Alkan's Op. 2 displays a picture of an *Entreprise générale des omnibus* vehicle. Despite this incongruence, the composition's dedication and Alkan's musical references to Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* strongly indicate that the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses were the compositional inspiration.

Example 2: Alkan, *Les omnibus*, Op. 2 1829 (piano variations theme), mm. 14-37

14 Allegretto Metr.=126= $\frac{6}{8}$

18

22

26

30

34

Employing virtuosic features that might be expected in piano salon music, Alkan uses these stylizations to build anticipation before he showcases the omnibus's horn call (see example 2). Opening with showy material in the introduction and the first part of the theme, Alkan abruptly stalls in measure 29, landing on a *forte* dominant-seventh chord sustained by a fermata. The horn call follows with a contrasting texture, simple and straightforward, first voiced *piano* in a muted treble range and then repeated *forte* with upper octave doublings (m. 29-38). The contrast between the previous brilliant salon style and the horn's forthright delivery suggests that Alkan's music abandons salon bravado to quote precisely the omnibus's refrain.

While the horn call does not resemble any of the coach horn signals typically used by urban vehicles, the horn call could be construed to be a variant of a French military horn call.<sup>90</sup> In particular, the horn salute "Au drapeau" ("To the flag"), notated in Raymond Monelle's compilation of nineteenth-century horn calls, bears a resemblance to the horn call represented in Alkan's piece: both melodies use triple meter and emphasize a sustained E falling to a C (see example 3). Using a stylized version of the French flag salute, the *Dames Blanches* call might have evoked national horn traditions, planting the omnibus firmly in French culture.

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<sup>90</sup> The Parisian coach horn signals are notated and documented in, Viney, *Trompe de mail-coach*, 39-41.



### Example 3: French military horn call from 1830s



While the French military horn calls could have served as a template for the *Dames Blanches*' refrain, the music from Boieldieu's opera was presumably referenced by the horn melody. Boieldieu's opera contains one piece which matches the key area, meter, and melodic contour presented in Alkan's quotation – the Scottish Anthem from Act III scene iii.<sup>91</sup> The melody is set in the key of C and is in triple meter. It also has a strong emphasis on E falling to an unstressed C, a pattern that is repeated exactly twice in each phrase. To illustrate this similarity, I mapped Alkan's horn call onto a reduction of the Scottish Anthem (see example 4). The quotation is indeed approximate, but consistent in structure and contour.

Alkan's reference to operatic material in Op. 2 seems to fit within the conventions of the operatic piano-variation, a popular genre during this period.<sup>92</sup> In this genre, the operatic theme would be preceded by a flashy introduction which quoted other melodies from the opera. Alkan does just this in his introduction, acknowledging the generic template: the opening phrase of Op. 2's introduction features a rising chromatic passage over a C tremolo, a pattern and texture that strongly resembles the orchestral material that opens the Scottish Anthem scene (compare examples 5 and 6). Though Alkan's composition

<sup>91</sup> The Act II trio and finale of *La dame blanche* are also in C major. However, their melodic lines do not match the horn call presented in Alkan's Op. 2.

<sup>92</sup> Jacques Herz wrote a piano variation on a *La dame blanche* theme in 1832. See Jacques Herz, *Variations brillantes sur l'air favori de 'La dame blanche,'* (Milan: Ricordi, ca. 1832), musical score.

may be a nod to the operatic piano-variation tradition, it does not seem to be quoting the operatic stage -- instead, Alkan seems to reference *La dame blanche* as it might have been heard and perceived in the Parisian streets.

**Example 4: Alkan's Op. 2 horn call mm. 29-37 and Boieldieu's Scottish Anthem share key, meter, and melodic contour (reduction)**

The image displays a musical score reduction comparing two pieces. The top system features Alkan's piano (Alkan) and Boieldieu's vocal line (Boieldieu). The bottom system features Alkan's piano (Alk) and Boieldieu's vocal line (Bld). The lyrics for Boieldieu's part are: 'Chan - tez, chan - tez joy - eux - men - es -', '-trel. Chan - tez chan - tez, Re - frain d'a-mour et de guer - re. -'.

Alkan's interpretation looks at Boieldieu's opera from the perspective of the *Dames Blanches* omnibus. Alkan's musical texture is agitated and fast-paced, with runs of 16<sup>th</sup> and occasionally 32<sup>nd</sup> notes. His composition contains sharp dynamic contrasts, syncopation, and dramatic changes in registration. This relentless stream of action sweeps away visions of pastoral, Scottish towns and replaces it with the motion and traffic of the Parisian streets. Alkan's sonic representation is particularly compelling

because it suggests that, as early as 1829, Boieldieu's opera became associated with urban space.

**Example 5:** Alkan's *Les omnibus*, Op. 2 opens with rising chromatic line over C tremolo, mm. 1-13

**LES OMNIBUS.**

Allegro moderato. Metr. = 84 =  $\sigma$

Introduction.

The musical score is written for piano and consists of 13 measures. The tempo is marked 'Allegro moderato' with a metronome marking of 84 =  $\sigma$ . The key signature is one sharp (F#), indicating C major. The score is divided into four systems, each with a measure number (4, 7, 10) at the beginning. The first system is labeled 'Introduction.' and begins with a piano (*pp*) dynamic. The right hand plays a rising chromatic line, while the left hand plays a constant C tremolo. The second system begins with a mezzo-forte (*f*) dynamic. The third system begins with a mezzo-forte (*f*) dynamic. The fourth system begins with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic and includes a 'Ped.' (pedal) marking. The score ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Example 6: Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* Act 3, scene 3 “Scottish Anthem” opens with rising chromatic line over C tremolo, mm. 1-18

**CHOEUR ET AIR ÉCOSSAIS**

Allegro

GEORGES

Soprano

Tenore

Basso

PIANO

Allegro,  $\text{♩} = 120$

*Chœur des troupes de 400 hommes*

*pp*

*f*

*pp*

*ff*

*p*

Alkan's composition suggests that the *Dames Blanches* had become part of the urban soundscape. The *Dames Blanches*' horn call was widely heard in public spaces and had become an idiosyncratic sound of Parisian everyday life. Parisians had likely grown to associate the opera and the omnibus not only with city life, but also with the sense of community they fostered in Paris.

One particular example encapsulates the community-affirming force of the opera and the omnibus. During the 1830s, a board game entitled *Jeu des omnibus et dames blanches* became popular in Paris (see Figure 6).<sup>93</sup> With a roll of the dice, players raced their game pieces around a colorful path of *Dames Blanches* omnibuses.<sup>94</sup> The carriages were identified as if they were familiar friends from the fleet, each labeled with a female name. Several of the names had Anglo-Saxon flavor, such as Sarra, Betzi, and even Jenny, a main character from Boieldieu's opera, suggesting that the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses continued to be associated with *La dame blanche*. Most strikingly, the center picture presents a scene of sociability: it shows Parisian residents playing *Jeu des omnibus et dames blanches* in an intimate setting, illustrating how the game and its subject fostered a sense of community. The rings of omnibuses surround the picture, figuratively outlining a sphere of shared social space.

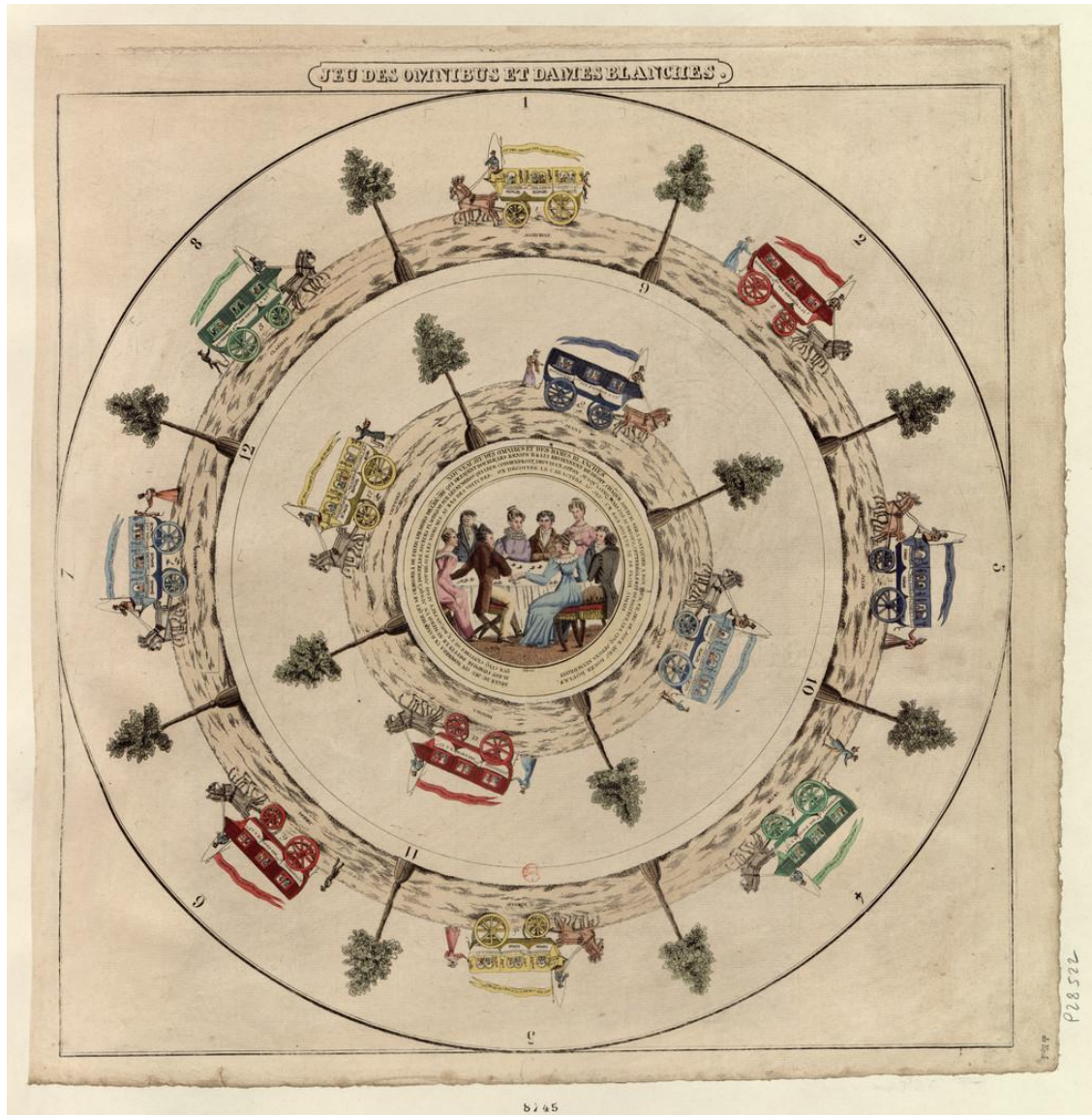
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<sup>93</sup> This board was based on the traditional 18th-century game *Jeu d'oie*, released in various versions during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thematic game boards included the French revolution, the history of French monarchy, the Cossacks, women's fashion, and the *Dame Blanche* omnibus. For documentation of the game history based on the collections of Baron de Vinck, see, Henri Béraldi. *Les graveurs du xix siècle: guide de l'amateur d'estampes modernes*, Vol. 9 (Paris: Librairie L. Conquet, 1890), 225-229.

<sup>94</sup> Oddly, the *Jeu des omnibus* carriages are painted in a vast array of colors unlike the distinctively white *Dames Blanches*. Nevertheless, each omnibus bears the inscription "Compagnie des dames blanches."



**Figure 6: Popular game board inspired by the *Dames Blanches* and entitled *Jeu des omnibus et dames blanches* (ca. 1830)**



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

The game board offers a metaphorical image of the cultural work which the opera and omnibus had accomplished in Paris.<sup>95</sup> They were a constant part of the urban infrastructure in an ever-changing landscape transformed by political upheaval, industrial

<sup>95</sup> The social narrative of the opera and the omnibus deepened in 1937 when the image of the *Jeu des omnibus et dames blanches* game board, found in the private collection of fashion designer Emile Hermès, was used to create the first issue of silk scarves for the luxury clothier company.

modernization, population growth and social change. Because the opera and the omnibus were seen as an unwavering presence during a century of turbulence, they were poised to become icons of Parisian culture.

The acknowledgement of the iconic status of *La dame blanche* was demonstrated at two particular events in the second half of the century – at the 1862 celebration marking the 1000<sup>th</sup> performance of *La dame blanche* at the Opéra Comique, and the exhibition performances of *La dame blanche* at the 1889 World’s Fair in Paris. These two historical events offered opportunities for Parisians to reflect upon the opera’s cultural significance across the century and to consider the role it continued to play in their city.

The import of the 1000<sup>th</sup> performance of *La dame blanche*, celebrated the evening of Wednesday, December 17<sup>th</sup>, 1862, was affirmed by the attendance of dignitaries, most notably Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugenie. The commemorative ceremony, presented between the first and second acts of the opera, positioned the opera as a cultural icon in Paris. An opening procession captured the pomp of the event: choristers carried large signs that enumerated the many operas composed by Boieldieu. The procession was accompanied by an ensemble of choristers who sang the Scottish Anthem, perhaps recognized as the horn call of the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses. The ceremony continued with a poetic recitation delivered by tenor Léon Achard which emphasized the universality of *La dame blanche*, opening with the words, “Gloire à l’oeuvre où partout

chante la mélodie” (Glory to the work where all sing the melody).<sup>96</sup> The poem highlighted the broad reach of the opera, in part referencing the international celebrity of the work but perhaps also underscoring the opera’s ability to stretch across social classes and urban spaces to become widely significant. Finally, the event culminated in the ceremonial coronation of Boieldieu’s bust with a floral crown. This stately gesture formally acknowledged the cultural sovereignty of *La dame blanche*. By symbolically crowning its composer, Parisians officially inserted *La dame blanche* into the historical narrative of the city, a history marked not only by political regimes but also by cultural icons.

Paris revisited its connection to *La dame blanche* in 1889 when the city hosted the World’s Fair. Among the carefully-planned repertory presented at the Opéra Comique during the months of the exposition was Boieldieu’s seminal opera, one of the most profitable offerings at the box office. Critic Henri Lavoix, impressed by the continued popularity of the sixty-five year old composition, simply stated, “*C’est la dame blanche; elle fait partie de Paris.*” (“It is *dame blanche*, it is part of Paris.”).<sup>97</sup> Lavoix’s nonchalant comment suggests that the *La dame blanche* had become so deeply rooted in the city that it had become attached to the very definition of Paris.

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<sup>96</sup> Extemporist and writer Joseph Méry wrote the text, and Achard delivered the recitation. The full poem and discussion of the event can be found in, J. Lovy, “Semaine Théâtrale, *Le Menestrel* Vol. 30, No. 3 (21 December 1862): 21.

<sup>97</sup> “Vous pensez bien que la *Dame Blanche* est en première ligne...Qu’a-t-elle donc pour elle, cette pièce que compte soixante-cinq ans d’existence et qui reste sur la brèche, irrésistible dans son éternel succès ? Elle est la *Dame Blanche*, elle fait partie de Paris.” From M. Savigny [Henri Lavoix], “Les Théâtres,” *L’Illustration* 47 (1889): 158.



These examples show that, by the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *La dame blanche* was recognized as a cultural landmark. Though its association with the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses, the music and images of Boieldieu's opera had become iconic to a vast population in Paris. Even after the *Entreprise générale des Dames Blanches* closed in 1855, *La dame blanche* carried within it the cultural memory of the famed omnibus, and perhaps summoned recollections of urban life, the working and bourgeois classes, and the ideals of democracy.<sup>98</sup> *La dame blanche* had the potential to bring these cultural memories into the Opéra Comique, an institution that had nurtured its connection with Boieldieu's opera across the century.

## OPÉRA COMIQUE FORGES ROOTS

The Opéra Comique's close association with *La dame blanche* might explain some historical questions about the theater's popular reputation and its relationship to the city of Paris. The Opéra Comique actively promoted its connection to Boieldieu's opera, most obviously through its steadfast programming of the repertory throughout the century and through the previously-discussed 1000<sup>th</sup> performance celebration. The Opéra Comique kept this link fresh in other ways, continuously identifying *La dame blanche* as a cornerstone of its history and identity. When Léon Carvalho took over as artistic director of the Opéra Comique in 1876, he voiced his intention, "to preserve this eminently French genre, typified by *La dame blanche*, *Le chalet*, *Le pré aux clercs*, *Fra diavolo*, and even *Piccolino*," citing Boieldieu's opera at the head of the company's list

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<sup>98</sup> In 1855, Baron Haussmann dictated that all omnibus companies merge under the monopoly of *Compagnie générale des omnibus*. See Nicholas Papayanis, *Horse-drawn Cabs*, 61.

of generic models.<sup>99</sup> In addition, *La dame blanche* was among the four operas selected to be painted on the foyer walls of the Opéra Comique by artist Albert Maignan in 1898 in a mural depicting the most famous scenes in the history of the company.<sup>100</sup> Actions like these aligned the ideology of the opera company with the popular reputation of *La dame blanche*.

Since the Opéra Comique seemed to absorb *La dame blanche* into its institutional identity, it follows that this might have caused the company to develop a reputation as an opera house that catered to middle-class patronage and tastes. As Stephen Huebner has shown in his study of Parisian opera audiences, the Opéra Comique's bourgeois reputation was based more on perception rather than the reality of ticket subscriptions. In fact, the patronage at the Opéra Comique was quite similar to that of the Paris Opéra and the Théâtre Italien.<sup>101</sup> The institution's stereotype as a middle-class institution, therefore, stemmed from other factors -- perhaps it was due to lower ticket prices, perhaps due to the spoken dialogue in the comic operas, or perhaps due to the perception that the comic opera singers were said to have thinner and weaker voices than those at other houses.<sup>102</sup> However, this stereotype might also have arisen because the Opéra Comique's most

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<sup>99</sup> Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, editors, *Les annals du théâtre et de la musique*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1877), 212-13. "Avec M. Carvalho, l'Opéra-Comique conservera ce genre éminemment français, dont on peut citer comme types *la Dame blanche*, *le Chalet*, *le Pré aux clercs*, *Fra Diavolo*, et même *Piccolino*."

<sup>100</sup> The Opéra Comique foyer is decorated with scenes from Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* (1825), Adam's *Le chalet* (1834), Massé's *Les noces de Jeannette* (1853), and Hérold's *Zampa* (1831). See Paul Gaultier, *Décoration du foyer de l'Opéra-comique par Albert Maignan* (Paris: Société d'édition artistique, 1899).

<sup>101</sup> Steven Huebner, "Opera Audiences in Paris," 206-225.

<sup>102</sup> Anonymous, "Seconde lettre à un Italien," 3.

popular repertory was associated with the working classes, public transportation, and the common space of the street.

While *La dame blanche* may have been one of the factors that contributed to the Opéra Comique's more lowbrow reputation, it also was a key element in the legitimization of the legacy of the institution. *La dame blanche*'s influence on the reputation of the Opéra Comique was most strikingly illustrated on April 13, 1852, when Napoleon III and his minister of the interior approved a petition to rename the plaza stretching before the opera house to "Place Boieldieu," formerly the "Place des Italiens" after the Théâtre des Italiens (see figure 7).<sup>103</sup> This event was significant in the history of the Opéra Comique as it literally and figuratively cemented the institution in the city of Paris.

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<sup>103</sup> *Revue et gazette musicale*, 2 May 1852. "Par décret du 13 avril, le Président de la République, sur le rapport du ministre de l'intérieur, a autorisé la substitution du nom de place Boieldieu à celui de place des Italiens que porte l'emplacement où est situé le théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique à Paris." ("By the decree of April 13th, the President of the Republic, according to the report of the Minister of Interior, authorized the substitution of the name "place Boieldieu" for that of "place des Italiens" that rests in the location where the Opéra-Comique is situated in Paris.") To this day, the Opera-Comique stands at 1 Place Boieldieu. It was briefly relocated to the Théâtre du Château-d'Eau when the second Salle Favart burned down in 1887. However, the theater was quickly rebuilt at 1 Place Boieldieu in 1888, and stands to this day.

**Figure 7: Plaza beside the Opéra Comique was changed from “Place des Italiens” to “Place Boieldieu” in 1852**



With the naming of Place Boieldieu, the opera company experienced, perhaps for the first time in its history, a sense of geographic permanence in the city of Paris. During the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early- to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the company nomadically shifted from one location to another. The scattered geographic identity of the Opéra Comique is captured well in an 1883 engraving that pictures the multiple locations occupied by the company up to that date (see figure 8). The Opéra Comique’s inconsistent and impermanent history is outlined by a series of pictured theaters which clutter the engraving. The Hôtel de Bourgogne is depicted merely as sketch. Simply a pinpoint on a map, its representation is disconnected from the people and activities of urban life. While some images show the theaters within the cityscape, the people in the engravings seem incidental and occupied with other everyday activities. However, the depiction of Salle Favart, located at Place Boieldieu, is distinct from the other images. It is the centerpiece of the Opéra Comique’s illustrated structures, suggesting its historic importance. The representation of Salle

Favart suggests that the theater was connected to the people of Paris; figures are grouped around the building as if poised with intention to patronize the opera.<sup>104</sup> The engraving positions Salle Favart as the culmination of the institution's history, an opera house that was integrated into urban activity and that was a prominent landmark in Paris.

