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sie stammt aus der »Aeltesten Volkstedter Porzellanmanufaktur« in Thüringen.
Für unseren Tagungsband wurde sie mit einem roten Halsband versehen:
Mit diesem Erkennungszeichen durfte man bestimmte Bälle besuchen, wenn
(mindestens) ein Familienangehöriger auf der Guillotine hingerichtet worden war.

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INHALT

Vincenzo Galeotti's Norwegian Springdance – Stereotype or Fantasy?

ANNE MARGRETE FISKVIK / EGIL BAKKA

This paper is presented as a dialogue between two researchers coming from quite different backgrounds. We want to discuss how material and knowledge from different disciplines can be brought together to shed light upon dance history.

EGIL

I have been teaching, documenting, and researching traditional dance, particularly from Norway and the Scandinavian countries. My academic background and point of departure is regional Nordic ethnology, and I am particularly interested in dance as movement, dance notation, and dance history.

ANNE

My background is theater dance, I was trained as a dancer and teacher in Philadelphia and New York. I have always been interested in early dance history, and although my doctoral thesis was on choreomusical relations and idealizations in theater dance, I am now back to working on historical issues, at this point focusing on Nordic theater dance history.

EGIL

The topic for our paper is a national dance[1] that represents Norway in a small ballet composed in 1786 for the Royal Theater in Copenhagen.

ANNE

We try to draw upon the totality of dance culture, including in the discussion both theater dance and traditional social dance, genres which have mostly been kept apart in dance historiography.

EGIL

Let us go now to the location of our story, the Nordic countries. At the end of the 18th century, Denmark and Norway had been united for about 400 years. The union ended with the Napoleonic wars in 1814. The political and intellectual power and the royal court were located in Copenhagen. And even if Norway was considered a separate nation, it was actually more like a distant, exotic province of the double monarchy.