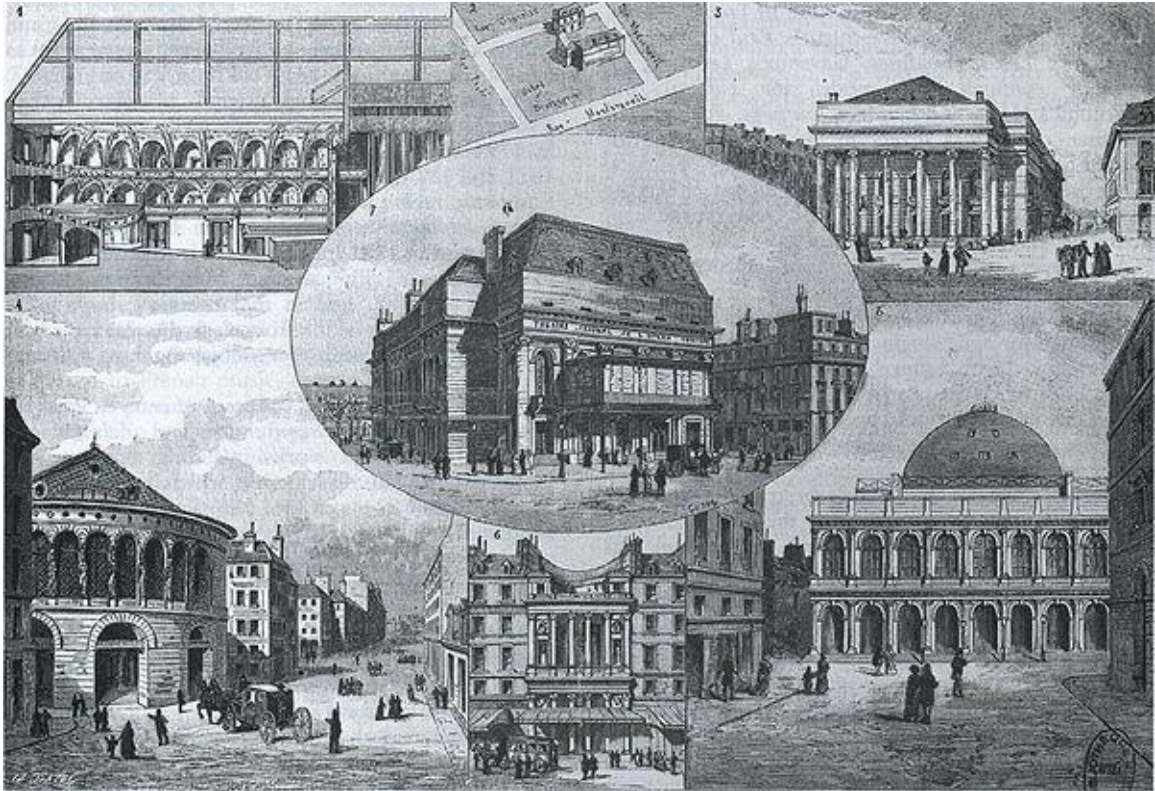
Though Place Boieldieu bears the name of the composer, Parisians seemed to hold the name "Boieldieu" synonymous with the opera *La dame blanche*. The close association was apparent in the language of the letter petitioning for the plaza's name change (see table 2). The petition, signed by local musicians belonging to the Academy des Beaux-Arts, introduced Boieldieu as, "the composer of *La dame blanche*," and reasoned that the composer had strongly contributed to the success of the Opéra Comique, a theater "to which he brought fame and fortune for thirty years."<sup>105</sup> This cited time frame, spanning the thirty years between 1821 and 1851, curiously excludes the majority of operatic works which Boieldieu composed and premiered at the Opéra Comique. In fact, only three of Boieldieu's twenty-two operas written for the Opéra Comique fall within the period referenced in the petition: *La marquise de Brinvilliers* (1831), *Les deux nuits* (1829) and, of course, *La dame blanche* (1825). Reading between the lines of this letter, the name "Place Boieldieu" was likely recommended because of the overwhelming fame of *La dame blanche*.

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<sup>104</sup> Though some of the other structures display people around the opera house, the figures surrounding Salle Favart seem to be congregating at the entrance.

<sup>105</sup> Daniel Auber, Adolphe Adam, Michele Carafa, Fromental Halévy, George Onslow, and Ambroise Thomas, "Nouvelles," *Revue et Gazette Musicale* Vol. 18, No. 14 (6 April 1851): 6.

**Figure 8: Various venues for Opéra Comique: 1. Salle de la Foire St Laurent; 2. Hôtel de Bourgogne; 3. Salle Favart (1st); 4. Salle Feydeau; 5. Salle Ventadour; 6. Salle de la Bourse; 7. Salle Favart (2nd)**



With the petition approved and the plaza renamed, Place Boieldieu brought together the Opéra Comique's legacy and locale, rooting the opera company in the city of Paris. Even when a fire destroyed the theater in May 1887, the company rebuilt a new theater on the same site, an indication that the location at Place Boieldieu was an essential part of the company's identity. Still today, Salle Favart, located at 1 Place Boieldieu, continues to be the home of the Opéra Comique.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>106</sup> In the 2014-2015 season, the Opéra Comique celebrated its tricentennial year and included the overture from *La dame blanche* in the opening soirée. The program notes quoted Rossini, Weber, and Wagner who

**Table 2: 1852 petition to rename plaza in front of the Opéra Comique *Place Boieldieu* sent by Members of the Academy of Fine Arts to the President of the Municipal Board of the City of Paris**

Monsieur le Président,

Depuis quelques mois on agite la question de donner une nouvelle dénomination à la place des Italiens, où se trouve situé le théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique. Le nom d'un compositeur illustre, l'une des plus grandes gloires de l'école française, de l'auteur de la *Dame Blanche*, de Boïeldieu enfin, n'a pas été plutôt prononcé qu'il a paru réunir toutes les sympathies des artistes et du public. Mais des prétentions se sont élevées dans le but de lui ravir cet honneur si justement mérité.

Sans vouloir nous établir juges du degré de mérite des compositeurs, ses contemporains, dont on a voulu lui opposer la célébrité, nous venons, comme confrères, comme amis et comme admirateurs de Boïeldieu, supplier la commission municipale de vouloir bien prendre en considération l'immense popularité de l'auteur du *Calif de Bagdad*, de *Ma tante Aurore*, de *Jean de Paris*, du *Chaperon* et de tant d'autres chefs-d'œuvre.

Lorsque Rouen, sa ville natale, lui a élevé une statue, serait-il juste que la ville de Paris décorât d'un autre nom que le sien la place où s'élève le théâtre dont pendant trente années il fit la gloire et la fortune?

Dans l'attente d'une décision dont le résultat ne peut paraître douteux, nous vous prions, monsieur le président, de vouloir bien agréer l'expression de notre reconnaissance et de nos sentiments les plus respectueux.

Auber, Adolphe Adam (élève de Boïeldieu), Carafa, Halévy, Onslow, Ambroise Thomas

(Mr. President,

For the past few months we have debated the issue of giving a new name to the Place des Italians, where one finds the theater of the Opéra Comique. The name of an illustrious composer, one of the greatest glories of the French school, the author of *La dame blanche*, of Boïeldieu finally, was not yet suggested, though it

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attested that *La dame blanche* was a quintessential product of the French comic tradition. Anonymous, Program notes from "Soirée d'Ouverture du Tricentenaire" (Paris: Opéra Comique, 13 November 2014)

seems to gather all the sympathies of artists and the public. But we raise this suggestion in order to celebrate him with this well-deserved honor.

Without making us, his contemporaries, the judges of a composer's degree of merit or in opposition to his celebrity, we come as colleagues, as friends and as admirers of Boïeldieu, begging the Municipal Board to kindly consider the immense popularity of the author of *Calif de Bagdad*, *Ma tante Aurora*, *Jean de Paris*, *Chaperon* and many other masterpieces.

Since Rouen, his hometown, raised a statue to him, would it be fair that the city of Paris place a name other than his in the place where stands the theater which for thirty years he had fame and fortune?

Pending a decision whose outcome cannot seem doubtful, please, Mr. President, to kindly accept the expression our gratitude and our most respectful sentiments.

Auber, Adolphe Adam (student of Boïeldieu), Carafa, Halevy, Onslow, Ambroise Thomas)

The case of the opera and the omnibus illustrates the complexity of musical reception history. Boïeldieu's *La dame blanche* was processed by the public in a multitude of contexts -- the Bourbon court, the Opéra-Comique, the *Dames Blanches* omnibuses, and even the *Jeu des omnibus* game board. As the opera circulated in these diverse spaces and media, the public developed new perceptions of the music and lauded its cultural importance. *La dame blanche* constitutes a unique case because the opera became so significant that it was perceived to be fundamentally linked to the city.<sup>107</sup> *La dame*

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<sup>107</sup> Similar to *La dame blanche*, the urban life of the chorus "Va pensiero" cemented the historical prominence of Verdi's *Nabucco*. The chorus did not develop the status of a working-class people's anthem immediately. It rose to such prominence through street performances, the urban lore of the stagehands' enthusiasm for the music, and the ever-transforming public reception. Verdi perpetuated the working-class associations of the piece when he described the stagehands' enthusiastic approval of the chorus at the first rehearsal. As Roger Parker has argued, the legendary reputation of the chorus developed through time, and was not immediately associated with nationalistic sentiments. By the time of Verdi's death, people spontaneously sang "Va pensiero" during his funeral procession and, furthermore, the chorus became inscribed in the history of the Milanese and Italian culture when it was sung by an 800-person choir under the baton of Arturo Toscanini at Verdi's funeral ceremony. Like *La dame blanche*, the music took on cultural and social meaning through its popular reception. On a personal note, I performed with a touring



*blanche* developed its powerful regional associations through grass-roots activity and institutional affirmations. In this study, I have worked towards unraveling the reception history of *La dame blanche* and illustrating its connection to Paris by examining the opera's unique presence in urban space. The routes of *La dame blanche* have shown that it achieved such legendary status through institutional support, public approbation and, most critically, through the mediation of the street.

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opera in Italy in summer of 2003. When we included “Va pensiero” on the program, our modern audiences would sing along loudly, evident that the piece was a source of national pride. For historical and musical analysis of “Va, pensiero”, see Roger Parker, “‘Va, pensiero’ and the Insidious Mastery of Song,” *Leonora's Last Act: Essays in Verdian Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 20-41.

—CHAPTER THREE—

**“THE STREET IS IN OUR HOUSES”:  
Geography, architecture and circulation in musical salons**

Each year, from December to April, Paris was swept by a flurry of activity. This was the season for music salons, residential events that flourished during the nineteenth century and filled the city with the clatter of carriages, the chatter of journalists, and the buzz of unrelenting social calendars. Charles Gounod was in the thick of it. He was a regular performer and guest at these weekly receptions – on Mondays he could be seen at the residence of Camille Saint-Saëns, Thursdays at Pauline Viardot’s, Saturdays at Gioachino Rossini’s, and Sundays at Princess Mathilde Bonaparte’s.<sup>108</sup> However, the *soirées* frequented by Gounod merely amounted to a fraction of the active salons in Paris. By mid-century, one journalist estimated that 850 salons in the city were offering weekly concerts.<sup>109</sup> Responding to this tremendous network of residential activity and the traffic it generated, Gounod wrote in his essay *The Artist and Modern Society*, “Our houses are not in the street anymore; the street is in our houses.”<sup>110</sup>

The character of the *street*, fast-paced, unrestricted, and traffic-filled, directly opposes historical, bourgeois notions of residential space, characterized by insularity and intimacy. Gounod’s street analogy is striking because, in one stroke, it collapses the hallowed dichotomy between public and private space. Even so, his remark is congruent

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<sup>108</sup> Gounod’s salon appointments are noted in, Tunley, *Salons, Singers, and Songs*, 24; as well as, Simeone, *Paris: A Musical Gazetteer*, 118 and 142.

<sup>109</sup> A journalist from *Theaterzeitung* reflected upon the 1845 salon season in Paris in an article published on 16 April 1846. Cited in Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, 36.

<sup>110</sup> Gounod, “The Artist and Modern Society,” 255.

with the mid- to late-nineteenth-century perspective that the motion and clamor of the street was not only apparent in outdoor spaces, but it was also perceived in indoor and private life. The decades in which Hausmann's renovation project shook the city mark a critical shift in the public's perception of the urban environment. In the face of widespread change, the population began to recognize the pervasive impact of urban infrastructure on everyday city life.

Using Gounod's statement as a starting point, I examine the ways that music salons might have been perceived to reflect qualities of the Parisian streets. This chapter specifically considers the society salon of Gounod's patron Princess Mathilde Bonaparte, niece to Napoleon I, cousin of Napoleon III, and perhaps the most prominent hostess of the Second French Empire. Her soirées are representative of aristocratic salon, court-like gatherings that brought together politicians, ambassadors, royalty, famous writers, artists, and other dignitaries. Although studies of Parisian salons often distinguish between music salons hosted by aristocracy, bourgeois and musicians, I examine spatial similarities between the aristocratic and bourgeois salons.<sup>111</sup> First, I argue that the urban space surrounding Parisian residences played a role in defining and shaping the character of a salon, looking specifically at the writings of Virginie Ancelot, Jules de Goncourt and George Kastner's symphony *Cris de Paris*. These examples illustrate the connection between urban geography and identity. They also situate urban development within a residential perspective. Shifting to an analysis of salon practices, I claim that the spatial organization of music salons is significant. Drawing from guest descriptions, paintings,

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<sup>111</sup> Distinctions between the music salons of aristocracy, bourgeois, and musicians are discussed in Ross, "Salon Music," Tunley, *Singers and Salons*, as well as Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*.

and the floor plans of Parisian *hôtels*, or urban mansions, I illustrate how salon events utilized multiple rooms, promoting a motion-filled environment. This arrangement has broader ramifications in scholarship on salons – it helps illuminate conflicting accounts about audience behavior and, furthermore, illustrates how events synthesized socialization, listening, and circulation. Finally, I propose that the multi-room arrangement influenced musical programming at salon events. Looking at the programs presented at Princess Mathilde’s and beyond, I contend that salon programs were designed to be concise, direct, and varied. I show that these imperatives not only are encapsulated in an 1866 salon program at Princess Mathilde’s, but they even are reflected in the compositional choices made in Auguste Franchomme’s cello and piano arrangement of Chopin’s *Nocturne in F major, Op. 15 No. 1*.

### **DESTABLIZING PUBLIC/PRIVATE: Residential life and urban development**

One of the most prominent salon hostesses of her time, Princess Mathilde Bonaparte set the standard for society music salons of the Second Empire. Known to her contemporaries as “*Notre-Dame des Arts*,” Princess Mathilde’s salons offered performances by well-known Parisian musicians, including Camille Saint-Saens, Marie Caroline Miolan-Carvalho, Christina Nilsson, Auguste Franchomme, Eugène Sauzay, Daniel Auber, Georges Bizet and, of course, Charles Gounod. Entertaining daily and hosting musical programs every Sunday during the salon season, Princess Mathilde’s salon accommodated well over one hundred weekly guests. Such tremendous activity might have inspired Gounod’s analogy to the street. And Princess Mathilde might have even agreed with Gounod’s statement, though for different reasons.

Princess Mathilde, who, like any privileged aristocrat, spent the majority of her time in indoor spaces, was concerned nevertheless about the Parisian streets. Baron Haussmann, empowered by the non-appealable expropriation laws passed in 1851, was seizing residential property to widen roads and reorganize city streets.<sup>112</sup> During the Second Empire, the government would purchase nearly 4,000 private properties, and would dedicate the two million square meters of acquired land to new construction.<sup>113</sup> As Princess Mathilde discovered, her privilege and status could not protect her residence and salon against such changes.

Princess Mathilde may have felt that the street was in her house when Haussmann commissioned Rue de la Baume in 1858, a roadway that cut across her property, appropriated a portion of her garden, and increased the street exposure of her residence (see figure 1).<sup>114</sup> Her residence, located at 20 Rue de Courcelles, was an exclusive urban mansion, *hôtel particulier*, leased and endowed to her by Emperor Napoleon III.<sup>115</sup> Princess Mathilde's residence signified her stature as an extension of the royal court—as such, Rue de la Baume not only infringed upon the *hôtel's* geographic footprint but also the salonnière's status. Furthermore, the new road upset the symmetry of the *hôtel*, a

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<sup>112</sup> The 1851 law of expropriation authorized Haussmann to seize property on either side of a road construction project for the purpose of widening the road. See Brian Nelson, "The remaking of Paris: Zola and Haussmann," *Cambridge Companion to the Literature of Paris*, edited by Anna-Louise Milne. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 108.

<sup>113</sup> Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 17.

<sup>114</sup> According to Jacques Hillairet, Rue de la Baume opened in 1858. I have not found it appearing in maps until 1860. See Hillairet, *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions de minuit, 1961), 7.

<sup>115</sup> Richardson, *Princess Mathilde*, 63.

holistically-conceived structure that balanced the measurements of the garden in relation to the entire structure.<sup>116</sup> The proportions of the garden were considered to be as essential to the *hôtel* as the elegant façade and meticulous floor plans. Princess Mathilde's outrage was long-lasting, her indignation still fresh four years after the road's construction. In August 1862, the Goncourt brothers reported that Princess Mathilde uncharacteristically extinguished dinner conversation at a soirée when she railed unceasingly against the road that altered her residential space.<sup>117</sup>

**Figure 1: Rue de la Baume bisects Princess Mathilde Bonaparte's block along Rue de Courcelles**



Though the Goncourts did not list her concerns, one might surmise that Princess Mathilde was upset about the increased traffic and cosmetic changes to her property. While these changes may seem peripheral and unimportant to Princess Mathilde's indoor lifestyle, the urban geography surrounding her residence held particular significance to the *salonnière* and her circle of friends. Many of Princess Mathilde's guests, including the Goncourt

<sup>116</sup> The gardens are typically represented in the *hôtel* floor plans, indicating that they were part of the overall design. Michael Dennis suggests that the garden is an extension of the home in neoclassical-style *hôtels*. See Dennis, *Court and Garden: From the French Hôtel to the City of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986), 163.

<sup>117</sup> Richardson, *Princess Mathilde*, 99. Also, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal: Mémoires de la vie littéraire*, Vol. 5, edited by Robert Ricatte (Monaco: Les éditions de l'imprimerie nationale, 1956): 147-50.

brothers and Baron Horace de Viel-Castel, strongly associated Princess Mathilde's salon with its geographic location, and they often recorded their visits in their daily journals simply by referencing her street address. Viel-Castel even described Princess Mathilde's salon simply as the "friends of Rue de Courcelles."<sup>118</sup> In the eyes of her guests, Princess Mathilde's salon was a recognized establishment in the city landscape. When Haussmann's construction altered the topography surrounding the Rue de Courcelles residence, the changes had resonance within Princess Mathilde's salon. Her powerful reaction suggests that the street played a role in defining residential spaces.

Princess Mathilde and her guests were not alone in connecting the salon to the geography of urban life. This link was made explicit in the writing of literary salon hostess Virginie Ancelot, who documented Parisian salon life in her monograph *Les salons de Paris* (1858).<sup>119</sup> While one might expect such a book to open with descriptions of rooms or guests, Ancelot's monograph begins with a walking tour of the city. She leads her reader across boulevards and plazas, pointing out notable salons from street view. Her book, like many others from this period, uses the street as a literary device for describing urban society and, more importantly, it reflects the notion that the street was tied to residential and even indoor life. Ancelot wrote,

Parfois il arrive qu'au détour d'une rue mes pas s'arrêtent involontairement. Je reste immobile pendant que mon esprit retourne en arrière et se reporte au milieu de personnes qui ne sont plus. C'est qu'une maison bien connue a frappé mes yeux, et que mes regards s'attachent malgré moi aux fenêtres d'un salon fermé qui réveille une foule de souvenirs. Ainsi, près de la vieille et mystérieuse église, de Saint-Germain-des-Près, une maison qui me semble à présent triste et sombre

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<sup>118</sup> Goncourt, *The Goncourt Journals*, 273. Also, Viel Castel, *Memoirs*, 256, and 48 for reference to the "little court of the rue de courcelles."

<sup>119</sup> Ancelot, *Les salons de Paris*, 1-12.

me réticent malgré moi en me retraçant des joies disparues; là on vécu longtemps, là se sont réunis pendant des années, des amis pour mon cœur, qui étaient aussi des étoiles pour la foule... Ah ! marchons, ne nous arrêtons pas plus longtemps. Mais il ne faut pas aller bien loin pour trouver encore un endroit où les souvenirs arrêtent de nouveau mes pas... Car voici l'Abbaye-aux-Bois. Passons vite sans regarder cette terrasse où quelques arbustes survivent encore à la douce main qui les soigna. Évitions aussi la rue Saint-Dominique ; nous y verrions encore la porte toujours somptueuse d'un hôtel où les arts, les lettres, la grandeur et la puissance furent souvent réunis autour d'un foyer maintenant éteint.<sup>120</sup>

(Sometimes it happens that a street corner involuntarily stops my steps. I stay still while my mind goes back and remembers people who are not. It is a well-known house that struck my eyes, and my gaze falls on the windows of a closed room that wakes a lot of memories. Then, near the old and mysterious church of Saint-Germain-des-Près, a house seems dark and gloomy, where friends of my heart who were also stars of the [salon] crowd convened for years... Ah! walk, do not stop longer. We do not need to go far to find a place where memories stop my feet again ... Because there is Abbaye-aux-Bois. Let's move quickly without looking at the terrace where some shrubs still survive from the gentle hand that cared for them. Also avoid the rue Saint -Dominique, where we would see the sumptuous door of a *hôtel* where those of the arts, letters, grandeur and power were often gathered around a now extinguished fire.)

In this passage, Ancelot charts her memories of indoor and residential life onto the exterior landscape, a phenomenon that historian Virginia Thompson calls “mental mapping.”<sup>121</sup> According to Thompson’s theory, the array of residences frequented by an upper-class Parisian became marked for that person – these locations were associated with experiences, memories, social status and, all together, they plotted that person’s identity onto the cityscape. The “mental map” model sheds light on how streets and salons might have been conceptually linked. While the connection between street and

<sup>120</sup> Ancelot, *Les salons de Paris*, 1-4.

<sup>121</sup> Victoria E. Thompson, “Les bonnes adresses: Mapping the Urban Elite in Revolutionary Paris,” *Living in the City: Elites and their Residences, 1500-1900*, edited by John Dunne and Paul Janssens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 137 -154.



residential life may have been taken for granted earlier in the century, Haussmann's reconstruction project brought these connections to the surface, as it did for Princess Mathilde.

Other literature of Second Empire Paris reflects the opinion that the streets, filled with activity, sound, and motion, shaped urban life in Paris. Just as Ancelot used the street as a lens for relating a historical chronicle of salon life, the writings of Victor Fournel, Bathild Bouniol, and Edgar Mareuse also related the cultural history of Paris through literary tours of urban space.<sup>122</sup> Even *syllabaires*, instructional readers for children, featured vignettes about Parisian street vendors.<sup>123</sup> They presumed that children would need a tutorial on their urban surroundings as much as they would need elementary lessons in reading. During this period, urban dwellers also reflected upon the ever-present noise of the street that saturated the city landscape and even permeated residential walls.<sup>124</sup> These sounds included the rattle of carriages, the cries of vendors, the hammering of smiths, the refrains of street musicians, milk and coach horns, and the hum of shops and commerce. Reflecting upon compounded effect of these Parisian street sounds, composer Jean-Georges Kastner opened his treatise on *Les voix de Paris* (1857) with the statement,

Les grands cités ont un langage ; elles ont même, qu'on nous passe l'expression, une sort de musique propre qui exprime à toutes les heures du jour le mouvement et les évolutions de la vie joyeuse ou sombre, laborieuse ou paisible, dont elles sont le foyer. Paris, par exemple, a une voix puissante, et quiconque en a entendu

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<sup>122</sup> Bathild Bouniol, *Les rues de Paris*, 1872; Guillot de Paris and Edgar Mareuse, *Le dit des rues de Paris*, 1875; Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*, 1858; Fournel, *Énigmes des rues de Paris*, 1860; and Fournel, *Chroniques et légendes des rues*, 1864.

<sup>123</sup> Unknown, *Syllabaires. Cris de Paris. Édition illustrée avec alphabet* (Paris: A. Courcier, 1852), and Unknown, *Syllabaire destiné au premier âge, et orné de gravure représentant les cris de Paris* (Paris: L. de Bure, 1830-1848)

<sup>124</sup> In her monograph *City of Noise*, Aimée Boutin contends that Parisians had developed a heightened sensitivity to urban sound during the Second Empire, as shown through the proliferation of literature and art concerning street cries. See Boutin, *City of Noise*, especially 2-3.

les frémissements aux jours d'émeute, quiconque, même a prêté l'oreille dans les temps les plus pacifique aux mille clameurs qui se croisent dans ses rues, celui-là n'oubliera jamais ce qu'il y a de caractéristique dans le chaos sonore qui berce les loisirs ou entretient l'activité de géant parisien.<sup>125</sup>

(Big cities have a language; they even have, if one pardons the expression, their own sort of music that expresses, at all hours of the day, the movement and evolution of life central to the city, whether joyous or somber, laborious or peaceful. Paris, for example, has a powerful voice, and whoever has heard its pulse during days of riots, whoever turned an ear even in the most peaceful times to the thousands of clamors that circulate in the streets, that person will never forget what is characteristic in the sonorous chaos that cradles the pursuits and nurtures the activity of the Parisian giant.)

In this passage, Kastner suggests that the summation of Parisian street sounds reflect the motion and circulation of the city. In the wake of tremendous population growth in Paris, the populace growing to one million inhabitants by mid-century, Kastner implies that the enormity of Paris (“*géant parisien*”) can be perceived in the everyday undercurrent of sound and movement. Kastner also claims that the “language” or essence of the city can be discerned on the streets. In doing so, he elevates the street to a universal level as it metaphorically represents the urban experience, indoor or outdoor, public or private. This notion is made even more distinct in his symphony, *Les cris de Paris*, written in the same year as his street cry treatise.

The pervasive motion and sound of the urban environment is encapsulated in the first section “*Le matin*” of Kastner’s three-part symphony *Les cris de Paris* (1857).<sup>126</sup> This

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<sup>125</sup> In this treatise, Kastner cataloged hundreds of street cries and discussed their significance and use. He incorporated these cries into his 1857 symphony *Les cris de Paris*. Kastner and Thierry, *Les voix de Paris*, v.

<sup>126</sup> Kastner’s symphony *Les cris de Paris* comprises three sections, “*Le matin*,” “*Le jour*,” and “*Le soir*.” Each section contains a series of vignettes that depict the temporal changes in urban sound during the course of one day.

through-composed piece dramatizes the collision of indoor and outdoor arenas as a Parisian resident is awakened by the street noises of Paris (see table 1). Opening in the idyllic dreamscape of the sleeping Parisian, *Le matin* begins with trilling woodwinds, arpeggiating harps, and other pastoral tropes as the fairy muse Titania summons daybreak and the rooster's crow (mm. 1-112). The pastoral scene dissolves as the morning soundscape of Paris is introduced: its sharply-contrasting texture features cymbals, horns, timpani, whips and bells, and introduces the extra-musical sounds of an anvil and a milk horn (mm. 113-146).<sup>127</sup> In this transitional passage, Kastner uses the street material to propel musical motion in *Le matin* (see example 1 and table 1). The texture evokes motion and agitation with ascending chromatic flourishes in the strings; these imitative motives allude to the circulatory qualities of the street and foreshadow contrapuntal realization of the street material later in the symphony. Furthermore, the first harmonic modulation in the symphony occurs during the transitional street passage, musically suggesting that the street stimulates motion and change.

Kastner dramatizes the street's infiltration of residential and private space when the cacophony of the street, compounded by the cries of street vendors, awakens a sleeping Parisian (mm. 146-480). Initially, the lilting 6/8 theme of the sleeping Parisian (B) is seemingly distinct from the staccato and parlando utterances of the street criers (C), differentiated by key area and texture. However, when the sleeper's theme is repeated with the same orchestration (B (C)), street cries interrupt the awakened resident (see

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<sup>127</sup> Kastner's score indicates, "*Bruits divers. Les boutiques qui s'ouvrent, la trompette du laitier, le forgeron qui bat l'enclume, le chaudronnier qui frappe le cuivre, etc.*" ("Diverse noise. The stores that open, the milk horn, the smith who strikes the anvil, the coppersmith who hits the copper, etc.") Kastner, *Cris de Paris*, 13.

example 2). As this key moment, the street cries are inserted into the musical material originally associated with residential space -- the street cries infiltrate the sleeping Parisian's musical theme, illustrating how the outdoor noise might penetrate residential space.

**Table 1: Georges Kastner's *Les cris de Paris* (1857), première partie, "Le matin"**

Introductory Material	A	A' (repeats in part)	Transitional material	B	C
m. 1-32	33-86	87-112	113-146	147-197	198- 229
C major	C major	C major	C major to c minor (iii/Ab major)	Ab major to F major	F major, ends on v (iii/Ab)
Pastoral idyll (orchestral)	Pastoral idyll (Titania, soprano)		Parisian streets (orchestral)	Parisian residence (sleeping Parisian, baritone)	Parisian streets (chorus of street criers)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Serene and atmospheric</li><li>• Pastoral 6/8 begins at m. 33</li><li>• Harp arpeggiations</li></ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Agitated</li><li>• Chromatic, rising lines</li><li>• Extra-musical references to milk horn and smiths</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Pastoral 6/8</li><li>• Lyrical vocal lines</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Pizzicato</li><li>• Chromaticism</li><li>• Parlando vocal declamation</li></ul>

**Table 1: (continued)**

B (C)	D	D'	E
m. 230-264	m. 265-360	361-480	481-632
Ab major,  (V <sup>7</sup> /Ab major resolves to deceptive cadence in Fb minor (enharmonic equivalent to E minor))	E minor	E minor  (V <sup>7</sup> /E minor resolves to deceptive cadence in C major)	C major
Residence and street (sleeping Parisian and criers)	Residence and street (sleeping Parisian)		Omniscient view of Paris (orchestra and street criers)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pastoral 6/8</li> <li>• Lyrical baritone</li> <li>• Interjecting street criers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agitated and chromatic</li> <li>• Rising orchestral motives</li> <li>• Baritone shifts to higher tessitura reaching G4</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Orchestral fugue</li> <li>• Interjecting street criers</li> <li>• Fugal development includes inversion, diminution, and stringendo</li> <li>• Fugue concludes with unison statement</li> </ul>

**Example 1: Initial musical representation of the street in Kastner's *Cris de Paris* ("Le matin") *Allegro*, m. 113-120**

Allegro. (M.M. ♩ = 120)

Enclume en SOL.

Une Cymbale  
(Une baguette pour frapper  
la Cymbale)

Fouets et Grelots.

Timbales  
en UT, SOL.

Trompette en UT.

Clarinettes en UT.

Cors en UT.

Violons.

Altos.

Violoncelles.

C-Basses

(Bruits divers. Les boutiques qui s'ouvrent, la trompette  
du laitier, le forgeron qui bat l'enclume, le chaudronnier  
qui frappe le cuivre etc, etc)

Trompette du laitier. (authentique)

Allegro. (M.M. ♩ = 120)

Enclume.

Frappes sur une Cymbale (laissez vibrer)

Fouets et Grelots.

Clar.

Cors.

Kastner underscores the spontaneity and uncontrollable motions of street space through unpredictable modulations. While the first few modulations of “*Le matin*” occur through mediant relationships, this pattern is abandoned after the street cries filter into the Parisian’s bedroom. Instead, Kastner modulates through a deceptive cadence, Ab major to Fb minor (enharmonic equivalent to E minor), a motion that portrays the disorientation of the sleeping Parisian. Such harmonic movement highlights the unpredictability of street activity – the deceptive cadence, commonly treated as a musical detour, is treated instead as the end goal. In fact, Kastner repeats this abrupt modulation once more to restore “*Le matin*” to its original key of C major.

The C-major conclusion of “*Le matin*” does not return to the pastoral themes that opened the symphony, but instead portrays the expansive scope of Parisian streets in a culminating instrumental fugue filled with street cries (see example 3). Kastner draws from the fugue’s topical connection to the transcendent and sublime.<sup>128</sup> The fugue conveyed the omnipresence of the street, indoor and outdoor, enveloping Paris in its sound and motion (mm. 481-632). Furthermore, Kastner, like other French composers of the time, did not use the fugue as a climactic conclusion to his entire symphony, but instead drew upon the fugue for its textural illustration.<sup>129</sup> The fugue is an apt medium

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<sup>128</sup> Robert Hatten has argued that the fugal topic has been historically associated with profundity, perpetuity and transcendence, particularly as used in the works of Beethoven. Mozart and Haydn’s body of works also include outstanding examples in which fugue is utilized for its dramatic cumulative effect, such as the five-subject fugue in the fourth movement of Mozart’s Symphony in C, K.551 “Jupiter Symphony,” as well as the final fugues in Haydn’s Op. 20 string quartets, Nos. 2, 5, and 6. See Robert S. Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 87.

<sup>129</sup> French composers used fugue for its textural effect. Hector Berlioz drew upon the fugue’s religious trope, using it in the funeral march of *Romeo et Juliette* (1839), in the “Amen” chorus from *La damnation de Faust*, deuxième partie, scène VI (1845-6), and in the last movement of the *Symphonie fantastique* when the Dance of the Witch’s Sabbath intersects with *Dies Irae*. Georges Bizet used fugue non-traditionally in

for conveying the interactivity of the street. The fugue, like the street, comprises a multitude of voices that respond and relate to each other. The fugal process steers its actors through their own unique pathways while sustaining a large-scale order and cohesiveness. The streets of Paris acted as a similar binding force, guiding the multitudes in their circulation through the city.

**Example 2: Repetition of sleeping Parisian's theme contains street cries, “*Le matin*,” mm. 230-235**

28  
Fl. Andante sostenuto.

Saxophone alto.

pp

LE DORMEUR.

Res. tex, res. tex ô mes son - ges fi - dè - les!

La noix! la noix! man - gez la noix nouvel - le!

pizz.  
pp

pizz.  
pp

Andante sostenuto

the second movement of his *Symphony in C* (1855), as did Gounod in his *Symphony in D* (1855). Later in the century, Saint-Saëns ended his *Symphony No. 3* “Organ symphony” with a more conventional expression of fugue (1886).



**Example 3: Exposition to concluding fugue of street cries, “*Le matin*,” mm. 481-494**

Allegro moderato.  $M. = 92$

Flûtes.

Hautbois.

Clarinettes en UT.

Bassons.

Cors en UT.

Trompettes à Cylindres entr.

Timbales UT, SOL, FA.

1<sup>er</sup> Violons.

2<sup>es</sup> Violons.

Altos.

1 SOPRANO.

1 ALTO.

1 TÉNOR.

1 BASSE.

Violoncelles.

C. Basses.

Allegro moderato.

Hautb.

Clar.

Cors.

1<sup>er</sup>

2<sup>es</sup>

3<sup>es</sup>

4<sup>es</sup>

5<sup>es</sup>

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Kastner's decision to draw attention to the interactive motions of the street in *Le matin* was consistent with the nineteenth-century interest in patterns of circulation. During this period, the French term *circulation* appears in many different contexts, describing a variety of social, environmental, and urban phenomena.<sup>130</sup> Prefect of the Seine Chabrol de Volvic based his multi-volume statistical study of Paris on the analysis of urban *circulation*, the movements of people, vehicles and commerce through the city.<sup>131</sup> Describing a sacred mass by composer Charles Vervoitte in 1857, one music journalist used the term *circulation* to describe musical texture, explaining that the main melody circulated amidst the surrounding harmony.<sup>132</sup> These nineteenth-century usages of the term *circulation* reflect a new conception of the word. Though the word appears in writing as early as the fourteenth century, *circulation* was first defined in seventeenth-century dictionaries as a type of circular motion, particularly describing scientific and natural processes (i.e. circulation of blood, respiration, etc.).<sup>133</sup> By the nineteenth century, the word was also used to describe social phenomena such as the movements of people, vehicles, as well as the dissemination of published materials and ideas.<sup>134</sup> The broadened

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<sup>130</sup> Google's N-gram tool indicates that the usage of the term "*circulation*" more than quintupled in French publications between the years 1700 and 1870, rising from 1 million to 5.8 million annual occurrences. Google's digitized database drew this data from 5.2 million French books published since the seventeenth century. These statistics, while representing a sizeable sample of literature, may reflect an increase in word usage because the production of books similarly increased during the nineteenth century. However, the statistics might also reflect the broadening definition of the word, as "*circulation*" was used described more societal activities in the nineteenth century.

<sup>131</sup> Chabrol de Volvic, *Recherches statistiques*, especially i-iii.

<sup>132</sup> Anonymous, "Chronique Départementale. Boulogne," *Revue et Gazette musicale* Vol. 24 No. 38 (20 September 1857): 7.

<sup>133</sup> The seventeenth-century entry for "*circulation*" defines the term as: circular movement, such as the circulation of blood or money. See *Dictionnaire de l'académie française, 1st edition, 1694*, edited by Mark Olson (Chicago: University of Chicago ARTFL Project, 1998).

<sup>134</sup> The nineteenth-century entry for "*circulation*" defines the term as: circular movement, such as the circulation of blood, sap in plants; the ability to come and go, such the circulation of the public, vehicles, and air; the movement of commerce, such as the circulation of money and capital; and, the ability to pass

definition runs parallel to the quickened pace of life during the industrial age as people observed increased motion in early modern life. The expanded usage of the term *circulation* during this period suggests that Parisians were attuned to more patterns and layers of movement in their daily life.<sup>135</sup>

The word *circulation* even appears in descriptions of salons. Describing the events hosted by Viconte Charles-Victor Prévot d'Arlincourt, Virginie Ancelot wrote, "*on puisse circuler, causer, voir ses amis, échanger des idées...on soit dans un salon et non dans une salle de spectacle*" ("one can circulate, converse, see friends, exchange ideas ... one is in a salon, not in a theater").<sup>136</sup> Ancelot suggests that such circulation was intrinsic to the salon, from the dispersion of people to the dissemination of ideas. In fact, Gounod's declaration that the, "street is in our houses," also responds to the salon's movement and activity, albeit stated with more vehemence than Ancelot. Nevertheless, Ancelot and Gounod essentially respond to the same observed motion that characterized society salons of the time. Their descriptions not only evoke an environment filled with the invisible movement generated by social networking and the exchange of ideas, but they also paint a picture of a space characterized by physical motion and street-like circulation.

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from one hand to another, such as the circulation of publications and ideas. See *Dictionnaire de l'académie française, 6th edition, 1835*, edited by Mark Olson (Chicago: University of Chicago ARTFL Project, 1998).

<sup>135</sup> Papayanis, *Horse-drawn cabs*, 2-3. Papayanis discusses the broad meaning of *circulation* in the French language, and how this sense of movement, intrinsic to urban life, seeped into other aspects of living.

<sup>136</sup> Ancelot, *Les salon de Paris*, 223.

## MULTI-ROOM CIRCULATION IN *HÔTEL* MUSIC SALONS

Journalist Henri Blanchard, an expert on the Parisian music salon scene who reported on weekly concert and salon events in his column “*Auditions musicales*” in the *Revue et gazette musicale* from 1849 to 1858, understood the necessary parameters for a successful music salon. He claimed that a flourishing salon not only needed to feature a talented roster of musicians, but that it also needed to meet some architectural preconditions. Blanchard wrote,

Chaque salon aristocratique ou bourgeois qui peut contenir une centaine de personnes en y adjoignant la salle à manger, la chambre à coucher et le cabinet de travail débarrassé, a son compositeur d'avenir, son ou sa pianiste très-distingué, son Thalberg ou sa Pleyel, son Vieuxtemps ou son Servais, son Dorus, son Leroy, son Jancourt, son Garimond, ses chanteurs de romances et de chansonnettes rivalisant Mmes Sabatier et Ponchard, ou Levassor.<sup>137</sup>

(Every aristocratic or bourgeois salon that can contain one hundred people, and that is attached to the dining room, bedroom, and the study has its composer of the future, its distinguished pianist, its Pleyel or its Thalberg, its Vieuxtemps or its Servais, its Dorus, its Leroy, its Jancourt, its Garimond, its singers of songs and ditties rivaling Mlle Sabatier and Ponchard or Levassor.)

While Blanchard’s list of rooms may seem like an extremely specific set of parameters, residential floor plans and historical accounts confirm that such a cluster of reception rooms was standard for salon events. This detail is significant because it offers new insight into the scope of salons: with one hundred or more guests distributed across

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<sup>137</sup> While the *chamber de parade*, a staged bedroom, was included among the reception spaces, the *chamber à coucher* was less likely to be used for receptions. For discussion of “staged” private rooms, see Dennis, *Court and Garden*, 69. Henri Blanchard, “Auditions musicales,” *Revue et gazette musicale* Vol. 21, No. 7, (15 February 1852), 2-3.

multiple rooms, one might surmise that movement and circulation was built into the logistics of the event.

The standardized organization of reception rooms has been best documented in the architectural records of Parisian *hôtels*, inhabited by the Parisian aristocracy and wealthy bourgeois during the nineteenth century. Presumably the *hôtels*' innovative arrangement of reception rooms was also adopted in more modest urban residences based on its longstanding architectural success. As early as the seventeenth century, multi-room reception spaces were introduced in *hôtels* and, by the nineteenth century, architects routinely clustered groups of rooms for entertaining, an arrangement commonly termed "*massée*" by building designers.<sup>138</sup>

The placement of open doorways in floor plans suggests that this arrangement promoted the circulation of guests. Nearly all of the forty-five *hôtel* floor plans compiled in Pierre Henri Gélis-Didot's 1893 anthology feature one or more salons surrounded by a series of interconnected rooms.<sup>139</sup> These rooms were usually joined by two and even three doors, encouraging flow through the spaces. This arrangement can be seen in a residence on the Avenue de Trocadero, a configuration that encouraged movement through the *grand salon*, *petit salon*, dining room, and vestibule (see Figure 2). The placement of connecting doorways, often simply open archways, suggests that guest traffic might have been directed in a circular pattern through the reception spaces.

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<sup>138</sup> Dennis, *Court and Garden*, 61.

<sup>139</sup> Pierre Henri Gélis-Didot, *Paris Mansions and Apartments, 1893: Facades, Floor Plans, & Architectural Details* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2011)

**Figure 2:** Floor plan of residence on 12 Avenue de Trocadero encouraged circulation between the *grand salon*, *petit salon*, and *salle à manger*)



The multi-room salons offered a concert space that was unlike other musical institutions in the city. While opera theaters adopted features that minimized disruption during performances, such as boxed seating and dimmed lights, the salon setting had the potential to destabilize the concert etiquettes encouraged elsewhere.<sup>140</sup>

The multi-room salon of Princess Mathilde brought out tensions between social circulation and expectations for musical attentiveness. Her salon at 20 Rue de Courcelles comprised five reception rooms that opened through large archways into a central

<sup>140</sup> James Johnson contended that Parisian audiences fell silent by 1850 after opera houses introduced features that drew attention to the stage. Johnson's spatial analysis of the opera house is insightful, though Cormac Newark recently problematized Johnson's central supposition and claimed that audiences were not as hushed as Johnson presumed. Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, and Cormac Newark, "Not Listening in Paris," 35-53.

conservatory. While the music was being performed in the grand salon, her guests were said to disperse throughout the rooms.<sup>141</sup> An account from Eugène Sauzay reveals that Princess Mathilde's salon included both seated and ambulant audience members. He wrote in his memoirs,

“By the first chord each listener had taken his seat, the most musical near the piano..., and the others dispersed around, some in the conservatory, some in the nearby salons...”<sup>142</sup>

With guests distributed through the rooms, one might surmise that audience attentions were divided. Princess Caroline Murat substantiates this idea in her memoirs when she described a salon performance at Princess Mathilde's, during which she attuned her hearing to conversations from an adjoining room.<sup>143</sup>

The multi-room arrangement also helps explain the contradictory accounts of salon concerts, reports which might portray rapt listeners while others describe disinterested, chattering audiences. One journalist accused Princess Mathilde's audiences of listening very poorly.<sup>144</sup> On the other hand, Sauzay emphasized the attentiveness of Princess Mathilde's guests, explaining that she, “had no trouble at all in obtaining silence and, according to her expression, to stop the chattering.”<sup>145</sup> These accounts could reflect the

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<sup>141</sup> Princess Mathilde lived at several locations in the *faubourg St. Honoré*. She lived at 10 Rue de Courcelles from 1848-1857. In August 2014, I sent a letter to the current owner to inquire about visiting or looking at floorplan drawings, however, my correspondence was unanswered. Princess Mathilde also lived at 20 Rue de Courcelles (discussed above) from 1857 to 1870 in a *hôtel* that was destroyed in 1954. Currently, buildings 22-28 cover the ground where that *hôtel* once stood. After briefly fleeing Paris at the end of the Second Empire, Princess Mathilde relocated to a *hôtel* at 20 Rue de Berry (now destroyed) where she reopened her salon in 1871.