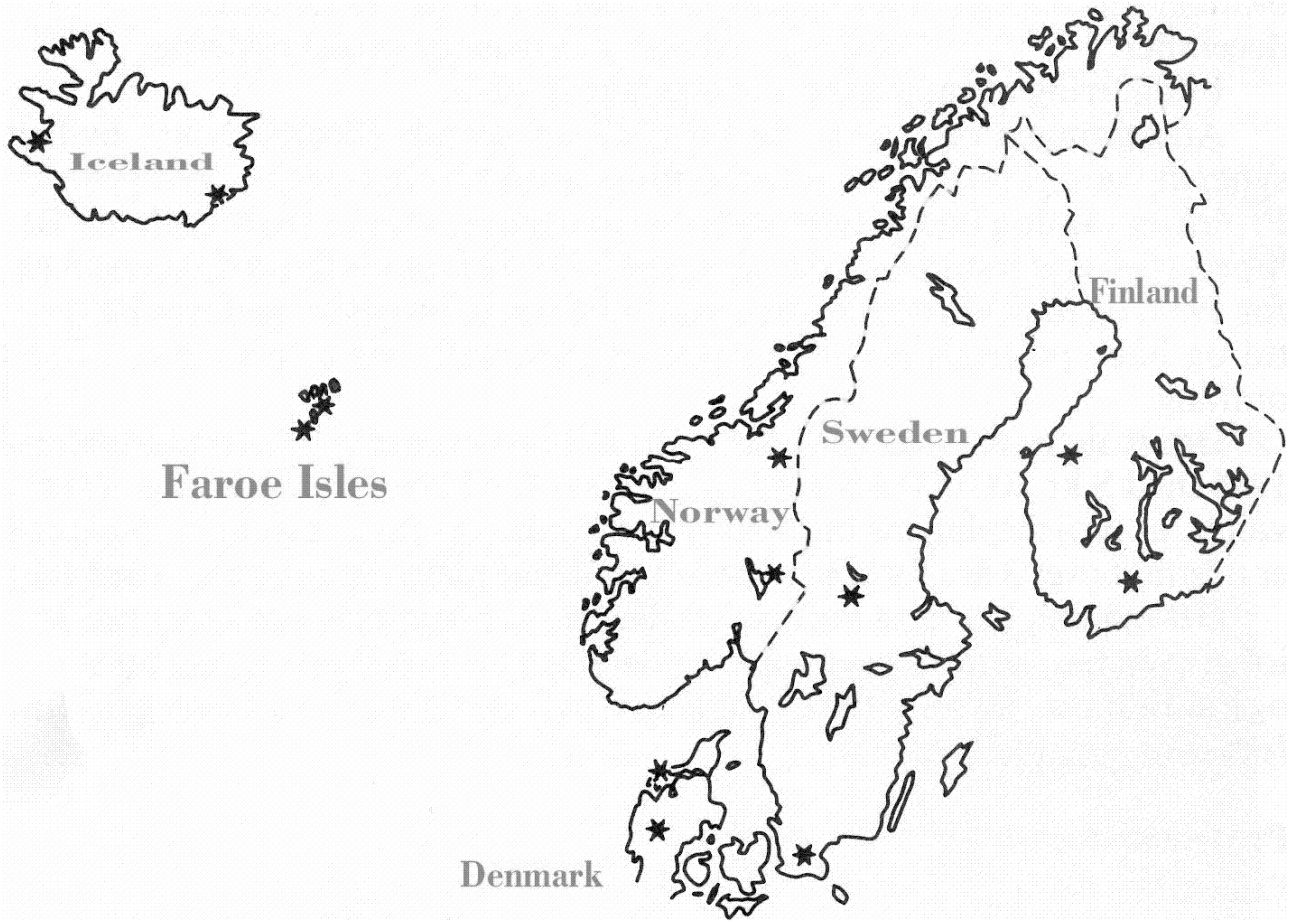


Figure 1: Map of the Scandinavian countries

Dance in Denmark and Norway in the Late 18th Century

ANNE

The lack of a royal court in Norway meant that we did not have an opera-ballet for the longest time – our national opera-ballet was founded only in 1958. This is of course one of the reasons why the history of Norwegian professional ballet as an established institution is so short. In contrast, the respective opera-ballets in Sweden and Denmark were established during the 18th century. French and Italian dancing masters played a major role during the early periods of the professional dance companies in Copenhagen and Stockholm.[2]

Still, Norway did experience some professional dance in the latter part of the 18th century, mostly due to various foreign companies and individuals. We see the first traces of professional theater dance starting around 1750. In 1771 the German dancing master Martin Nurembach was granted royal permission to perform ballets publicly in the capital Christiania. Nurembach imported professional dancers. Although this establishment did not survive long, its performances were among the earliest examples of theater dance in Norway.[3] The field of traditional and social dancing, however, was quite rich.

Figure 2: Pols dance Röros, Norway, 1799 (Clarke 1824)