<sup>142</sup> Sauzay's memoirs are transcribed in, Brigitte François-Sappey, “La vie musicale à Paris à travers les *Mémoires* d'Eugène Sauzay (1809-1901),” *Revue de musicologie* Vol. 60, No. 1-2 (1974), 159-210. Translated in Tunley, *Salons, Singers, and Songs*, 32.

<sup>143</sup> Murat, *My Memoirs*, 77-78.

<sup>144</sup> Tunley, *Salons, Singers, and Songs*, 28

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 40

disparate viewpoints fostered by the multi-room salon. Even more significantly, the marked mention of audience behavior in these accounts suggest that the salon environment challenged Parisians' expectations of concert etiquette.

The multi-room arrangement essentially decentralized the salon's musical performance, and this phenomenon is distinctly captured in Giuseppe de Nittis' rendering of Princess Mathilde's salon at 20 Rue de Berry, a residence and salon that she maintained later in the century (see figure 3). The painting suggests the use of three reception rooms – the grand salon filled with guests, an adjoining space shown on the upper left, and the implied room from which the viewer observes the scene, the boundary suggested by the draped curtain. The scene is active with most guests standing and engaging in conversation. The seated women and figures on the left side of the painting do not appear to be speaking and are likely listening to musicians not shown on the canvas. The invisibility of the performers in this painting illustrates how the multiple reception rooms of the salon might have divided the focus of guests and fragmented the audience's musical experience.



**Figure 3: Giuseppe de Nittis, *Salon of Princess Mathilde* (1883), oil on canvas**



Understanding the challenges the multi-room salon posed, some hosts even employed staff to facilitate flow. In one extreme situation, an Italian pianist M Curci even stationed guards at the doors of his Parisian salon to facilitate the flow of late arrivals and early departures. If his salon reached capacity, the guards would instruct guests to wait outside until others exited and opened space.<sup>146</sup> These measures indicate the degree to which circulation was not just an incidental part of the salon environment, but it was

<sup>146</sup> Henri Blanchard, "Auditions Musicales," *Revue et gazette musicale* Vol. 21 No. 11 (14 March 1852), 2-3.

anticipated and supervised. This factor is particularly significant to current musical scholarship because it challenges the traditional characterization of music salons. While they have been historically portrayed as hushed, reverent affairs, the specific measures taken by host M Curci indicate a deliberate and decisive response to the active dynamics of the music salon. One might imagine that the similar oversight and consideration was extended to the musical planning, programming, and even composing for salons.

### **MUSICAL ADAPTATION: Influence of multi-room salons on musical programs**

The repertory of the society salon has been an elusive and much debated topic in music history.<sup>147</sup> Efforts to pinpoint a specific salon repertory have been hindered by the breadth of genres and styles represented at such events. Historically, the music of society salons has been associated with triviality and mediocrity, particularly since the repertory represented was often compressed, condensed, and simplified -- when salons were not presenting smaller pieces such as songs and opera excerpts, the salons would feature transcriptions of chamber music or larger works, in addition to potpourris, fantasies, and souvenirs that typically summarized an opera's popular melodies in a single piece. However, the musical parameters for salon programs and compositions crystallize in the context of the multi-room events -- necessity demanded condensed musical repertory to deliver effective performances in a perpetually active venue.

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<sup>147</sup> Salon music has also been historically snubbed for its presumed triviality. James Ross exclaimed that, "'salon music' is a cursed phrase," responding to the historical baggage the terminology carries. See Ross, "Music in the French Salon," 91.

With mobile audiences and rotating guests, society salon programs needed to cultivate concise and direct programs and genres that grabbed the attention of their listeners and delivered the music succinctly. While the musical genres commonly heard in the salon were typically not new and unique in themselves, the salons' habitual inclusion of arrangements and shortened works indicates that the salon environment propagated and created a demand for such repertory.

Society salons featured variety programs that mixed music from different periods, European styles, and genres. Such programs served as a type of musical newscast for Parisians, offering a broad overview of current and past musical trends. At her 1853 salon at the rue Taranne, Mme Firmin Didot, of the Didot empire of Parisian printers and editors, presented such a varied program featuring female piano virtuoso Mlle Graever, cellist M Lebouc, and singers Mme Gavaux-Sabatier, Mlle Boilletot and M Jourdan, performing opera excerpts, romances, solo piano, and chamber works by Liszt, Voss, Blumenthal and Méhul.<sup>148</sup> Diverse programs were not unique to salons - recital programs often mixed genres and styles, and charitable concerts typically presented opera stars performing favorite arias and ensembles. However, music salons likely presented the most variable programs in the city because they featured both broad repertory and a diverse ensemble of performers.

The salon also capitalized on the adaptability of transcriptions, a tool that allowed the salons to have diverse programs despite limited resources. Again, transcriptions were not

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<sup>148</sup> Henri Blanchard, "Auditions musicales," *Revue et Gazette Musicale* Vol. 22 No. 1 (2 January 1853)

unique to the salon as piano transcriptions also abounded in parlor music -- however, the routine use of transcriptions in salons indicates that the wide musical access transcription afforded was a priority for Parisian society salons. Through transcription, the salon community could hear musical works that would otherwise exceed the performance capacity of the salon. Transcriptions also helped audiences recall music that was not currently being performed in theaters.<sup>149</sup> Furthermore, transcriptions allowed performers to promote and familiarize audiences with new works that had just appeared in theaters or had been recently published. After Gounod's *Mireille* premiered at the Théâtre Lyrique on March 19, 1864, he sang excerpts with M Mainard at the piano at Princess Mathilde's salon on March 27, perhaps in an effort to generate interest and draw audience to the theater.<sup>150</sup> While the salon has been noted to be an important platform for previewing of new pieces or even works-in-progress, Gounod's presentation suggests that salon concerts were also a useful tool for sustaining public focus on existing works.

The emphasis on variety in society salon programs is most pronounced in the proliferation of potpourris, souvenirs, and fantasies -- genres through which musical themes could be swiftly shared. These genres were particularly effective musical solutions for the logistical challenges of active, multi-room salons. Music salons readily adopted medley-style works, a genre that had emerged in eighteenth-century France, and the salons played a significant role in cultivating the form. The potpourri served the

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<sup>149</sup> In his study of four-hand piano and opera transcriptions, Thomas Christensen has shown that transcription served as an aide-memoire for audiences. See Christensen, "Four-hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth Century Musical Reception," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 52, No. 2 (1999): 264.

<sup>150</sup> E. Baurr, "Nouvelles du Jour," *La Presse* Vol. 29, No. [n/a] (29 March 1864): 2.

salon well because it not only abbreviated and summarized the larger work, but it often incorporated crowd-pleasing, brilliant passages. It also flourished in the salon because it was attention-getting in settings where audience focuses were divided. In fact, potpourri-style overtures, prevalent at the Opéra-Comique, served this same purpose as they swiftly collected the interest of the audience.<sup>151</sup>

The music programs offered at Princess Mathilde's reflect the musical imperative to present a succinct and varied concert for salon guests. Her salon programs, planned and organized by violinist Eugène Sauzay, regularly featured the performances and compositions of Gounod, Saint-Saens, and Franchomme, as illustrated in the program from May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1866 (see table 2).<sup>152</sup> As expected, the program contains multiple genres, including opera, chamber, and song works, and it also features music from different time periods and European styles. This program also illustrates the prevalent usage of transcription, from the straightforward, piano-vocal scoring of the opera excerpts to more unusual usages in the Grandval and Chopin/Franchomme works.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Boieldieu, Hérold, Auber, Thomas, Gounod and many others composed potpourri overtures for their operas.

<sup>152</sup> Princess Mathilde seemed to leave the musical planning entirely up to Sauzay. In her personal correspondence, Princess Mathilde only discusses music briefly in letters to Baroness Budberg and Camille Doucet. See Mathilde-Lætitia-Wilhelmine Bonaparte Letters, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Folders 4 and 11. On Sauzay's planning, see Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs*, 32.

<sup>153</sup> Program documented in, Anonymous, "Paris et départements," *Le Ménestrel* Vol. 33, No. 27 (3 June 1866): 214.

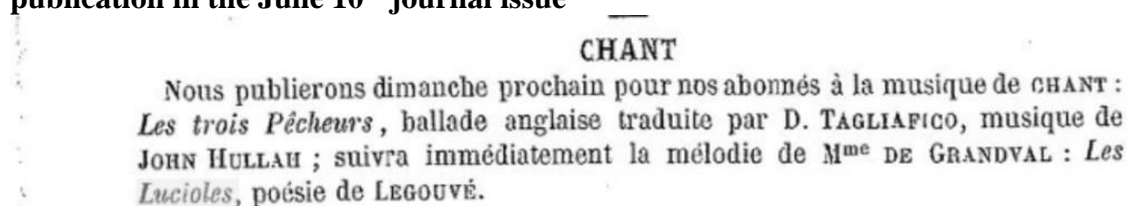
**Table 2: Salon Program at Princess Mathilde Bonaparte's 20 Rue de Courcelles residence on May 27, 1866 (bracketed items indicate my conjectures)**

<b>Haydn</b>	Unspecified quartet	M Eugène Sauzay, violin M Camille Saint-Saens, [piano] [M Auguste Franchomme, cello]
<b>Gounod</b>	<i>Ave maria</i> (J. S. Bach)	Mme Miolan Carvalho, singer M Gounod, piano
<b>Gounod</b>	operatic selections	M Delle-Sedie, singer Mme Carvalho, singer [M Gounod, piano]
<b>Grandval</b>	<i>Les lucioles</i> (arr. for voice, violin, organ, and piano)	Mme Bouché, singer Mme de Grandval, piano [M Sauzay, violin] [M Saint-Saens, organ]
<b>Campana</b>	vocal duet	Mme Bouché, singer Mlle Rives, singer
<b>Mozart</b>	opera selections	Mme Carvalho, singer
<b>Franchomme</b>	Chopin work (arr. for piano and cello)	M Auguste Franchomme, cello

Mme de Grandval's meticulous planning for the premiere presentation of her *mélodie Les lucioles* illustrates the importance of the salon in a musical debut. The song's premiere at Princess Mathilde's was, in fact, part of a three-week launch strategy. The piece was performed before the salon audience on May 27<sup>th</sup>, with a journalist from *Le ménestrel* in

attendance. When *Les lucioles* and the salon event were reviewed in *Le ménestrel* the following week, the journal also printed a notice on the front page announcing the song's impending publication and distribution to *Le ménestrel* subscribers the following week (see figure 4). Through this careful market preparation, the journal created excitement and anticipation for the piano-vocal edition of *Les lucioles* that would appear in the June 10<sup>th</sup> issue *Le ménestrel*.<sup>154</sup>

**Table 3: *Le ménestrel* issue from June 3, 1866 contained review of *Les lucioles* premiered at Princess Mathilde's on May 27, and announced the song's future publication in the June 10<sup>th</sup> journal issue**



(Next Sunday, we will publish for our fans of musical songs: *Les trois Pêcheurs*, English ballad translated by D. Tagliafico, music by John Hullah; following immediately, the *mélodie* of Mme de Grandval, *Les lucioles*, poetry by Legouv  .)

Most notably, Mme de Grandval carefully planned the debut performance to best package the composition for the attending reviewer and Princess Mathilde's audience. Although the piece would be released as a piano-vocal score, Grandval arranged it with different instrumentation to maximize its impact in the salon environment. On May 27<sup>th</sup>, *Les lucioles* was performed in a chamber setting featuring violin, organ, piano played by the composer, and singer Mme Bouch  . Her piece presumably utilized the star talents of Sauzay and Saint-Saens, and made shrewd use of the on-site organ. Grandval's customization linked her music to the signature performers of Princess Mathilde's salon,

<sup>154</sup> Unknown, "Paris et d  partements," *Le M  nestr  l* Vol. 33, No. 27 (3 June 1866): 214, also Unknown, "Musique de Chant," *Le M  nestr  l* Vol. 33, No. 28 (10 June 1866) : 217.

sonically associating her music with the prestige of Paris's leading salon. Her musical adaptation of *Les lucioles* indicates that the repertory and arrangements performed at salons were planned with audience, performers, and perhaps even space in mind.<sup>155</sup>

Franchomme's arrangement of a piece by Chopin is perhaps the most curious item on Princess Mathilde's 1866 program because Chopin's piano repertory, composed and designed as salon music, would seemingly not require or warrant amendment for performance in this context. However, Franchomme had transformed more than twenty of Chopin's solo piano pieces into lyrical cello-piano works by 1866. His systematic arrangement of Chopin's works for cello and piano has been attributed to his desire to reinforce Chopin's popular presence in Paris after his colleague's premature death.<sup>156</sup> Though the piece performed on May 27<sup>th</sup> is not specified, one particular Chopin arrangement by Franchomme, likely performed at one of Princess Mathilde's gatherings, warrants closer analysis.

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<sup>155</sup> The standardized instrumentation in the *Le ménestrel* publication of *Les lucioles* also indicates that musical publications were arranged for the widest possible usage.

<sup>156</sup> Louise Dubin, *Auguste Franchomme: A Study of the Virtuoso, Pedagogue, and Composer, with a Focus on His Contributions to Violoncello Repertoire and Technique* (D. Mus.), Indiana University, 2011.



Example 4: Franchomme/Chopin, *Nocturne*, Op. 15 for piano and cello, mm. 1-44

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ŒUVRES DE CHOPIN

Traduites pour le Violoncelle par AUG<sup>te</sup> FRANCHOMME.

1<sup>re</sup> Série N<sup>o</sup> 1.

**NOCTURNE**

(Op. 15)

Andante cantabile. (62 =  $\text{♩}$ )

VIOLONCELLE. *dolce semplice e tranquillo.*

*poco cresc e ritenuto.* *a tempo.* *delicentissimo.* *dolciss.*

*smorzando.* *sostenuto.*

Assai meno lento. (72 =  $\text{♩}$ )

*dol.* *cresc.* *dim.*

C. M. 11.017.

Franchomme's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne in F major*, Op. 15 No. 1 synthesizes two of Chopin's works and reflects the compositional inclination to abbreviate music to offer a succinct performance for guests at a society salon (see example 4). Transposing the initial theme of the nocturne to G major, Franchomme omits the etude-like middle section of Op. 15 No. 1 and replaces it with the primary theme of Chopin's *Nocturne in G*

minor, Op. 37 No. 1. Franchomme's interpretation is elegant as the two melodies interact like mirror images – while each begins on D4, the major-key theme rises a sixth to B in the first phrase, whereas the parallel minor-key theme descends a sixth to the F#. The juxtaposition of these two sections, expanding symmetrically from a central point, offers an insightful, cross-referential setting intended perhaps for an audience of connoisseurs intimately familiar with Chopin's body of works.<sup>157</sup>

From another point of view, Franchomme's arrangement, while retaining the nocturne's traditional ternary organization, might also be interpreted as a potpourri-style display of Chopin's nocturne themes. Combining two distinct pieces in a single work, Franchomme's arrangement reflects the inclination to summarize, contrast, and condense music for presentation in a salon.

The potpourris, transcriptions, arrangements, and small-form compositions may have become common to salon concerts because they flourished in the multi-room setting. Medleys, such as Franchomme's arrangement of Chopin, might have been favored to sustain the divided interests of a circulating audience. In addition, arrangements, such as Grandval's adaptation of *Les lucioles*, offered an opportunity to exhibit the musical talents of a particular salon. Furthermore, excerpts of operas or abbreviated works offered audiences the opportunity to compare compositions through their succinct juxtaposition in programs. Historically associated with short, compact musical works, the

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<sup>157</sup> With thanks to Michael Puri who influenced my approach to this piece during our discussion following my paper presentation, "The Street is in our houses': Traffic and Circulation in the salon of Princess Mathilde Bonaparte" at the AMS Annual Meeting in Milwaukee, WI in 2014.

salon's cultivation of abbreviated repertory generally has been treated as peripheral to the musical developments of the nineteenth-century.<sup>158</sup> Smaller genres have been judged in comparison to their larger counterparts (potpourri vs. opera, transcription vs. symphonic overture). In the context of multi-room receptions, however, one might view the repertory not as a reproduction of concert hall and opera house activity, but as a direct response to the spatial and social parameters of the music salon. Considering salon repertory from this perspective is significant to music scholarship because it offers an explanation for the salon's association with small works, presents insight into the compositional motivations for salon repertory, and, furthermore, opens new interpretive possibilities for the music.

When Gounod claimed that the "street is in our houses," he could have been referring to any number of congruencies between urban traffic and the residential music scene. Perhaps Gounod was responding to the music programs that, like Haussmann's new roadways, were delivered with efficiency and directness. Perhaps Gounod was reacting to the multi-room reception spaces salon that, like the circulation promoted by omnibuses, fostered a constant stream of motion. Or perhaps Gounod was responding to the sheer immensity of the salon scene that, like the ever-increasing urban population, fostered an environment that seemed to be filled with traffic. Quite likely, all of these factors had a compounded effect, and Gounod's comment was provoked by the complex entanglement of stimuli fostered by the salon. Most significantly, however, Gounod synthesized the scene with an analogy to the street. His instinct to draw such a parallel

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<sup>158</sup> James Ross discusses the historical reputation of "salon music" in Ross, "Music in the French Salon," 91.

indicates that the street was ultimately perceived as something that could describe Paris not just on the outside, but also on the inside.

—CHAPTER FOUR—

**DESTABLIZING THE STREET:  
Space, sonority, and the *musiciens ambulants***

Singing and performing on barrel organs, violins, harps, and guitars, the *musiciens ambulants*, or itinerant musicians, of nineteenth-century Paris were inextricably connected to urban space, using the circulation of the streets as a means of conducting their profession. Not to be confused with traveling musicians, the *musiciens ambulants* comprised 580 licensed performers by 1870, and at least the same number of unlicensed musicians, who lived in the city and performed in the streets, parks and squares of Paris.<sup>159</sup> Sometimes, itinerant musicians would stroll through the streets, performing beneath residential windows and even playing in the interior courtyards of *hôtels particuliers*, or urban mansions. Other times, the performers would maintain fixed locations in high-traffic areas, attracting the attention of passing pedestrians. The *musiciens ambulants*' seemingly harmless use of urban space, however, roused tremendous controversy in Paris from 1816 until the 1880s.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> An 1872 report indicated that Paris licensed 580 itinerant performers annually (150 singers, 150 acrobats, 150 organ players, and 130 musicians). Additional statistics suggest that additional performers were operating without permits. For 1872 statistics, see Paul Cère, *Les populations dangereuses et les misères sociales* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1872), 250. For discussion of performers without permits, see Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The integration of old and new migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 79. For further statistics on itinerant performers, see Zucchi, *The Little Slaves of the Harp: Italian Child Street Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Paris, London, and New York* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 49.

<sup>160</sup> Parisian officials and the bourgeois began to focus their attention on regulating the activity of itinerant musicians in 1816 after an influx of Italian performers immigrated to Paris following the Congress of Vienna. After the 1880s, the *musicians ambulants*' profession no longer existed as it did earlier in the century. See Zucchi, *The Little Slaves*, 49.

The reactions, primarily voiced by bourgeois Parisians, illustrate how the *musiciens ambulants*' profession problematized the street, bringing out apprehensions about the social changes it could engender. Implicit in these concerns was the awareness that the street was a space that empowered the lower classes, and that it had been repeatedly employed as a site of resistance in the tumultuous political history of the city and nation. With this undercurrent of fear, middle-class society and public officials reacted to the *musiciens ambulants* in three distinct ways, to be examined further in this chapter. The first type of reaction was the effort to summon a sense of distance between the *musiciens ambulants* and bourgeois Parisians. Portraying the musicians as disconnected from society, this type of response implies that the street performers, in fact, had a prominent role in the everyday lives of urban residents. The second type of reaction was the impulse to regulate the *musiciens ambulants*' use of street space. The civic administration's desire to control and limit the urban activity of the itinerant performers seemed to stem from the belief that such musicians could be socially influential and even politically threatening in the urban realm. The third and most extreme reaction was the emerging notion that the *musiciens ambulants* were street spies. This response conflates the concerns of the first two reactions: with a prominent presence in residential life as well as influence in the public sphere, *musicians ambulants* were believed to pose a threat to social stability. Some Parisians developed the extreme view that the itinerant musicians employed their musical efforts for the purposes of surveillance, espionage, and civil threat.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> This study contributes to recent scholarship on the topic of music and politics. Scholars have investigated the role of music in stimulating and implementing political change. See Rebekah Ahrendt, Damien Mahiet, and Mark Ferraguto, editors, *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Through these radical reactions, one can also glean information about the everyday activities, habits and performance practices of itinerant performers. The role of the *musiciens ambulants* in Paris has been obscured by their voicelessness and invisibility in the preserved body of historical documents.<sup>162</sup> Often illiterate and foreign, the itinerant musicians did not chronicle their lives in writing and, as a result, their story has largely slipped through the historical cracks.<sup>163</sup> The remaining accounts about *musiciens ambulants* exist in nineteenth-century police reports, articles, books, art, and music. The sources written between the 1830s and 1860s reflect the mixed and complex response to itinerant musicians in Paris, exhibiting the public curiosity and appreciation as well as bias and apprehension for *musiciens ambulants*. The materials written after 1867, however, display a more fixed and negative public opinion of the itinerant musicians, revealing the intolerant perspectives that precipitated the demise of the urban profession. These sources illuminate the urban history of the *musiciens ambulants*, shed light on the itinerant musician's occupation, and reveal how the street mediated the performers' social reception. Analyzing descriptions of itinerant musicians in the writings of Édouard Fétis, Victor Fournel, Gustave Droz and Théodore Labourieu, as well as examining the musicians' representation in Isidore-Édouard Legouix's vaudeville *Les marchands des chansons* (1837), I show that the *musiciens ambulants*' profession destabilized the

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<sup>162</sup> John Zucchi's work has illuminated the history of Italian street musicians in Paris, London, and New York during the nineteenth century. His research on this subject has largely been continued in studies of child labor and the politics of immigration. See Zucchi, *The Little Slaves of the Harp*.

<sup>163</sup> One exception is the semi-fictional autobiography of street musician Cagliardo Coraggioso, an Italian violinist who performed in London. See Coraggioso, *Wandering Minstrel, The Life Story of Cagliardo Coraggioso* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938).

public's concept of the street, stimulated a vigorous discourse about this urban space, and ultimately propelled the development of public policies to regulate city streets.

### **PROXIMITY: Sonic, spatial, and social**

While one might think of itinerant musicians primarily within the context of public spaces, the *musiciens ambulants* had a strong presence in residential and private life as they serenaded urban dwellers through windows, doors, and even in residential courtyards. Some Parisians considered such performances to be intrusive as the music filtered into their residences.<sup>164</sup> The performances of the *musiciens ambulants* confounded the spatial separation of indoor and outdoor, subverted the fragile dichotomy between public and private space, and sparked discomfort with the utilization of street space. Parisian literature, art, and music reflect the public's mixed reactions to itinerant performances. Much of this material reflects the effort to counter the residential closeness of the *musiciens ambulants* by portraying the performers as unfamiliar and disconnected.

The detached portrayal of itinerant musicians is encapsulated in A. Lecocq's cover illustration for J. L. Battmann's facile piano quadrille *Musiciens ambulants* (1863, see figure 1).<sup>165</sup> The dancing musicians are socially marked by their dress -- their feathered hats suggest gypsy culture and their baggy clothes contrast the tailored fashions of that time. With their location absent from the picture's background, the musicians seem to lack a sense of belonging in the urban environment. Despite their extroverted appearance,

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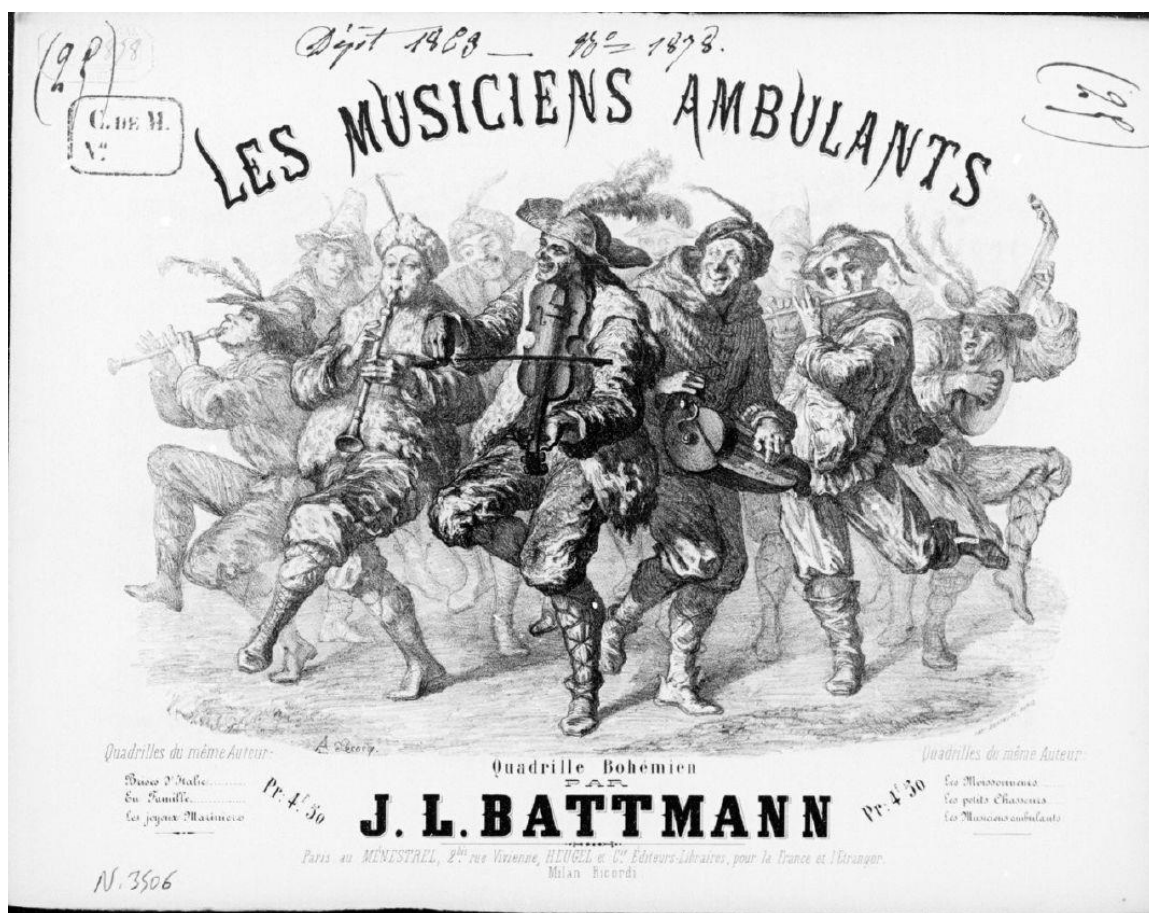
<sup>164</sup> The intrusiveness of residential performances will be discussed later in detail, particularly examining the journal article of François Desportes, "La dernière étape: journal d'un viellard," *Le magasin pittoresque* (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnement et de vente, 1854).

<sup>165</sup> J. L. Battmann and A. Lecocq, *Musiciens ambulants* (Paris: Heugel et Cie., 1863), musical score.



they do not display any social connection to an audience and, moreover, do not even appear to be engaging with each other. Further emphasizing their disconnection with society, the *musiciens ambulants* disappear like phantoms into the background of the illustration, suggesting that they are social specters that leave no trace or imprint on culture.

**Figure 1: Cover art by A. Lecocq for J. L. Battmann's piano quadrille *Musiciens ambulants* (1863)**



The narrative that is not immediately apparent in Battmann's cover illustration, however, is that the *musiciens ambulants* were active participants in Parisian life that were often welcomed by Parisian residents. Urban dwellers encouraged the profession by opening their doors as an invitation to hear passing performances. They also supported musicians with monetary offerings.<sup>166</sup> In his book *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues*, Victor Fournel recalled the generous reception of an old *chanteur ambulant* performing in frigid temperatures and snow.<sup>167</sup> In such extreme weather, when one might expect Parisians to remain insulated in the warmth of their residences, the urban community responded by enthusiastically showering *sous* from their windows. Fournel wrote,

Quelques gamins amassés dans la rue, qui avaient suspendu leurs jeux bruyants pour l'entendre avec cette admiration naïve et silencieuse particulière à l'enfance, se précipitaient pour ramasser les sous qui ne cessaient de pleuvoir, et les lui remettaient avec une sorte de respect instinctif.<sup>168</sup>

(Some children who gathered in the street, that had stopped their noisy playing to listen with their childish silent and naïve admiration, rushed to gather the *sous* that did not stop raining, and gave them to [the old man] with a sort of instinctual respect.)

While illustrating the enthusiastic reception of *musiciens ambulants* in residential life, Fournel's account also romanticizes their role in the city. When Fournel suggests that the old *chanteur* mesmerizes and instills respect in the rowdy children, he projects an idealized view of the performer. Fournel's perspective reflects the bourgeois enchantment with itinerant musicians, a curiosity that paved the way for *musiciens ambulants* to be routinely welcomed in Parisian neighborhoods. Intrigued by the passing

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<sup>166</sup> Fétis lamented the fact that doors were increasingly closed to passing musicians. See Fétis, "De la musique des rues," 290.

<sup>167</sup> Fournel, "Musiciens ambulants," 37.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

entertainers, urban dwellers encouraged itinerant musicians to perform close to their residences.

Such intimacy destabilized boundaries, ultimately, when the *musiciens ambulants* were invited to perform in semi-public spaces, the *grandes cours* (front courtyards) of *hôtels* (mansions) and *maisons particulières*.<sup>169</sup> In the baroque *hôtels* of the Marais, the rococo *hôtels* of the faubourgs St. Germain and St. Honoré, as well as the neo-classical *hôtels* of the Chaussée d'Antin, the courtyard space was not just seen as a paved extension of the street but, rather, it was conceived to be a large, outdoor room.<sup>170</sup> The rococo-style plan for a *hôtel* on Rue d'Enfer illustrates this concept as the *grande cour* is entirely enclosed by walls (see figure 2). Outlined with thick lines like the other *hôtel* rooms, the courtyard is portrayed as if it were another indoor space. After entering this "room" through a carriage-sized entrance gate, the *musiciens ambulants*'s courtyard performances subverted the boundaries between street and residential life. Responding to the intimacy of this performance situation, Fétis suggests that the musicians entered private territory when they were offered, "the privilege of penetrating the interior of the courtyard" ("*le privilège de pénétrer dans l'intérieur des cours*").<sup>171</sup> Admission to the *hôtel* courtyard was the unique privilege of the itinerant musicians, as other street workers, vendors, tinkerers, and newspaper hawkers remained in the street. When Parisians offered itinerant musicians access to private property, a gesture presumably stemming from

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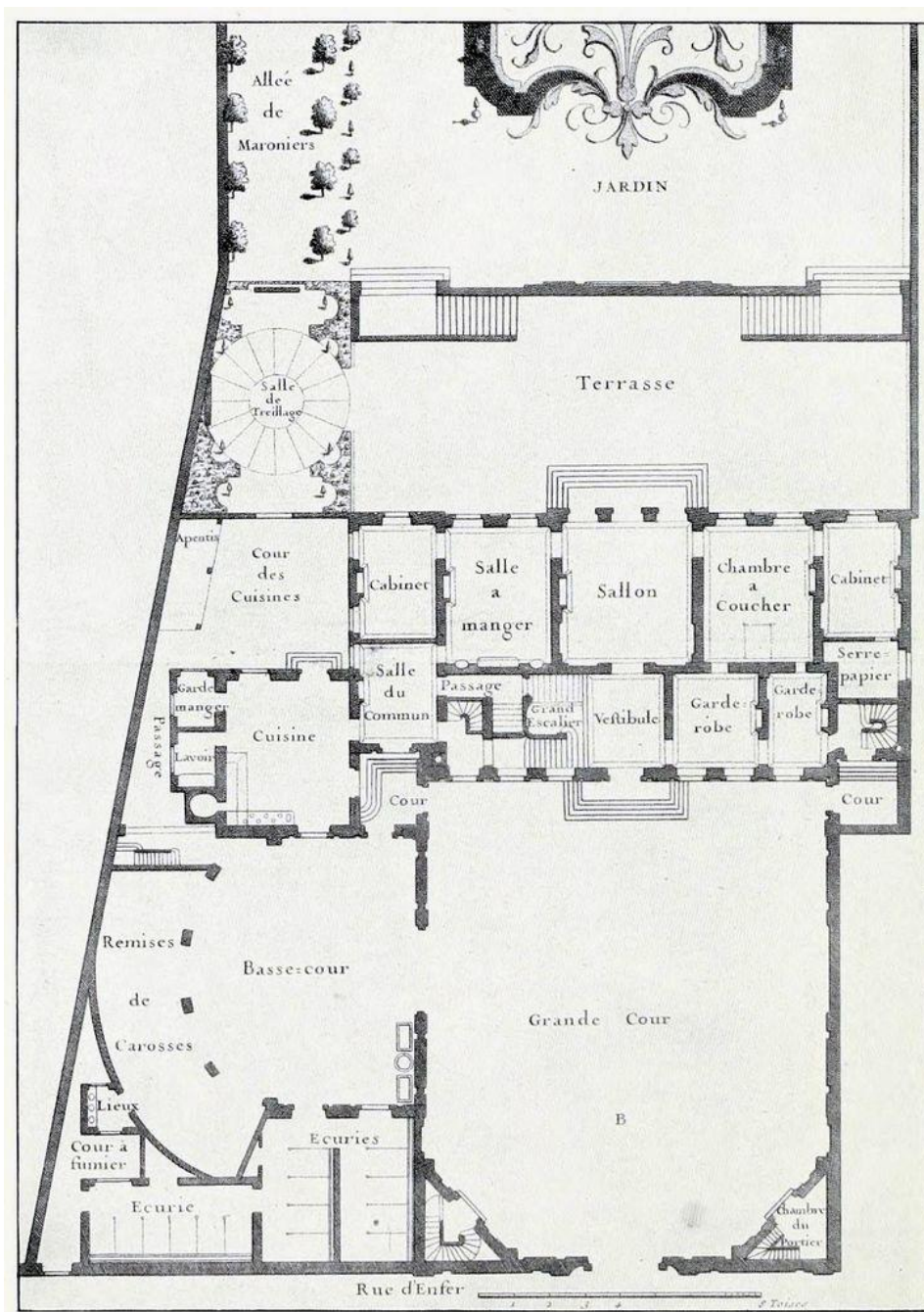
<sup>169</sup> Fétis indicates that wind and string ensembles and even organ grinders were invited to perform in *hôtel* courtyards. Fétis, "De la musique des rues," 290 and 293.

<sup>170</sup> Dennis illustrates how hotels were built around a central courtyard, which served as the frontal core of the residence. This was as much part of the spatial design as the organization of interior rooms. Dennis, *Court and Garden*, 57, 61, and 69.

<sup>171</sup> Fétis, "De la musique des rues," 290.

genuine appreciation, residents perhaps unknowingly placed the performers in a position of culpability – the musicians’ sonic and geographic proximity was the very thing residents also claimed was discomforting about street performance practices.

**Figure 2: Floor plan for *hôtel particulier* located on Rue d’Enfer**



The itinerant musicians interacted intimately with their residential audiences as their sounds drifted from the street into residential spaces and as they performed in semi-private courtyards. The intimacy of these exchanges was compounded, however, by the itinerant musicians' capacity to awaken the sensibilities of their residential audiences through the emotive powers of music. Some listeners reacted defensively to the *musiciens ambulants*' performances, not always pleased with the unscheduled encounter and the sentiments the music might have triggered.

The emotional intimacy of the itinerant musicians was addressed in an 1854 fictional column from *Le magasin pittoresque* chronicling the daily experiences of an elderly Parisian man.<sup>172</sup> In it, the aged narrator initially welcomes the impromptu performance of a trio of German musicians on violin, viola, and cello, who play fragments of an unnamed symphony and a Hungarian melody under his window. Captivated by the beauty of the music, the man explains that he was swept into a reverie as the music unlocked suppressed memories about his lost love. What began as a pleasant musical exchange between the old man and the *musiciens ambulants*, however, quickly shifts as the man emerges from his trance and is filled with apprehension. Uncomfortable with the music's emotional closeness, the man firmly shuts his window, summoning a sense of distance by establishing a spatial and sonic barrier. The old man's defensive reaction suggests that the itinerant performance overstepped boundaries as it unlocked his emotions.

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<sup>172</sup> François Desportes, "La dernière étape: journal d'un viellard," *Le magasin pittoresque* (Paris: Bureaux d'abonnement et de vente, 1854), 78-79.

Distressed by the experience, the narrator cautions the reader,

Mais surtout fermons la porte à double tour, afin que personne ne puisse nous surprendre dans cette revue.<sup>173</sup>

(Be sure to double-lock the door, so that no person can surprise us in this journal article.)

The narrator's suggestion to double-lock the door encapsulates the bourgeois impulse to counter the everyday proximity of the *musiciens ambulants* with the enforcement of boundaries. The double-lock, of course, would not be practical fortification against sonic intrusions, but it represents the narrator's emphatic call for the vigilant enforcement of privacy. His appeal to the reader underscores the concern that unscheduled itinerant performances could disturb at any time and interrupt the contemplative moments experienced while writing or reading. This example illustrates the complexity of the Parisian reaction to the itinerant musicians -- residents entertained a fascinated appreciation for urban entertainers and, at the same time, they grappled with desire to defend their residential privacy.

The *musiciens ambulants* played a prominent role in everyday urban life as they affirmed the popular musical traditions in the city. Their musical repertory evolved annually and reflected the rapidly-changing tastes of the Parisian public. In his anthology of street songs *Les refrains de la rue de 1830 à 1870*, Henri Gourdon suggests that the street musicians' repertory was the litmus test of the public's musical preferences.

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

Gourdon wrote,

Si la chanson des rues était considérée comme le thermomètre de l'esprit public, il serait just de reconnaître que cet esprit-là subit des variations aussi brusque qu'inexplicables.<sup>174</sup>

(If street songs were considered the thermometer of public opinion, it would be fair to note that this opinion also is subject to rapid and inexplicable variation.)

Documenting the annually-changing repertory heard in the streets during the span of forty years, Gourdon demonstrates how quickly the street performers adapted to the trends in theaters and salons.<sup>175</sup> Their connection to the popular music scene has not been well-documented in history, particularly since they were not directly involved in theatrical institutions or salon life, and since they were not even hired for city-planned parades or festivals.<sup>176</sup> However, Gourdon's anthology suggests that the *musiciens ambulants* displayed keen insight into the musical tastes of the Parisian population.

Although the itinerant performers served musical Paris by reinforcing and disseminating popular repertory, professional musicians dissociated themselves from the *musiciens ambulants*. Hearing a popular song performed on a barrel organ, Étienne Méhul called it a "*contrafaçon*" (counterfeit), suggesting that the performance was a pallid copy of a more worthy original.<sup>177</sup> Fétis suggested that the elite music scene consciously divorced itself

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<sup>174</sup> Gourdon, *Les refrains de la rue*, 7.

<sup>175</sup> "Ça gagne de proche en proche, et après avoir été fredonné par tout le monde, moulu par toutes les orgues de Barbarie, tapoté sur tous les pianos, râclé sur tous les violons, ... un beau jour, cet air, ce refrain, ... disparaît sans laisser aucune trace..." ("It gains gradually, and after being hummed by everyone, milled by all the barrel organs, tapped on all pianos, scraped over all the violins, ... one day, this air, this refrain, ... disappears without a trace...") Ibid., 8.

<sup>176</sup> Festival and parade musicians were contracted performers belonging to the musicians' guild. Florence Gétreau, "Street musicians of Paris: Evolution of an image," *Music in Art* Vol. 23, No. 1-2 (1998): 68.

<sup>177</sup> Charles Soullier, "Les chanteur ambulants. Méhul et l'orgue de barbarie – Reformes désirable." *Paris-neuf ou Rêve et réalité: grande fantasmagorie composée de 45 satires, descriptions historiques* (Paris: G. Barba, 1861), 161. Thomas Christensen has examined the notion of a musical copy in his study of piano transcriptions. See Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription," 255-298.

from the *musiciens ambulants*' music making. He claimed that, "*du moment où son œuvre a passé dans la rue, on le repousse du salon*" ("from the moment when [a composer's] piece passes through the street, it is cast out of the salon").<sup>178</sup> Though Fétis was sympathetic to itinerant musicians, his column acknowledges the bourgeois impulse to dissociate from the activity of the *musiciens ambulants*. This prejudice even seeps into Fétis' writing as he describes this process as an act of musical expulsion, reinforcing a division between high- and low-brow music culture.

### **INFLUENCE: Location and prominence of *musiciens ambulants***

Not all *musiciens ambulants* moved through the city to perform; many retained a fixed location. Municipal and government officials developed concerns about these performers, particularly since they acquired visibility in the urban scene through their musical performances. Through the medium of music, these performers seemed less like disempowered members of the working class and more like well-known figures who had the potential to influence public sentiments. The prominence of fixed-position performers in the city scene contradicted their humble social role and discomforted the Parisian bourgeois and city officials.

Musicians who performed at the same location day after day shaped the soundscape of specific city spaces, their music and timbres becoming associated with places they populated.<sup>179</sup> Parisians would expect to hear violinist Lefebvre, "Paganini of the street,"

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<sup>178</sup> A longer version of this quotation can be found in chapter two. See Fétis, "De la musique des rues," 290.

<sup>179</sup> Murray Schaefer's soundscape theory assumes that sounds can act as landmarks as they are recognized as performing a specific function in a community. See Schaefer, *The Soundscape*, 9-10.



at the Port Saint Martin, singer and acrobat “Beau Nicolas” at the Place des Écoles, and Joseph Auber, “*l’homme orchestre*” at the Champs-Élysées.<sup>180</sup> As the public grew to anticipate certain performers at specific locations, the musicians played a role in shaping the personality of urban spaces. Some *musiciens ambulants* even became celebrities, famous for their performances and their constant presence at specific city landmarks.

Such urban prominence is illustrated in Charles Yriarte’s rendering of Auber in “*L’homme-orchestre*,” published in *Les célébrités de la rue* (1854), an anthology that described well-known personalities from the Parisian streets (see figure 3). A basket and wine bottle pictured to the left of Auber indicate that his daily concerts extended across mealtimes and suggest that Auber spent long periods of time performing at the Champs-Élysées. His performance engrossed his audience, the young child leaning forward with rapt attention and the parents listening with tilted heads. The accompanying description in *Les célébrités de rues* further underscores how Auber captivated his audiences. While he was performing an Italian air, “the children approached, followed by their parents; all the passersby stopped amazed and delighted” (“*les enfants s’approchaient, suivis de leur bonnes; tous les passants s’arrêtaient étonnés et ravis*”).<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> For more on Lefebvre, see Fétis, “De la musique de la rue,” 291-292. For Beau Nicolas, see Fournel, “Musiciens ambulants,” 7-8. For Auber, see Charles Yriarte, “L’homme orchestre,” *Paris grotesque: les célébrités de la rue, Paris, 1815 à 1863* (Paris: Dupray de la Mahérie, 1864), 225-241.

<sup>181</sup> Yriarte, “L’homme orchestre,” 230.

Figure 3: Charles Yriarte's "L'homme orchestre des Champs-Élysées" (1854)



As shown in the illustration, Auber was surrounded by ample pedestrian traffic at the Champs-Élysées, and this was an important factor in the itinerant musicians' site selection. Fétis and Fournel recorded an array of sites where *musiciens ambulants* were frequently stationed in Paris, indicated on the map shown in figure 4. As the map shows,

not surprisingly, the *musiciens ambulants* primarily performed near major urban landmarks, areas with increased traffic and potential audiences.