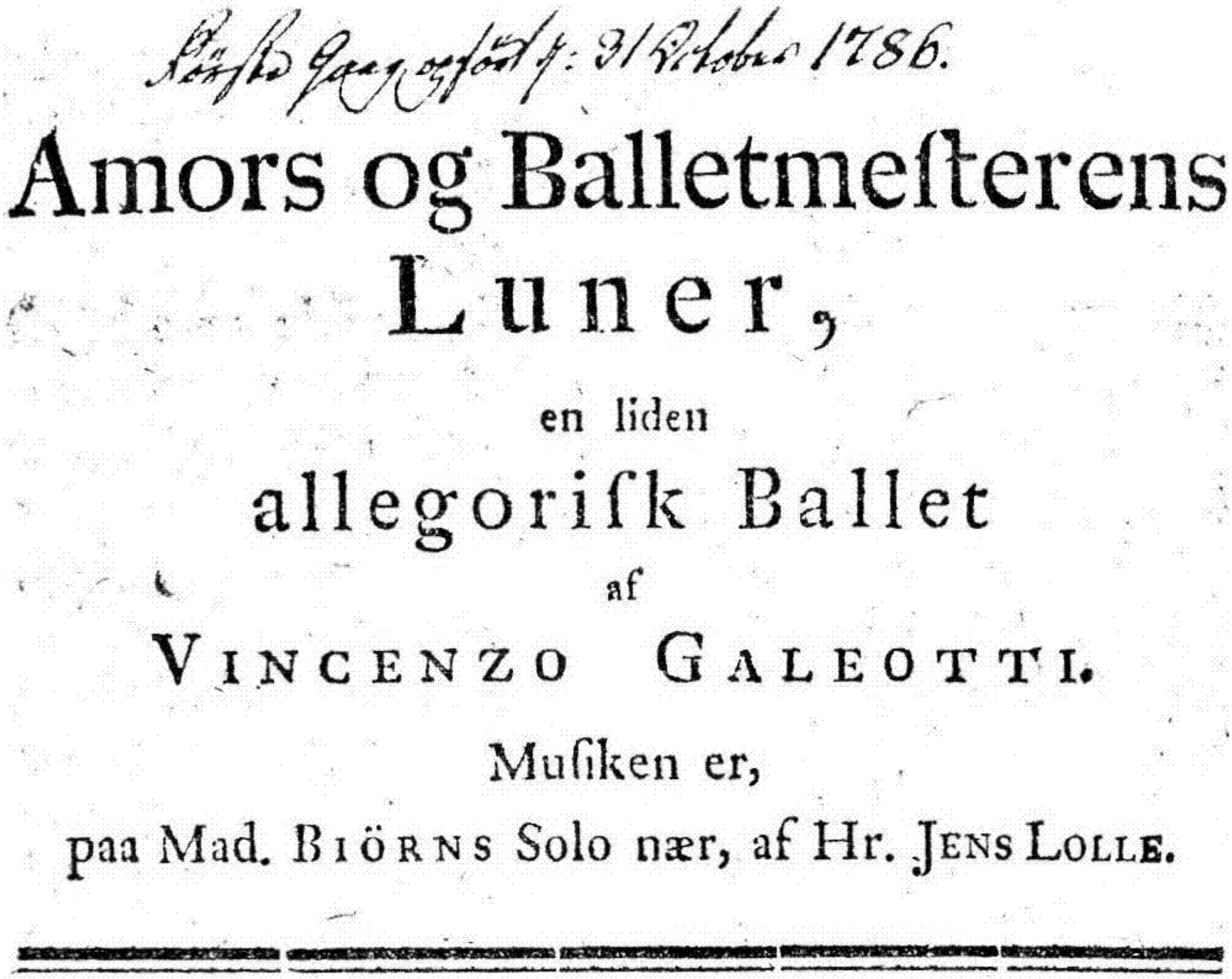
EGIL

According to available sources, the most important dances among the lower classes in Denmark in the late 18th century seem to have been the Minuet, English (country) dances, so-called »Contra dances«, and the Polish dance. Many of these were regulated dances, often performed in groups.[4] In Norway, on the other hand, the Springdance, the Halling, and the Polish dance constituted the dominant repertoire.[5] These were solistic, improvised couple or even solo dances that were much further removed from European fashion trends than the Danish dances, and therefore probably quite exotic from a Danish point of view. Already during this period, social dancing in the two countries seems to have displayed very different profiles.

Amors og Ballettmesterens luner

ANNE

It is easily forgotten that social dance was also part of the dance world in which ballets were created. The ballet *Amors og Ballettmesterens luner* was composed by Vincenzo Galeotti[6], the ballet master of the Royal Danish Theater in Copenhagen. (In the following we refer to it as *Amor*.) It was premiered on 31 October 1786. The program reads:



Første Gang opført d: 31 October 1786.

Amors og Balletmeſterens Luner,

en liden

allegoriſk Ballet

af

VINCENZO GALEOTTI.

Muſiken er,

paa Mad. BIÖRNS Solo nær, af Hr. JENS LOLLE.