**Figure 4: Map of street performers as noted in Fétis’ “De la musique des rues” (1835) and Fournel’s “Musiciens ambulants” (1867)**



Accounts also indicate that the *musiciens ambulants* used the city’s circulation patterns to their advantage. In general, they avoided sonic overlap with other performers, sometimes taking turns with nearby musicians.<sup>182</sup> Furthermore, itinerant musicians selected performance locations strategically, operating near high traffic areas while

<sup>182</sup> Beau Nicolas alternated with other performers at the Place des Écoles. See Fournel, “Musiciens ambulants,” 7-8.

selecting sites with minimal competing ambient noise. One journalist went so far as to suggest that the *musiciens ambulants* were experts in Parisian topography. As he wrote in an 1841 article in *La France musicale*,

... les musiciens ambulants connaissent admirablement la topographie de Paris, les lieux d'asile sont marqués sur leur tablettes. Aussi ne manquent-ils pas de venir se poster, ensemble ou tour à tour, dans une de ces rues où le tonnerre des diligences, le roulement des carrosses et des cabriolets, basse continue, trop bruyante et trop incommode, n'est point à redouter.<sup>183</sup>

(The street musicians know the topography of Paris extremely well, the places of sanctuary are marked on their maps. And so, they do not fail to position themselves, together or one after the other, in one of those streets where they need not fear the thunder of coaches, the rolling of carriages and cabriolets, [or] the overly noisy and inconvenient sound of the city's continuous bass.)

Fixed-location *musiciens ambulants* may have seemed uniquely empowered in the urban environment with the ability to read and hear Paris in different ways from the general population. As performers collected audiences across a broad area and sustained the attention of their listeners for prolonged periods, they awakened the concerns of city officials, who felt that these performers possessed the necessary influence and potential agency to threaten urban order. Such apprehensions ultimately propelled public discussion about regulating the use of street space.

The *musiciens ambulants'* activity stimulated a vigorous dialogue that prompted the rise of urban street policy in Paris. Although Parisian police had imposed regulations on street performers as early as 1790, the government escalated their response in 1816 after an influx of Italian performers immigrated to Paris following the Congress of Vienna.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Anonymous, "Les musiciens," *La France musicale* Vol. 4, No. 47 (1841): 401.

<sup>184</sup> Discussed in Zucchi, *The Little Slaves*, 49.

The tremendous number of edicts on street policy issued and revised by the police between 1816 and the 1870s reflect the social magnitude and the long-standing scope of the issue.<sup>185</sup>

During this period, Paris developed policies to regulate sound in the city, an early effort to curb what we might call “noise pollution” today. Such police memos, or *circulaires*, enforced temporal control over the street performances by instituting curfews for the *musiciens ambulants*. A *circulaire* issued in 1833 authorized street performances only between 8 am and 6 pm from October 1 to April 1, and between 8 am and 9 pm from April 1 to October 1.<sup>186</sup> Parisian officials also observed that the street could empower the voices and viewpoints of the *musiciens ambulants*. Fearing that the itinerant musicians would use this influence to incite conflict, the police developed strategies for preempting civil misdemeanor or resistance in the streets. To begin, they instituted geographic regulations, banning performances in front of important public buildings and zoning performances within certain boundaries. In 1831, Prefect of the Seine Malleval issued an ordinance that prohibited itinerant musicians to perform near quays and bridges or to draw crowds that blocked passage on the street and area surrounding the capital.<sup>187</sup> In 1859, the Prefect of Police Symphorien Boittelle established a perimeter for itinerant performers in the Montmartre district, requiring them to perform no further than 200

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<sup>185</sup> The police began issuing regulations on street performers as early as 1790, though the situation escalated after an influx of Italian musicians immigrated to Paris in 1815, following the Congress of Vienna. See Zucchi, *The Little Slaves*, 48-49.

<sup>186</sup> Jean-Gilbert-Victor Fialin, duc de Persigny, “Circulaire: Direction de la sureté générale 2<sup>e</sup> division, 1<sup>er</sup> Bureau: Instructions concernant la police des saltimbanques, bateleurs, escamoteurs, joueurs d’orgues, musiciens ambulants et chanteurs, Paris, 13 December 1833,” *Bulletin officiel du Ministère de l’intérieur* (Paris: Dupont, 1838-1979), 373.

<sup>187</sup> Zucchi, 51.



meters from the outer boulevards of the city.<sup>188</sup> As early as 1822, officials censored musical perceived to be inflammatory, and instituted more extensive background checks during the licensing process, requiring itinerant musicians to present character witnesses and to provide detailed documentation of with the names of their musical collaborators.<sup>189</sup> Such regulations were revisited regularly during the following decades, and demonstrated increasing insularity.<sup>190</sup> The institution and constant revision of such policies reflect the multi-faceted dialogue that the *musiciens ambulants* had stirred through their musical use of street space.

The *musiciens ambulants*' destabilizing presence in the streets was not only an issue that was critical to government officials, but it was an important topic in public discourse. In fact, it was such a pressing issue that it served as the subject of an 1837 one-act vaudeville show written by Alexandre Beaume Beaumont and composed by Isidore-Edouard Legoux entitled *Les marchands de chansons*. Premiered by M Berthelier and Mlle Darcourt at the Théâtre des Nouveautés, the *scène* portrays the interactions of two *chanteurs ambulants*, a woman named Mélie and man named Serpolet, who vie for space

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<sup>188</sup> The 1859 *circulaire* decreed, "Il est de même défendu aux chanteurs ambulant, joueurs d'orgues et autres musiciens, de stationner sur la voie publique à une distance de moins de 200 mètres de la ligne des boulevards extérieurs, et sans être munis d'une permission spéciale délivrée par M le Préfet de police." (It is also forbidden for itinerant singers, organ players and other musicians to station themselves on the public roads at a distance of less than 200 meters from the line of the outer boulevards, without being provided with a special permission issued by the Prefect of Police.) From [Symphorien Boittelle], "Arrête ce qui suit: Section 1<sup>re</sup>, Salubrité, Art. 13," *Règlement de police municipale pour la commune de Montmartre* (Paris: Imprimeur de Prissette, 1859), 50.

<sup>189</sup> An 1822 *circulaire* censored of repertory and required musicians to display government-issued medallions during performances to indicate their authorization to perform. See Zucchi, *The Little Slaves*, 49

<sup>190</sup> A multitude of ordinances concerning itinerant musicians can be found in official records, such as, Gabriel Delessert, "Ordonnance No. 4172, 28 février 1863," *Collection officielle des ordonnances de police depuis 1800 jusqu'à 1844*, Vol. 7 (Paris: P. Dupont, 1844-1875), 51-2; and also, "Circulaire: Direction générale de la sureté publique, 2e Bureau; Au sujet des saltimbanques, bateleurs, etc. Paris, le 6 janvier 1863" *Bulletin officiel du Ministère de l'intérieur* (Paris: Dupont, 1863), 9.

on a street corner.<sup>191</sup> While the debate Serpolet and Mélie present is seemingly small and petty, the spatial conflict they dramatize reflects much broader concerns about who can lay claim on street space, how the space should be used, and how conflict might be incited in the street.

Characterizing the profession of the itinerant musician at the outset of the scene, the vaudeville scene illustrates how a performer might have demanded attention in the street (see table 1 for translation, see example 1 for music). In a style inspired by the Italianate patter songs of opera buffa, Serpolet emits stuttering solicitations, as if scrambling to capture the interest of passing pedestrians. The musical lines “*qui veut, qui veut...*” (measures 8-9) and “*j’en ai, j’en ai...*” (measures 10-11) crowd a surplus of syllables into the last beat of the measure. Serpolet’s speech seems hurried and disjointed as his words are compressed into 16<sup>th</sup>-notes, and as the word “*charmantes*,” voiced over the dominant seventh in measure 13, receives incorrect metrical emphasis. Although presented within a comic context, Serpolet’s musical representation suggests that the *musiciens ambulants* could be tenacious, assertive, and even intrusive.

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<sup>191</sup> This scène was performed at the Théâtre de Nouveautés by M. Berthelier and Mlle Darcourt. See [Isidore-Edouard] Legouix and Alexandre Beaumont, *Les marchands de chansons: scène* (Paris: Legouix, 1837), musical score.

**Table 1: Opening duet from Legouix's *Les marchands des chansons***

<p><i>Serpolet :</i>  <i>Qui veut, qui veut des chansonnettes</i>  <i>J'en ai, j'en ai pour tous les gouts</i>  <i>Elles sont charmantes, honêtes,</i>  <i>Et ça ne coûte que deux sous</i>  <i>Venez choisir garçons et filles</i>  <i>Vous passerez de bons moments</i>  <i>Prenez, la gaieté des familles</i>  <i>La tranquillité des parents</i>  <i>Deux sous, deux sous,</i>  <i>Tout à deux sous.</i></p> <p><i>Mélie :</i>  <i>Qui veut, qui veut des chansonnettes</i>  .....  <i>Deux sous, deux sous,</i>  <i>Tout à deux sous.</i></p> <p><i>Serpolet :</i>  <i>Le diantre soit de la fillette</i>  <i>Qui me fait concurrence ici,</i>  <i>Et m'amzelle ça n'est pas honête</i>  <i>de crier vos chansons ainsi</i></p> <p><i>Mélie :</i>  <i>Je ne comprends guère</i>  <i>De quoi vous plaignez vous</i>  <i>Laissez moi faire mes affaires</i>  <i>La rue est à moi comme à vous</i>  <i>Oui, la rue appartient à tous</i></p> <p><i>Serpolet :</i>  <i>Je réclame je proteste</i>  <i>J'étais ici le premier</i></p> <p><i>Mélie :</i>  <i>Je suis fort bien là, j'y reste</i>  <i>Partez, partez si vous voulez</i></p> <p><i>Serpolet et Mélie :</i>  <i>Qui veut, qui veut des chansonnettes</i>  .....  <i>Deux sous, deux sous,</i>  <i>Tout à deux sous.</i></p>	<p>Serpolet:  Who wants, who wants some <i>chansonnettes</i>  I have, I have something for all tastes  They are charming, honest,  And it only costs two cents  Come choose, boys and girls,  You will have a good time  Take one, the joy of families,  The tranquility of parents,  Two cents, two cents,  All for two cents.</p> <p>Mélie:  Who wants, who wants some <i>chansonnettes</i>  ... ..  Two cents, two cents,  All for two cents.</p> <p>Serpolet:  The devil is the little girl  Who creates competition here  And, ma'am, it is not honest  To sing your songs so</p> <p>Molly:  I hardly understand  What you complain about  Let me do my business  The street is mine like it is yours  Yes, the street belongs to all</p> <p>Serpolet:  I refute, I protest  I was here first</p> <p>Mélie:  I am already here, I am staying here  Leave, leave if you want</p> <p>Serpolet and Mélie:  Who wants, who wants some <i>chansonnettes</i>  ... ..  Two cents, two cents,  All for two cents.</p>
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**Example 1: Isidore-Edouard Legouix's *Les marchands des chansons*, Allegro moderato, mm. 1-17 – Serpolet sells sheet music on the street**

Allegro moderato

PIANO *ff*

SERPOLET.

Qui veut, qui veut des chanson -

*P léger*

s. - net - tes - J'en ai j'en ai pour tous les goûts - Elles sont charmau - tes, hon -

s. - nê - tes, - Et ça ne coû - te que deux sous Ve - nez choisir garçons et

**Example 2: *Les marchands des chansons*, Allegro moderato, mm. 69-94, Mélie and Serpolet debate their claims to street space,**

The image displays a musical score for the opera *Les marchands des chansons*, specifically the section from measures 69 to 94. The score is divided into two main parts: Serpolet and Mélie, each with vocal and piano accompaniment.

**SERPOLET**

Le diantre soit de la fil\_let \_ te

**M. S.**

Qu'il me fait concurrence i \_ ci Et m'am\_zel\_ le ça n'est pas hon\_nête derrier

**MÉLIE**

Je ne vous comprends guèz re De quoi vous plaignez-

**S.**

vos chan\_sons ain \_ si

**M.**

vous Laissez moi faire mes af \_ fai \_ res La rue est à moi comme à vous Oui

The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. It features a mix of vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are in treble clef, and the piano parts are in bass and treble clefs. The lyrics are in French and are written below the vocal lines. The score is divided into two main sections: Serpolet and Mélie, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The Serpolet section is marked with 'S.' and the Mélie section is marked with 'M.'. The lyrics are written in French and are in italics. The score is for the opera 'Les marchands des chansons' and is from the section 'Allegro moderato, mm. 69-94'.

### Example 2: (continued)

The image displays a musical score for a scene from a French opera. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system features a vocal line (S. for Soprano) and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line has the lyrics: "la rue appartient à tous" followed by a rest, then "Je ré - clame je pro - tes - te J'étais i - ci le pre -". The piano accompaniment includes a tremolo in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand. The second system continues the vocal line with the lyrics: "Je suis fort bien la j'y res - te Partez, par - tez si vous vou -". The piano accompaniment continues with similar textures. The score is written in G major and 2/4 time.

Central to the drama, however, is the conflict over space, and the importance of this issue is underscored musically. When *chanteuse* Mélie arrives on the scene, Serpolet insists that Mélie has taken his spot -- his spatial displacement is dramatized musically by his abrupt response in the mediant minor and his modulation to the secondary dominant (see example 2). With growing frustration, he sings, “*Je reclame, je proteste, J’étais ici le prêter.*” (“I refute, I protest, I was already here.”), in an effort to reassert his place in the street. Drawing from the tropes of melodrama, the tremolo illustrates Serpolet’s trembling anger, and the pedal point on G underscores his struggle to reclaim his physical and harmonic space. In this phrase, Serpolet shifts metrical stress to the first rather than

the second syllable of the word “*ici*” (“here”), an emphasis that succinctly underscores the central point of contention – the claim on street space.

This seemingly small and comic argument actually represents a much broader Parisian dialogue over the *musiciens ambulants*’ use of public space. Mélie’s arguments seem to be aligned with the democratic perspectives common to the bourgeois class. She insists that street space is shared by all, and that everyone has an equal claim to use the space. While her music aims to defuse the situation, with chromatic descending lines and phrases that accommodate the restoration of harmonic order, Serpolet is more territorial. His obstinacy and aggression, an unflattering representation of the lower classes, contrasts her polished and middle-class rationale. At one point, Mélie says that she can hardly understand Serpolet (“*Je ne comprends guère*”), suggesting the disparity in their viewpoints. However, the word “*guère*” is also a homophone for “*guerre*” (war). Voiced over the instability of diminished harmony, Mélie’s comment might be read with double-meaning – she did not understand Serpolet’s battle over the space.

Dramatizing a debate over street space, Legouix’s vaudeville showcases the viewpoints of its bourgeois audiences. It suggests that the middle class perceived itinerant musicians to aggressively claim, tenaciously use, and forcefully retain control over street and public spaces. The vaudeville show brought urban debates about the street into the public spotlight, and it likely affirmed bourgeois biases about street performers. While this scene offered a mildly critical portrayal of *chanteurs ambulants*, representations became

increasingly unsympathetic in following decades. The later accusations directed at itinerant musicians nevertheless grew from this class-centered struggle over street space.

### **MUSICAL SPIES: Conflating fears over space and proximity**

The most extreme reactions to the *musiciens ambulants* were the accusations that they were spies, using performance as a means of public surveillance. The espionage charges conflated the fears about the itinerant musicians' influence over public space and proximity to everyday residential life. They also illustrate the heightened degree to which *musiciens ambulants* had problematized urban space through their use of the street. During the course of the century, the apprehensions about itinerant musicians acting as spies escalated from rumor to indictment. As Parisian writers, public officials, and the general public increasingly associated the *musiciens ambulants* with espionage, they likely precipitated the demise of the itinerant musician profession as it was known in nineteenth-century Paris.

While itinerant musicians were openly accused of espionage in the second half of the century, the initial suspicions were more tentative. They suggest how the *musiciens ambulants*' use of street space might have been construed as incriminating. In his 1835 article entitled "*De la musique des rues*," Fétis explained that Parisians had believed itinerant musicians to be government spies during the Bourbon Restoration, particularly when performers spent a sustained amount of time at a given location. In all likelihood, the concern over privacy was particularly pronounced as itinerant musicians performed in

*hôtel* courtyards. Although Fétis did not have confidence in the truth of the rumors, he reported,

*Sous le gouvernement de la restauration, on accusait les joueurs d'orgue d'avoir de honteuses accointances avec la police politique du royaume; on prendrait qu'ils étaient payés pour aller se poster devant des lieux qu'on voulait espionner et pour examiner ce qui s'y passait en jouant de leur instrument afin d'éveiller moins de soupçons*<sup>192</sup>

(Under the government of the restoration, the organ players were accused of having shameful acquaintances with the political police of the realm; one would assume that they were paid to go stand in front of the places they wanted spy on and examine what was going on while playing their instruments in order to arouse less suspicion.)

The street complicated the exchange between the itinerant performers and their audience, by reversing the roles of the viewer and the viewed. Such a scenario is illustrated in Gustave Droz's fable "Les contradictions d'une levrette" (The inconsistencies of a greyhound) from *Vie privée et publique des animaux* (1867).<sup>193</sup> In the tale, a female greyhound has an illicit affair with an insect. During their secret rendezvous, the greyhound worries that she is being surveilled by itinerant performers, a curious reversal in which she (a member of the musicians' urban audience) felt that she had become the object of attention.<sup>194</sup> Notably, the espionage suspicions referenced by the greyhound in this passage were not included in the English edition published in 1877, suggesting that

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<sup>192</sup> Fétis, "De la musique des rues," 290.

<sup>193</sup> Gustave Droz, "Les contradictions d'une levrette," *Vie privée et publique des animaux*, edited by P. J. Stahl (Paris: J. Hetzel, 1867)

<sup>194</sup> The tale concludes when the greyhound encounters a second street performer, a bear who tears off a bearskin disguise to reveal that he is a bulldog and the greyhound's husband. At one level, the tale reinforces the stereotype that street performers were engaged in social surveillance. At another level, the story uses the trope of street performers and spies to suggest that the itinerant musicians hold up a mirror to society's misdeeds.

such notions were unique to Parisian society.<sup>195</sup> Expressing her concern, the greyhound says to the insect,

--Ne voyez-vous pas, là-bas, ces musiciens ambulants, arrêtés devant une fenêtre?

--Oui, certainement, ils montrent des Hanneçons au public, à ce qu'il me semble, et se donnent beaucoup de mal pour gagner leur pauvre vie.

--Sans doute, mais j'ai peur: ils ont un regard étrange ces musiciens! Ne sont-ce point là des gens de la police, des espions payés pour nous observer? De grâce, amiable Insecte, faisons un grand détour, je suis tremblante.<sup>196</sup>

(--Do you not see, over there, itinerant musicians stopped before a window?

--Yes, certainly, they are presenting performing beetles to the homeowners. It seems to me they must work hard to make a living.

--Without a doubt, but I am afraid. They look like strange musicians! Are they not in the employ of the police, paid to spy on us? Please, kind insect, let us find another route. I am trembling.)

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<sup>195</sup>P.J. Stahl, J.J. Grandville, and Gustave Droz, *Public and private life of animals*, translated by J. Thomson (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1877), 157.

<sup>196</sup> From Gustave Droz and [J. J.] Grandville, "Les contradictions d'une levrette" (1867), 297.



Figure 5: “*Ils montrent des Hannelons au public.*” Illustration by J.J. Grandville from *Vie privée et publique des animaux* (1867)



Ils montrent des Hannelons au public.



While the greyhound merely voices trepidation about the *musiciens ambulants* and their associations with espionage, the tale's accompanying engraving by J. J. Grandville encapsulates many of the concerns, perceptions and anxieties that surrounded street musicians during the century (see figure 5). To begin, Grandville's illustration demonstrates the effort to distance the musicians from their audiences. The animal alter-egos of the characters underscore this division: while the performers are represented as the outdoor animals (rat, beetle and sparrow) found in public spaces, their audience is characterized by indoor or domestic animals (greyhound and parrots). The animals chosen to represent the musicians reflect the concern that *musiciens ambulants* had close and inconspicuous access to Parisian society: rats might move unobserved in crevices and cellars; beetles, small and unassuming, are rarely noticed except for their nuisance; and, the sparrow, aided by flight, might freely observe residents while perched on a tree branch. The picture suggests that the *musiciens ambulants*, like their animal characterizations, were ubiquitous, unassuming, and uniquely positioned to surveil residents. In addition, Grandville underscores the street musicians' proximity to residential private life by picturing a beetle on the window sill. Balancing on the threshold between domestic and street space, this image captures the ways that itinerant musicians were perceived to destabilize boundaries in urban life.

The rumors and hints about musician spies, expressed in the publications of Fétis, Droz, and Grandville, escalated in the later part of the century. No longer merely concerned about infringements on privacy, Parisians developed the fear that itinerant musicians had the potential to rise into action and incite rebellion. These apprehensions likely grew

from the acute awareness of the latent political power resting in the working classes. They had seen this muscle flexed during the French Revolution of 1789, when the lower classes stormed the Bastille to end the reign of Louis XIV, once more in March 1830, when mobs protested and ultimately overthrew the Bourbon Restoration under Charles X, and yet again in 1848, when street protests against the July Monarchy under King Louis-Philippe forced the abdication of Orléanist rule. On each of these occasions, the street functioned as the site of resistance, a place where the lower classes could wield force and could influence the social and political order of the country. As the itinerant musicians operated in streets, confounding boundaries and evading regulation, they became the scapegoats for such fears.

Though the *musiciens ambulants* worked and lived in Paris, their outdoor and ambulant profession may have triggered biases associated with the gypsy culture of musical wanderers. As previously discussed, the performers pictured on the cover art on Battmann's piano quadrille *Musiciens ambulants* (1863) were costumed in feathered, baggy clothing that suggested bohemian and gypsy culture (refer to figure 1). While some written accounts have indicated that itinerant musicians were Italian or German, to my knowledge, little evidence exists to suggest that the *musiciens ambulants* were Hungarian, the predominant culture associated with gypsies.<sup>197</sup> Furthermore, the

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<sup>197</sup> Fétis identified Italian performers as the "aristocracy of street singers" in Fétis, "De la musique de la rue," 290. A German itinerant ensemble is described in Desportes, "La dernière étape", 78-79. Musical Paris was quite enthusiastic about the *verbunkos* style, popularized by Liszt and defined by Shay Loya as the intersection between western and Hungarian idiom. See Shay Loya, "Beyond 'Gypsy' Stereotypes: Harmony and Structure in the Verbunkos Idiom," *Journal of Musicological Research* Vol. 27, No. 3 (2008): 257-258. The city welcomed Hungarian virtuosos, particularly touring gypsy orchestras around the time of the Revolution of 1848. See Anna G. Piotrowska, *Gypsy Music in European Culture: From the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2013), 23.

repertory performed by the musicians largely comprised popular songs rather than music featuring the non-Western idioms associated with gypsy music.<sup>198</sup> Despite the exotic depiction of musicians, the compositions in Battmann's five-movement quadrille are fairly conventional examples of the European parlor piano tradition. As seen in the first movement, *Pantolon*, Battmann's composition lacks exotic tropes, such as dotted rhythms, minor key, grace notes, and syncopation, features of the *style hongrois* typically associated with representations of gypsy music (see example 3).<sup>199</sup> Instead, the quadrille's ternary-form pieces present country folk dances, and all of the movements employ a major key (G, D and C major), featuring predictable phrase lengths, common rhythmic patterns, and standard harmonic sequences. *Pantolon* does include, however, a preponderance of staccato that suggests that the itinerant musical traditions were lighthearted and playful. The juxtaposition of the bohemian and exotic cover representation of the *musiciens ambulants* with their musical representation drawing from Western compositional style, illustrates the inexact correspondence between itinerant musicians and gypsy culture. Nevertheless, the social marginalization of the *musiciens ambulants* runs parallel to European biases against gypsies, both groups were feared to be dangerous and alien to Western society.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Gourdon cataloged the most common melodies heard in the Parisian streets between the years 1830 and 1870, suggesting that the street repertory was broadly recognized by the population. See Gourdon, *Les refrains de la rue*.

<sup>199</sup> Loya argues that the employment of the *style hongrois* is representational, highlighting the otherness of Hungarian and gypsy music culture. See Loya, "Beyond 'Gypsy' Stereotypes," 257-258.

<sup>200</sup> Piotrowska discusses the changing historical perceptions and representations of gypsy music. See Piotrowska, *Gypsy Music in European Culture*, 12. Abby Bardi discusses the marginalization of gypsies in London and European culture. See Abby Bardi, "'In Company of a Gypsy': The 'Gypsy' As Trope in Woolf and Brontë," *Critical Survey* Vol. 19, No. 1 (2007): 40-50.

**Example 3: J. L. Battmann's *Les musiciens ambulants* (1878), first movement "Pantalon"**

The Parisian street policies reflect the conflation of fears for the roaming, subversive, and property-less gypsies with the ambulant, low-class, and allegedly spying *musiciens ambulants*. An 1863 statute stated that performance permits would only be issued to musicians who had resided in Paris for one year, required itinerant performers to reapply for permits every three months, and limited the approved performance spaces to sixty-three public sites.<sup>201</sup> This policy not only targeted migrant performers specifically, but it

<sup>201</sup> The details of the 1863 Parisian ordinance on itinerant musicians is enumerated in Maxime Du Camp, "La Mendicité à Paris," *Revue des deux mondes* Vol. 87, No. 2 (1870): 193. Zucchi tallied the limited performance sites in Zucchi, *The Little Slaves*, 65.

also reflected the impulse to limit the mobility of the itinerant musicians, perhaps the most inherent aspect of their profession. Furthermore, the increasingly stringent regulations complicated the administrative process for the many *musiciens ambulants* who were residents of Paris.

The half-century of concern over the *musiciens ambulants* ultimately culminated in extreme measures. In 1867, 1,544 immigrant street musicians were arrested and expelled from Paris, followed by 698 arrests in 1868 and 437 in 1869.<sup>202</sup> While these actions were perhaps triggered by the rising political tensions leading to the Franco-Prussian War, the expulsions presented a final verdict on the *musiciens ambulants*' profession.<sup>203</sup> What was once merely a lurking suspicion became solidified as the police took action on public fears, transforming hunches into fact. In the aftermath, the *musiciens ambulants* and their professional legacy were widely defamed.

Literature about *musiciens ambulants* became much more accusatory after the 1870s. Itinerant musicians were represented as a social problem, as discussed in Paul Cère's *Les populations dangereuses et les misères sociales* (1872).<sup>204</sup> In his *Mystères de l'empire: par un espion politique et militaire* (1879), Théodore Labourieu did not voice veiled

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<sup>202</sup> This may have been part of an effort to cut back on street vendors in Paris before the World's Fair, hosted in the same year. See Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*, 79. Citing Paulucci di Calboli, Raniero. *Larmes et sourires de l'émigration italienne*. (Paris: Librairie Felix juven, 1909), 158. Also discussed in Zucchi, *Little Slaves*, 74. A parallel movement occurred in London - immigrant street musicians were targets of xenophobia and legislation were instituted to authorize residents to have musicians arrested for noise and disturbance. See John Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 45-52.

<sup>203</sup> In the aftermath of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, the French were likely wary that the Prussian empire had tipped the balance of power in Europe. The French were in a position to act defensively in response to the Prussian's initiative to expand their realm.

<sup>204</sup> Cère, *Les populations dangereuses*, 250.

concerns about the *musiciens ambulants*. Instead, he declared that German itinerant musicians were operating as spies in Paris during the reign of Frederic Wilhelm IV and during the period leading up to the Franco-Prussian war. Labourieu even went so far as to profess that these musicians were tasked with surveilling the population during peaceful times and with inciting unrest during war times. Discussing the state of affairs in the last decade of the Second Empire, Labourieu wrote,

On vit alors des bandes d'émigrés allemands d'abattre sur les faubourgs de Paris. Ces bandes germaniques servaient à deux fins: en temps de paix, leurs soldats cachaient sous les emplois les plus modestes, emplois de balayeurs, égoutiers, musiciens ambulants, etc., leur profession d'espions; en temps d'émeute ils soufflaient sur le feu de la guerre civile, changeant de nationalité, et se disant, pour la plupart, des Prussiens polonaise, ennemis de la tyrannie étrangère, dont ils étaient en secret, les ardents serviteurs.<sup>205</sup>

(We saw many German emigrants descending on the neighborhoods of Paris. These Germans served two purposes: in peaceful times, these soldiers hid by working the most modest jobs, sweepers, sewer workers, street musicians, etc., while conducting their spying profession; during times of insurrection, they blew on the fire of civil war, changed their nationality and said, for the most part, that they were enemies of the Polish Prussians' foreign tyranny, which they were secretly and ardently serving.)

The public backlash even extended to the musical sphere as itinerant musicians were sued for counterfeiting charges. These ranged from penalizing street musicians for performing repertory without paying royalties to holding *chanteurs ambulants* liable for peddling counterfeit scores.<sup>206</sup> Such actions are yet another example of how itinerant musicians

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<sup>205</sup> Théodore Labourieu, *Mystères de l'empire: par un espion politique et militaire*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Bureau de la publication, 1879), 222-223.

<sup>206</sup> Through France had instituted copyright laws for larger works such as operas and symphonies in 1791, an 1847 law extended copyright law to songwriters, particularly those writing material for café concerts. This legal opportunity stimulated the formation of the Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs, et l'Éditeurs de Musique (SACEM) in 1851, which became an advocacy group for composers and collecting money for infringements. France's SACEM was ahead of its time; similar organizations followed in Austria in 1897 and Britain and US in 1914. See Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis*, 31-34. A series of cases in Lille, Douai, and Amiens were tried in 1883 and 1884, finding street singers and street peddlers liable for damages after

were disproportionately targeted for blame, particularly since the publishers of counterfeit scores were largely untried.<sup>207</sup> From the municipal realm to the musical arena, the *musiciens ambulants* were pushed out of the urban scene. In the last part of the century, this trend ultimately obliterated the profession as it existed in the nineteenth century.<sup>208</sup>

While one might say that the itinerant musicians simply disappeared like the phantom-like images on Battmann's sheet music, I would suggest that they left a distinct imprint in Paris. The *musiciens ambulants* caused Parisians to think critically about street space and its musical mediations. They inspired the development of public policies to address conflicts emerging from the use of street space. They also cultivated public interest in the urban music scene. The *musicians ambulants* showed Parisians how street space could foster the popularization and dissemination of repertory, stimulating the reconceptualization of street music through band concerts and park festivals during the Third Republic. Their story constitutes one small yet significant case that illustrates how the street shaped the culture, society, and history of Paris.

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selling counterfeit scores. In the Lille case, counterfeit scores of popular operetta song "Joyeux refrains" were seized from two newspaper hawkers, passed along by merchant peddler Henri Duflot. Duflot had obtained these scores from *chanteur ambulant* Georges Delamotte, who had smuggled 200 to 300 counterfeit scores into France on at least two occasions. These scores were sold at the price of 3 or 4 centimes. All the pirated sheet music was confiscated, Duflot was fined 25 francs, and Delamotte, who refused to give up the name the offending publisher, was fined 50 francs and was charged with 100 francs of liability damage to the plaintive. See Perrot de Chaumeux, Jules-François Jeannotte Bozérian, Eugène Pouillet, Jacq Fernand, editors, *Annales de la propriété industrielle, artistique et littéraire* (Paris: Bureau des annales, 1855-1883): 177.

<sup>207</sup> As the authorities in France acknowledged, the counterfeit violation was difficult to reinforce because the names of the offending publishers were either intentionally omitted from the score or were identified with false names. In addition, much of the pirated sheet music was printed in a different country, complicating the legal enforcement of copyright infringements. Chaumeux, *Annales de la propriété industrielle*, 173-4.

<sup>208</sup> While street performers continued in history, the profession, as discussed in this chapter, ceased to exist.

— CONCLUSION—

**EVOLUTION OF ACTORS ON THE STREET**

The studies in this dissertation span a period of tremendous social and urban change in Paris, during which the population developed diverse opinions about their shared space. The variety of perspectives is indicative of the fact that Parisians from diverse social classes had different relationships with street space. In the previous chapters, I have focused on the role of the street as a shaping force in music and culture in Paris. In this concluding discussion, however, I draw attention to the various social groups that engaged with the street and conceptualized the space. These were the actors that formed opinions about the urban environment, influenced activity in the street, and documented their perspectives through time. From 1830 to 1870, the lower and middle classes had the strongest presence and widest visibility on the Parisian streets, while the elite, wealthy classes primarily led indoor lives.<sup>209</sup> Despite the apparent segregation of the upper class, I have argued that the entire population was affected by the motion and the activities of the street as it resonated within the public and private realms. Furthermore, the involvement of these distinct social groups in street space is historically significant: as some classes played a more prominent role or became less pronounced in street life the public perception of the urban environment evolved.

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<sup>209</sup> The Parisian elite became cautious and discrete after the French Revolution, particularly as frequent political upheavals persisted during the nineteenth century. Discussed in Thompson, “Les bonnes addresses,” 145-147.



The bourgeois class thrived in the outdoor urban realm during the nineteenth century. After the advent of public transportation in 1828, the bourgeois class was empowered with new-found mobility. Their experiences on the street caused them to associate the space with circulation, interaction, and sociability. The middle class explored the city, observed society, and documented their perspectives in journals and books, developing an overview of city life and noticing the many social groups that comprised their metropolis. They also observed that the *Dames Blanches* and other omnibuses cultivated a sense of community among the middle and working classes. The bourgeois ultimately developed the notion that the streets were a democratic and egalitarian space – however, this concept was more an idealization rather than an actuality. After all, the elite class was conspicuously absent from this arena.

The aristocracy was largely invisible in the street, engaging with public spaces under the canopy of private carriages and within the sanctuary of parks. Their inconspicuousness in the outdoor sphere, however, should not suggest disinterest or disengagement from the street. The elite merely engaged with urban spaces differently. In the late 1820s, the Duchess of Berry, daughter-in-law to Bourbon King Charles X, was rumored to ride the *Dame Blanche* omnibus unchaperoned and in disguise. Though she was the dedicatee of Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* and was even an investor in the *Dames Blanches* enterprise, her rumored actions suggest that she maintained a distance from the public coach community, riding only in charade rather than as herself.<sup>210</sup> Her reported use of disguise

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<sup>210</sup> The Duchess of Berry actually contributed to the financing of the *Dames Blanches* fleet, suggesting that she had a genuine interest in the company. As a benefactor, she could have more publically supported the institution by visibly riding the vehicle. However, the fact that the story was shared through rumors and her supposed use of a disguise suggests she was acting more in a charade rather than in the interests of the

suggests that she needed to assume the role of a bourgeois or working class Parisian to experience the sociable, egalitarian, and liberating aspects of omnibus and street culture. Nevertheless, the actions of the Duchess of Berry suggest that the developments on the Parisian streets piqued the interest of the elites. Even though they were not conspicuously involved in the street scene, the upper class was conscious of the ways that the street cultivated interaction and motion. As I have shown in my study of the salon, upper-class Parisians even perceived the street's urban characteristics in indoor spaces.

Stirred by Second Empire road construction, the upper classes found that their residential lives were also deeply connected to the streets. They discovered that the streets were geographic touchstones through which people, communities, and even salons defined themselves. The society music salons of Princess Mathilde and her peers participated in the network of urban movement, as salon guests established regular patterns of traffic in the metropolis. Society salons also fostered circulation through multi-room receptions, cultivating a motion-filled environment that ran parallel to the street's movements. The street and the salon were seemingly disparate, conceptualized as public and private, open and exclusive. However, the salon and street infrastructures were similar in the sense that they were both urban phenomena, arising because of the volume and geographic closeness of the population. They were each intrinsic to the city and held importance as cornerstones of the Parisian lifestyle.

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omnibus company. Alfred de Foville. *La Transformation des moyens de transport et ses conséquences économiques et sociales* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1880), 173. Also, William Walton, *Paris from the earliest period to the present day*, Vol. 6 (Paris: George Barrie & Son, 1900), 287.

Street life ultimately destabilized the fragile dichotomy between the residential private realm and the public city scene. Charles Gounod responded to the instability of this divide with his comment, “the street is in our houses,” implying that the exterior environment permeated and infiltrated residences.<sup>211</sup> This notion was fueled by the perceived noisiness of the Parisian streets.<sup>212</sup> As Georges Kastner illustrated in his symphony, *Les cris de Paris*, the urban soundscape, comprising horns, carriages, smiths, street criers, and the hum of commerce, filtered into the surrounding homes. The sonic power of the street was significant because it transcended the architectural and conceptual divisions of space, bringing together different spheres and Parisians of different classes.

The *musiciens ambulants* contributed to the destabilization of public and private space through their window-side performances and serenades in the interior courtyards of *hôtels*. As representatives of the lowest class in Paris, the itinerant musicians occupied the least empowered position in society. Despite this, the street offered a non-discriminating platform for their voices in the public arena. As a result, itinerant musicians had the opportunity to become familiar and even prominent in the context of the street. The *musiciens ambulants*’ profession highlighted the street’s ability to bolster the voices of its actors. It propelled bourgeois and Parisian governmental officials, alarmed by the potential influence the street afforded the lowest class, to reexamine the ways that the street could facilitate subversions of power, civil resistance, and even espionage. The itinerant musicians’ modest profession stimulated the development of street policy, triggering such public concern that their occupation was ultimately

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<sup>211</sup> Gounod, *The Artist and Society*, 255.

<sup>212</sup> Boutin, *City of Noise*.

extinguished under the pressure of city administration.<sup>213</sup> Though the voices of the itinerant musicians disappeared from the urban scene, their musical void was filled with concerts that continued to merge indoor and outdoor space, though in distinctly new ways.

By the end of the nineteenth century, outdoor performances were not only designed to comply with established parameters of street policy, but they infused indoor musical aesthetics into the outdoor arena. Café-concerts abounded, causing the sounds of the commercial establishment to spill into the Parisian sidewalks. Marching bands offered several performances a week during the warm months, bringing conservatory-trained musicians to public squares.<sup>214</sup> Even the Bon Marché department store offered choral and symphony concerts in the neighboring public square, promoting a sense of urban community while advertising their business.<sup>215</sup> These performances brought concert hall timbres to the urban arena.

The spillage of indoor traditions into the outdoor sphere is most striking after the 1880s, a point when the upper class assumed a more visible role in the street scene. Wealthy Parisians created coaching societies, learned the art of operating four-in-hand carriages, and sponsored novelty coach transport lines in the city.<sup>216</sup> Members of this elite community of counts, marquis, and wealthy bankers also sought training in coach horn

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<sup>213</sup> As discussed in chapter four, the government organized the expulsion of foreign street performers in 1867, 1868 and 1869. Furthermore, *musiciens ambulants* were targeted in copyright litigations.

<sup>214</sup> Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 487-488.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> For further information on four-in-hand (*ménage à quatre*) coaching see, Edwin Howlett, *Leçons de guides* (Paris: Pairault, 1893).

playing to properly execute coaching signals on the road, an endeavor that inspired the cultivation of coach horn “compositions,” such as those found in Victor Viney’s coach horn treatise *Methode de trompe de mail coach*.<sup>217</sup> This pedagogical guide was discussed in chapter one because it illustrated the centrality of street and carriage life to Parisian culture. It warrants further discussion because the coaching movement was largely propelled by the upper classes at the end of the century. Through these coach horn works, one can observe that the gap between the salon and the street ultimately closed, as Parisian elites reimagined the outdoor realm from the viewpoint of society gatherings and leisure. Such musical practices invert Gounod’s aforementioned observation, conversely bringing the “houses” into the “street.”

Coach horn sounds from the street were translated into a musical language that was familiar to elite audiences. Viney’s arrangements treated utilitarian valveless horns like serious instruments by setting them in three-part pieces, including mazurkas, marches, polkas, pas redoublés, and galops, predominantly presented in ternary forms that do not modulate (see table 1). While the horn idiom and the genres were related to military band works, many of the styles used by Viney were also popularized in the salon, particularly the polka and mazurka.<sup>218</sup> The linkage between salon and street enthusiasts is

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<sup>217</sup> Viney’s treatise contains three part fanfares that were written by General Comte Friant Louis Francois Léon III (1822-1899), an active general during the Second Empire; Michel Ephrussi (1844-1914), French banker who bred and raced horses; Comte Félix-Nicolas Potocki (1845-1921), Polish aristocrat and husband to Parisian *salonnière* Emanuela Potacka; M Lambert de Rothschild, Belgian banker living in Paris; Comte Henry II Coustant d’Yanville, officer of the Légion d’honneur; as well as, Marquis de Bourg, Baron Léonino, Castro-Maya, P. Schneider, and the Baron de Roger.

<sup>218</sup> Chopin popularized the mazurka in the salon in the 1830s, and this genre persisted in the salon through compositions such as Renaud de Vilbac’s *Mazurka de salon* (1875) and Charles Mercier’s *Souvenir de fête, mazurka de salon* (ca. 1860). The polka was similarly popular in the salon, as noted in Cellarius, *La danse des salons*. Examples include Carl Eduard Pathe’s *Cornelia, polka de salon*, Op 162 (1869) and Adolphe Claire Le Carpentier’s “Polka de salon” from *Polka et polka-mazurka sur ‘Joanita,’* Op. 69 (1852).

easy to trace: coach horn enthusiast and Polish aristocrat Comte Félix-Nicolas Potocki was married to prominent Parisian salonnière Emanuela Potacka, who hosted Gabriel Fauré, Reynaldo Hahn, Charles-Marie Widor, among others;<sup>219</sup> and, Comte Henry Greffulhe served as the president of the four-in-hand carriage society “Les guides” while his wife Comtesse Elizabeth Greffulhe presided over one the most eminent musical salons of the time, hosting Fauré, Saint-Saens, Sauzay, Widor, Grandval, and many others, while she also organized pivotal introductions between Sergei Diaghilev and Gabriel Astruc to secure the Parisian residency of the Ballets Russes.<sup>220</sup> The marital intersections between street and salon enthusiasts indicate the likelihood that the aesthetics of the residential music scene cross-pollinated with the coach horn music tradition. The coach horn hobbyists had the potential to inspire composers’ experimentation with horn timbre and clustered horn chords.

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<sup>219</sup> Marcel Proust, under the pseudonym d’Horatio, “Le salon de la comtesse Potacka,” *Le Figaro* Vol. 50 No. 134 (13 May 1904), 3.

<sup>220</sup> Comtesse Greffuhle’s coordinated and strategic introduction of Gabriel Astruc and Sergei Diaghilev can be traced in, *Papers of Gabriel Astruc*, 1906-1914. Folders 103-12, New York Public Library. For more on Greffulhe’s salon, see Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 114-128.

**TABLE 1: *Fantasies and Morceaux concertants* for coach horn by Victor Viney**

Three-part <i>fantasies</i> for valve-less coach horn (all in key of C, no modulations)		
"En Route"	March, 2/4	ABB CC ABB
"All Right!"	Pas redoublé, 6/8	AABB CC AABB
"Garden Party"	Polka, 2/4	(intro) ABA
"Dans la clairière"	Mazurka, ¾	ABBA
"L' Amazone"	Galop, 2/4	(intro) AABB CC AABB
"La bienvenue"	Polka, 2/4	ABA
"Marche des mail-coaches"	March, 2/4	ABBA
"The Rainbow"	Galop, 2/4	AABB CC AABB
<i>Morceaux concertants</i> for cavalry trumpets and coach horn		
"Espoir d'Alsace"	Polka, 2/4 Quartet (1 coach horn, 3 cavalry trumpets)	A BB (transition) A
"La Française"	March/Trio, 2/4 Sextet (3 coach horns, 3 cavalry trumpets)	AABBCC DD AABBCC
"Bellone"	Polka, 2/4 Sextet (3 coach horns, 3 cavalry trumpets)	(intro) AABBCAA

Elite coach drivers also created their own 8- to 20-measure fanfares to announce their carriages – these fanfares were tied to the identity and prestige of their owners and, furthermore, they had the potential to act as a sonic autograph in the Parisian soundscape. Viney's treatise notates twenty nine personalized fanfares of notable Parisian elite drivers, and he even documents the make of their coaches as well as the identifying colors and insignia of their carriages. The use of custom fanfares and distinctive carriage decorations illustrates the upper class drivers' interest in being noticed and recognized in urban space, a notable departure from the anonymity sought by the Duchess of Berry a half a century earlier.