Figure 3: Top of title page of the original program to *The Whims of Cupid and the Ballet Master*, 1786

> The Whims of Cupid and the Ballet Master. A small allegorical ballet by Vincenzo Galeotti. The music, with exception of Mad[ame] Biørn's solo,[7] is by Mr. Jens Lolle.[8]

EGIL

As a researcher of traditional dance, I was thrilled when, some ten years ago, I discovered that this ballet had references to Norway, something that had hardly been researched at all. I then asked Knud Arne Jürgensen, who has published extensively on August Bournonville,[9] about these references. He called my attention to material in the Danish Royal Library and wrote a detailed article that formulated many of the questions we are still exploring.[10]

ANNE

We have now established the object of our research within its context: A small allegorical ballet, with a number of character dances, of which one is called a Norwegian Dance. It was choreographed in 1786 for the Royal Theater in Copenhagen, which at this time belonged to the Nordic double monarchy of Denmark-Norway.

Methodological Approach

EGIL

Approaching dance history through the lens of traditional dance is not a wide-spread practice. Our Hungarian colleague and dance researcher György Martin has argued for and contributed to this approach.[11] Quite recently a volume edited by Theresa Buckland explored a combination of ethnographic and historic strategies.[12] Our approach here is quite traditionally based on sources. We attempt to explore a material that is problematic, but also very exciting. The question is: Can sources dealing with an 18th-century ballet and those on the traditional Norwegian Springdance shed light on each other?

With postmodernism and deconstructive history most researchers gave up the belief in uncovering one absolute and true version of a historical event. There is an understanding today that history consists of constructed accounts which depend on the researcher and his/her background, and not only on the historical sources.[13] We reconcile ourselves with the idea that there can be many, even conflicting, but yet equally valid stories about the same historical event.

ANNE

We do not, however, think that this calls for less rigor in dealing with, criticizing, and even deconstructing our sources. Our contribution here is a report on research in progress, and our story is a preliminary and tentative version.

EGIL

So, Anne, it is time we start our story. Could you tell us about the source material for the ballet?

ANNE

We have been working with two sets of source material that have come down to us from 1786 – a ballet program[14] and a set of musical scores[15] – and additionally with a performance transmitted on TV in 1975. In the ballet program, Galeotti tells his audience how this ballet was created. The scores are a hand-written repetiteur (violin) part and some orchestral parts. Notes and corrections dationg from later use of the scores allow us to see some of the changes the music went through over time.[16] The music is a suite of dances, composed by Jens Lolle (1751—1789).[17] In 1786 Lolle was first repetiteur of the Ballet during the absence of the more experienced composer Claus Schall, who was Galeotti's usual ballet composer.[18] The TV recording shows how the ballet was performed in 1975, one point in a continuous performance practice tradition.

EGIL

The second set of source material that we use for our project are not written sources from the 18th century, even though they do exist as well. The sources consist first and foremost of 20th-century film documentation of the Norwegian Springdance. The Springdance is the dominant dance type in the traditional Norwegian dance repertoire. The dance is well-documented in the 18th and even in the 17th century,[19] but real descriptions are available only from the 19th century.[20] The Springdance was well known and performed throughout Norway until the beginning of the 20th century in a colorful and broad range of local variants. At my institution (The Norwegian Center for Traditional Dance and Music) we have literally thousands of recordings of Springdances and similar dances, most of which I collected among traditional dancers throughout the country since the 1960s.

Galeotti's experiment

ANNE

It is interesting to note that Galeotti considered *Amor* an experiment with which he tried to expand the contemporary conventions of ballet and theater. At the same time, he states that

> It was my intention to present a cheerful ballet and to recommended myself.[21]

In the program, Galeotti also explains the plot and structure of the ballet:

> In order to make this allegory contribute to the goals I have yearned to achieve, the ballet starts with a sacrifice, performed in the temple by blindfolded priests with the doors closed. When this is over, the priest removes the blindfolds, and Amor (Cupid) withdraws after having demanded that the doors of the temple be opened. Two Germans enter, who, after finishing their dance, are brought by the priests to the place where they await their reunion. After this, two Quakers enter, and then people from nine recognizable nations are brought to their places by the priests, and where they remain standing until the moment of reunion. When everybody else has entered, Amor reveals himself and announces to the couples that those in his temple can only be united while blindfolded. All willingly obey, but when this requirement has been fulfilled, Amor, who is malicious, decides not to unite them as they entered, but in the strangest and most laughable way.[22]