Implicit in the musical coach horn movement was the notion that the street and its sounds could be crafted and refined through practice, skill, and pedagogy. This perspective reflects the urban developments of the previous decades, during which Parisians sought to understand, order, and master outdoor life through various endeavors: the organization of public transportation, the reforms on city geography and circulation, as well as the development and refinement of street policy. These efforts to control and streamline urban space reinforced the idea that people could exercise control over the city streets.<sup>221</sup> This concept was echoed by Comte Henry d'Yanville who described coaching as a *sport*, an activity governed by rules and regulations.<sup>222</sup> Though the Parisian concept of *sport* existed since the 1850s, the notion proliferated by the end of the century as elites enjoyed activities such as yachting, fishing, golf, horse racing, and tennis. Sport was seen as a fashionable expression of leisure and affluence through outdoor recreation.<sup>223</sup> When Yanville classified coach driving as sport, he rebranded the profession as a hobby and pastime, not to be confused with its earlier associations with urban utility, low-costs and

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<sup>221</sup> Jann Pasler's arguments are congruent with this concept. She maintained that music was used as a public utility to foster a sense of community under the Third Republic. Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 82-93.

<sup>222</sup> Henry d'Yanville wrote, "*Le 'Coaching'....aujourd'hui n'est plus qu'un sport très agréable et très à la mode...*" ("Coaching...nowadays is nothing but a pleasant, recreational sport, and very much in fashion...") Henry d'Yanville co-founded the novelty "Rainbow" Parisian coach line in the 1880s. It loaded passengers at the plaza before the L'Opéra. See Viney, *Methode de trompe de mail coach*, I and 71.

<sup>223</sup> Early "sports" included horse racing, hunting, gymnastics, boxing and swimming. Eugène Chapus, *Le sport à Paris* (Paris: L. Hachette et Cie, 1854). These expanded by the end of the century to include golf, tennis, fishing, and yachting. Sport was even the subject of Satie's series of piano works *Sports et divertissements* (1914), penned with meticulous calligraphy and paired with the chic and breezy hand-colored illustrations of Charles Martin. This limited-edition item celebrated the leisurely, outdoor lifestyle of the Parisian elite, and is filled with witticisms to be understood by connoisseurs. See Eric Satie, *Sports et divertissements* (Paris: Vogel, ca. 1925). For more on *Sports*, see Mary E. Davis, "Modernity à la Mode: Popular Culture and Avant-gardism in Erik Satie's "Sports et Divertissements," *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 83 No. 3 (1999): 430-473.



working-class labor. Through the lens of the elite, the signification of street activities changed and evolved.

The bourgeois class was perhaps the most sustained presence in the Parisian streets during the studied period, moving with fluidity between the different realms discussed in this dissertation. The bourgeois would have likely patronized Boieldieu's opera at the Opéra Comique and might have even ridden the *Dame Blanche* omnibus to the performance. The bourgeois were active participants in the music salon scene, emulating the aristocratic models of their contemporaries. Furthermore, they were the nineteenth-century eyes and ears that documented the history and existence of the Parisian itinerant musicians. The perspectives, writing, and musical practices of the bourgeois class perhaps offer the broadest overview of the Parisian street and musical life, witnessing the ever-shifting actors on the musical and urban stages of Paris. Their ability to move freely amidst urban spaces and grasp the social landscape of Paris likely enabled the bourgeois to flourish in this environment, as they progressively gained more political, social, and industrial power during the course of the nineteenth century. Through their writing and viewpoints, historians have the opportunity to connect the seemingly disparate threads of musical and social activity in the metropolis.

The street is a valuable platform for examining the connectedness of the city. During a period when social groups were culturally segregated, musical traditions often appear class-specific and only tangentially-related. The Parisian streets, however, acted as a unique space that mediated the overlapping, intermingling and interacting practices of the

city's population. Finding new perspective in this space, Parisians were able to conceive of themselves, their music, and their city in new ways. Ultimately, the street's facilitation of exchange propelled the evolution of the city and its musical practices.

**-- ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS—**

Archives of the Carriage Museum of America, Coach Horn and Omnibus Collections, Carriage Museum, Lexington, Kentucky.

Mathilde-Lætitia-Wilhelmine Bonaparte Letters, Collection number: GEN MSS 145. General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Papers of Gabriel Astruc, Collection number: \*ZBD-161, Dance Collection. The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

## —APPENDIX A—

TIMELINE OF URBAN, POLITICAL, AND MUSICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN  
PARIS

Bourbon Restoration begins	1814	
Influx of Italian <i>musiciens ambulants</i> in Paris	1815	
Chabrol de Volvic publishes first statistical analysis of Parisian circulation	1821	
	1825	Premiere of Boieldieu's <i>La dame blanche</i>
Emergence of <i>Dames Blanches</i> omnibuses	1828	
	1829	Alkan's <i>Les omnibus</i> , Op. 2
July revolution	1830	
Louis Phillipe I becomes the "Citizen King" of France	1830	
	1835	Fétis's "De la musique de la rue"
	1837	Legouix's <i>Les marchands des chansons</i>
	1845	<i>Theatrezeitung</i> journalist estimates 850 music salons in Paris
Revolution of 1848	1848	
Napoleon III leads the Second French Republic	1848	
	1849	Princess Mathilde opens salon in Paris
Napoleon III becomes emperor of the Second French Empire	1852	
Plaza named "Place Boieldieu"	1852	
	1852	Blanchard indicates that music salons utilize multiple rooms
Haussmann implements drastic urban renovation as Prefect of the Seine	1853	
<i>Dames Blanches</i> company closes	1855	
	1857	Kastner's symphony <i>Les cris de Paris</i> and treatise <i>Les voix de Paris</i>
	1858	Fournel's <i>Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris</i>
	1858	Ancelot's <i>Les salons de Paris</i>
	1862	1000th performance of <i>La dame blanche</i> at Opéra Comique
	1863	Battmann's <i>Musiciens ambulants</i>

	1864	Yriate's <i>Paris grotesque: Les célébrités de la rue</i>
Parisian police expel immigrant <i>musiciens ambulants</i>	1867	
	1867	Droz's " <i>Les contradictions d'une levrette</i> "
Franco-Prussian War	1870	
Third Republic of France begins	1870	
	1884	Massenet's <i>Manon</i>
	1893	Viney's <i>Methode de trompe de mail coach</i>

—APPENDIX B—

This appendix includes the complete salon programs documented in the *Revue et gazette musicale* for the years of 1852 and 1853. It also contains other salon program listings that I recorded during my research on music salons.

Date	Host	Repertory	Performers	Source
February 1852	M and Mme Massart	<i>Le Concert-Stuck</i> (Weber)	M and Mme Massart, piano and violin	<i>Revue et gazette musicale</i> (RGM), 15 Feb. 1852
February 1852	M and Mme Mutel	<i>Fantaisie sur le Desert</i> (David) Romance from <i>Maria di Rohan</i> (Donizetti) Vocal duo (Tasso)	M Norblin, cello  M Mutel, singer  M Mutel & Mlle Nau	RGM, 15 Feb. 1852
February 1852	M Marmontel	Romance from <i>Joseph</i> (Méhul) <i>Sonata for violin and piano</i> (Meumann) <i>Trio for piano, violin, and cello</i> (Lalo)	M Meumann	RGM, 15 Feb. 1852
February 1852	M Doozan and Mme de Mandeville (rue de Castiglione)	<i>Andante variations for piano and violoncello</i> (Mendelssohn) <i>Sonata in F minor, Op. 57</i> (Beethoven)	M. Lebouc, cello Mme de Mandeville, piano Mlle Mattmann	RGM, 15 Feb. 1852
February 1852	M Gouffe (contrabassist at l'Opéra)	<i>Trio for piano, violin, and cello</i> (Blanc) <i>Sonata for violin and piano</i> (Blanc)	M Bizet, piano (13 years old)	RGM, 15 Feb. 1852
February 1852	M Roger (rue Turgot)		M Roger, singer; M Haumann, violinist; Mlle Clauss, pianist	RGM, 22 Feb. 1852
February 1852	Mlle Mattmann	<i>Trio in D minor</i> (Mme Farrenc) <i>Sonata</i> (Beethoven) <i>Quartet</i> (Weber) <i>Violin fantasie on l'Éclair</i> (Guerreau)	M Guerreau, violin	RGM, 29 Feb. 1852
February 1852	M Malibran	Two songs	Mlle Nau, singer	RGM, 29 Feb. 1852

		String quartets Nos. 12-17 (Beethoven)	M Maurin, violin and three young performers	
February 1852	M Rosallen	Piano duet on themes from <i>La Favorite</i> (Rosallen) Violin and piano duo on themes from <i>Zampa</i> (Rosallen/Charles Dancla) Vocal selections	M Rosallen, piano; M Leopold Dancla, violin; Mlle Marie B. and M Gozora, singers	RGM, 29 Feb. 1852
February 1852	Mlle Malleville	Works by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Rameau	Mlle Malleville, piano	RGM, 7 March 1852
March 1852	Mlle Josephine Martin	Fantasies (Mlle Martin)	Mlle Martin, piano	RGM, 7 March 1852
March 1852	M Curci		M Curci, piano	RGM, 14 March 1852
March 1852	M Stamaty	Works by Handel, Beethoven, Weber	M Stamaty, piano	RGM, 14 March 1852
March 1852	Mlle Malleville	<i>Quartet for piano, violin, viola, and cello</i> (Weber) <i>Trio for piano, clarinet, viola</i> (Mozart) <i>Fantasy for piano in C minor</i> (Mozart) <i>Trio for piano, clarinet, viola</i> (Onslow) <i>Bagatelle in Eb</i> (Beethoven)	Mlle Malleville, piano M Leroy, clarinet M Ney, viola	RGM, 21 March 1852
March 1852	Mlle Wilhelmine Clauss	<i>Sonata in c# minor, Op. 27</i> (Beethoven) <i>Grande fantaisie sur la Lucie</i> (Lizst) <i>Hexameron</i> (Lizst, Thalberg, Pixis, Herz, Czerny, Chopin) Aria from <i>Fidelio</i> (Beethoven)	Mlle Clauss, piano  Ida Bertrand, singer	RGM, 21 March 1852

		<i>"le fameux Brindisi"</i> <i>Canzonetta</i> <i>napoletane</i> Scene and aria of madness of Charles VI (Halévy) Mélodie (Schubert) Mélodie (Reichel)	M Wartel, singer	
March 1852	M Antonin Guillot	Vocal selections <i>Boléro</i> (Carillonneur) Fantasia on <i>Fille du</i> <i>Regiment</i> (Alard) Fantasia on <i>Danse des</i> <i>Sylphes</i> (Alard)	Mlle Bush, singer Mlle Favel, singer M Alard, piano	RGM, 28 March 1852
April 1852	M Gouffe	<i>Sonata for piano and</i> <i>cello</i> (Lavainne) <i>Trio for piano, violin</i> <i>and cello</i> (Blanc)	Mlle Mattmann, piano M Lebouc, cello M Blanc, violin	RGM, 25 April 1852
April 1852	M Lardner (rue de Lille)		M Thalberg, piano M Godefroid, harp	RGM, 25 April 1852
April 1852	M Rosellen	Works by Herz, Weber, Prudent, Dohler, Thalberg Trio for piano, violin and cello (Dancla)	Mlle Bush, singer M Lefort, singer M Rosellen, piano M Dancla, violin M Leopold, cello	RGM, 25 April 1852
May 1852	M Hesselbein (rue Vivienne)	Quartet in A minor (Dancla) Trio for piano (Dancla) Quartet for two violins, alto and bass (Dancla)	M Dancla, violin M Blanc, violin M Wolff, piano	RGM, 9 May 1852
May 1852	M Gouffe	Sonata for violin and piano (Mme de Grandval)  Quintet in A major for two violins, viola, cello and bass (Bousquet)	Mme de Grandval, piano M Guerreau, violin M Gouffe, bass	RGM, 9 May 1852



November 1852	M Pierson-Bodin	Sonata for piano and violin (Mme Farrenc) Fantasie piano duet on <i>Robert le Diable</i> (Mme Farrenc) Sextet for piano, flute, oboe, clarinet, horn, bassoon (Mme Farrenc)  Duet for flute and piano (Mme Farrenc)	Mme Farrenc, piano M Cuvillon, violin Mme Pierson-Bodin and Mme Farrenc, pianos Mme Farrenc, piano M Dorus, flute; M. Verroust, Sr., Leroy, Rousselotet, Verroust, Jr.;	RGM, 28 November 1852
November 1852	M N. Louis	recited verses by M Mery <i>Les Fiances</i> , lyric drama in six parts Excerpts from opera <i>Les deux seryents</i> (M Louis)	Mlle Jouvante, actress Mlle Jenny Leroy, piano Mlle Girard, Mlle. Dussy, and M Talion, singers	RGM, 28 November 1852
January 1853	Mme Firmin Didot (rue Taranne)	Fantasie on <i>Le Prophète</i> (Lizst) <i>Souvenir d'Oberon</i> (Voss) <i>Le chant national de Croates</i> (Blumenthal) Romances  Air of Joseph (Méhul)	Mlle Graever, piano  Mme Gavaux-Sabatier, singer M Jourdan, singer M Lebouc, cello M Shannon Mlle Boilletot, singer	RGM, 2 January 1853
January 1853	M Conninx		M Conninx, flute Mlle Nau, singer	RGM, 23 January 1853
January 1853	Mlle Belin de Launay		Mlle Belin de Launay, piano	RGM, 30 January 1853
January 1853	M le vicomte et Mme la vicomtesse Mahé de Villeneuve			RGM, 30 January 1853

January 1853	M Offenbach (rue Lafitte)			RGM, 30 January 1853
February 1853	M Camille Stamaty	Sonata (Stamaty) Fantasie (Stamaty) Duo for piano and cello on themes of Bellini (Franchomme)	M Stamaty, piano  M Franchomme, cello	RGM, 20 February 1853
February 1853	M Louis Lacombe			RGM, 20 February 1853
February 1853	M Deloffre		M Deloffre, violin	RGM, 20 February 1853
March 1853	Mme Gaveaux- Sabatier	Duo of Comte Gry  Fantasie on the themes from <i>Robert le Diable</i> (Godefroid) <i>Les pleurs</i> (Godefroid)	M Roger, singer M Godefroid, harp M Godefroid, harp  Mlle Josephine Martin, piano	RGM, 20 March 1853
March 1853	M et Mme Pierson	Fantasie	M Milan, violin	RGM, 10 April 1853
April 1853	M Hesselbein	Quartet No. 6 (Dancla) Trio in D Major (Dancla) Three romances for violin -l'Attente, le Doute, et le Retour (Dancla) Fantasie on Norma (Dancla) Sonata in C minor for piano and violin (Dancla) Quartet no. 66 (Haydn)	M Charles Dancla, violin M Lee, M. Vuiguiet, M. Francis Plantet	RGM, 10 April 1853
April 1853	M Ciouffi	Sextet for piano, two violins, viola, cello, contrabass (Salesses)	Mlle Salomon, pianist	RGM, 17 April 1853

		Trio for piano violin and cello (Blanc) Trio for piano violin and cello (M Albert de Garaude)		
April 1853	Mlle Langlumé	Trio in Bb major (Beethoven) Andante from Sonata No. 3 for piano and violin (Mozart) Romance without words (Ravina) Solo cello piece (Franchomme)	Mlle Langlumé, piano  M Franchomme, cello	RGM, 1 May 1853
December 1853	M Tellefsen	Trios for piano, violin and cello -la Livri, la Pantomime, La Poelinier, La Timide (Rameau) Fugues (JS Bach) La Berceuse (Reber) La valse alsacienne (Reber) Sonata for piano and cello, Op. 65 (Chopin)	M Tellefsen, piano  M Sauzay, violin  M Franchomme, cello Mme la princesse Czartoriska, piano	RGM, 25 December 1853
January 1855	Mme la princesse Mathilde	Sérénade (Saint-Saens)	M Saint-Saens, organ ; M Sauzay fils, piano	Bonnerot, C. <i>Saint-Saens</i> , 45-46
March 1856	M Gouffe	Les Folies d'Espagne (Corelli) Quintet No. 26, menuet (Onslow)	M Gouffe, bass	RGM, 9 March 1856
March 1856	Docteur Bouland	L'Onquaire (MM Charles Manri and Galoppe)		RGM, 9 March 1856
October 1856	M Gouffe (rue la Bruyère)	Quintette No. 26 (Onslow) Quartet (Haydn) Quartet (Mozart) Quartet (Beethoven)		RGM, 26 October 1856
May 1860	Mme Viardot	Tristan und Isolde	M Wagner, Tristan; Mme Viardot, Isolde;	C. Saint-Saens, <i>Musical</i>

			Karl Klindworth, piano	<i>Memories</i> , 146
February 1861	Mme la princesse Mathilde	Les Poemes de la mer (Weckerlin)	M Reichardt	RGM, 24 February 1861
March 1861	Mme la princesse Mathilde	Chanson du chien (Barkhouff)	Mlle Marimont	Tunley, 179
March 1864	Mme la princesse Mathilde	Excerpts from <i>Mireille</i> (Gounod)	M Gounod, piano	<i>La presse</i> , 29 March 1864
Spring 1865	Mme la princesse Mathilde	Song of the Djinns (Auber) Selections from Romeo et Juliette (Gounod)	Mme Moulton, voice M Auber, piano M Gounod, piano	Hegermann- Lindencrone, <i>In the courts of memory</i> , 69-70
January 1866	Mme la princesse Mathilde	Excerpts from the Barber of Seville (Rossini), La flute enchantee (Mozart), Il Sogno (Mozart)	Mlle Nilsson, singer M Delle-Sedie, singer	Tunley, 197
February 1866	Mme Gunzberg		Mme Carvalho, singer	RGM, 4 February 1866
March 1866	Mme la princesse Mathilde	L'absence (Mme de Grandval), Valse (Mme de Grandval)	Mme Miolan- Carvalho, singer	Tunley 206
April 1866	Mme la princesse Mathilde	<i>Songe d'un nuit d'ete</i> (Mendelssohn) <i>Philemon et Baucis</i> (Gounod)	Mme Miolan- Carvalho, singer Mme la comtesse de Grandval, piano Mlle Gaveaux- Sabatier, singer Mme la princesse de Beauffreemont, M Levy, M Hermann-Leon	Tunley, 206
April 1866	M Rossini	<i>Toast pour le nouvel an, Le depart des promis, Tirana alla spagnola, Adieu à la vie</i> (Rossini)	Mme Carvalho, singer	RGM, 22 April 1866

May 1866	Mme la princesse Mathilde	<i>Le Cas de Conscience</i> (Feuillet)	Mme Arnold Plessy, M Bressant	<i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 3 June 1866
May 1866	Mme la princesse Mathilde	<i>Ave Maria</i> (Bach/Gounod); opera excerpts, Gounod; opera excerpts, Mozart; <i>Les lucioles</i> (Mme de Grandval) ; vocal duet (Campana) ; Unspecified quartet (Haydn) ; Transcription of Chopin solo work for piano and cello (Franchomme);	M Gounod, piano; M Sauzay, violin; M Saint-Saens, organ; M Franchomme, cello; Mme de Grandval, piano ; Mme Carvalho, singer; M Delle-Sedie, singer; Mlle Rives, singer; Mme Bouché, singer	<i>Le ménestrel</i> , 3 June 1866
January 1867	Mme la princesse Mathilde	Excerpts from Marriage of Figaro (Mozart) Semiramide (Rossini) Lieder (Schumann)	Mme Miolan Carvalho, singer Mlle Schroeder, singer	Tunley, 209
February 1867	Mme la princesse Mathilde	La serenata (Braga)	Mme de Grandval, piano ; Mme Bouché, singer; Mme Rives, singer; M Saint-Saens, piano; M Durand, M Sauzay, violin	<i>Le ménestrel</i> , 24 February 1867
March 1868	Duchesse de Galiera		Mme Carvalho, singer; Mlle Bloch; M Fauré; Gardoni; Sivori; M. Durand, organ	RGM, 15 March 1868
January 1870	Mme la princesse Mathilde	Duet from Barber of Seville (Rossini)		<i>Le moniteur universelle</i> , 11 January 1870
April 1870	M Debrousse		Mme Carvalho, singer	RGM, 10 April 1870

## —APPENDIX C—

Itinerant performers: instruments, locations, and repertory  
 As documented in Édouard Fétis' *De le musique des rues* (E.F.) (1835)  
 and Victor Fournel's *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues* (V.F.) (1867)

Instruments	Locations	Performers and Repertory Observed
Orgue de barbarie	-Boulevard de Madeleine (E.F.) -Château-d'Eau (V.F.) -Pont des Arts (V.F.)	Overtures of <i>Caravane</i> and <i>Jeune Henri</i> (E.F.)
Clarinet	-Pont Royal (E.F.) -Boulevard de Temple (E.F.)	
Bagpipe (cornemuse)		Briefly mentioned (E.F.)
Flageolet		<i>Marseillaise</i> and <i>Chant du depart</i>
Le flûte de Pan	-Musicians played and sold instruments in street alleys, various sizes and prices (E.F.)	
Violin	-Port Saint Martin (E.F.)  -Boulevard des Italiens (E.F.)	- Man known as "Lefebvre" (or, "Paganini of the Street") (E.F.)  -Six year old playing violin with harpist, <i>Vive Henri IV</i> and <i>Depuis longtemps j'aimais Adèle</i> (E.F.)
Guitar and mandolin	-Palais Poyale (E.F.)	
Harp		-Two german youths (E.F.) -Blind elderly man (E.F.)
Singers	-Place des Écoles (V.F.)  -Places de la Bastille (V.F.)  -Palais Royale (V.F.)  -Pont des Saint-Pères (V.F.)	-“Le Marquis” Italian singer (E.F.)  -“Beau Nicolas” (V.F.) (this is also the name of a song popularized in 1851) <sup>224</sup>  -Men with wigs and red clothes (V.F.)  -Frail female singer with guitar (V.F.)  -Female singer with baby (V.F.)

<sup>224</sup> Gourdon, *Refrains de la rue*, 83-84.

String ensemble	Interior courtyards of <i>hôtels</i> (E.F.)	- 2 violins, 2 guitars, 1 bass (E.F.)
Wind ensemble	Interior courtyards of <i>hôtels</i> (E.F.)	- Trombone, 2 horns, 2 clarinets (E.F.)
Various	-Rue de l'Arbre-Sec (V.F.)  -Champs-Élysées	-Performers entertain guests at restaurant including singers, violinists, harp, guitar  -Joseph Auber, " <i>L'homme orchestre</i> "

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