Apparently Galeotti was happy with the result, because immediately after the description of the plot he sums up his work in the following manner:

> This way I believe that in some ways I have gotten closer to my desired goal: to have many pas de deux follow after one another and to let the figures remain motionless on the »skuepladsen« [performance space], and moreover, to have shown humorous elements without descending to crudity; if this attempt can thrill the audience, then I shall enjoy the flattering experience of having achieved what I desired.[23]

Public taste

EGIL

Some six programs for ballets from Galeotti's hand have survived and are kept at the Theater Museum in Copenhagen. Almost all of them include roles for people of the lower classes, either in Denmark or in the country where the ballet takes place. This probably means that the lower classes were portrayed very often in Galeotti's ballets, and one might think that such portrayals would be expressed in dance.

ANNE

Yes, I agree that the use of folk elements was quite common at this time, and this must be seen in relation to the general taste of the public; they wanted to be entertained. What we know is that around this time the general audience's tastes and preferences start to have more influence on the ballet productions at the Scandinavian courts. According to Bournonville, the late 18th-century audience did not appreciate the grand dramatic spectacles à la Noverre and Angiolini. They wanted something to laugh at (just like today, Bournonville adds sarcastically), like small divertissements. Among Galeotti's successes, according to Bournonville, were *The Gypsy Camp*, *The Whims of Cupid*, *The Weavers*, and *The Washing Maids and the Tinkers*.[24] We also see the same trend in Sweden under Gustav III.[25]

EGIL

We are now getting close to the question: Would dance material attributed to rural people and people of other nations have been totally made up?

ANNE

First the opinion of our Swedish colleague Lena Hammergren:

> It should be noted that national dances performed on stage were not authentic in the true sense of the word, neither during the eighteenth, nor the nineteenth century. In the middle of the nineteenth century, distinctive conventions had been developed for how certain steps or movements could show the intended identity. It is true for both centuries that these identity markers had an emblematic rather than a realistic function, which was most obvious during the eighteenth century when ethnically colored movement codes were still not as well developed. The costumes would bear most of that function. The idea that different kinds of dance could express nationality and ethnic character was however an established feature in the dance world.[26]

In the same spirit, many scholars agree with Joellen A. Meglin who, in her article about *Les Indes Galantes*, classifies the ethnic elements as »imagined entities or cultural constructs«[27].

EGIL

These are 20th-century interpretations by our research colleagues of attitudes among 18th-century choreographers. But did our predecessors not speak for themselves on this matter?

ANNE

The famous Noverre had thoughts about this:

> If one were too scrupulous in depicting the characters, manners and customs of certain nations, the pictures would often be poor and monotonous in composition. […] When the characters are sustained so that those of the nation represented are never changed and nature is not concealed under embellishments which are foreign to and degrade it; when the expression of sentiment is faithful so that the colouring is true, the shading artistically contrived, the positions noble. The groups and masses ingenious and beautiful, and the design correct; then the picture is excellent and achieves its effect.[28]

> I think, Sir, that neither a Turkish nor a Chinese festival would appeal to our countryman, if we had not the art to embellish it, I am persuaded that the style of dancing common to those people would never be captivating. This kind of exactitude in costume and imitation will only present a very insipid spectacle, unworthy of a public which only applauds in proportion as artists possess the art of bringing delicacy and taste to the different productions which they offer to it.[29]

EGIL

There are many examples of how authors in the ballet world claim that the portrayal of the lower classes or exotic nations on the stage should not be too realistic. Your and Lena Hammergren's reading of this is to say that the function was emblematic rather than realistic. Hammergren makes this point about Louis Gallodier:

> for his dancers and his audience, the costumes, props, and music were sufficiently stimulating for the audience to experience that which was imaginative and different in the dance of the Sámi people.[30]

I would propose a reading that looks in the opposite direction. Instead of stressing that there would obviously be differences, I would like to ask: What about the similarities? In the historical account I would like to tell, it would be quite simple for a ballet master to find dancers who could give both serious and parody versions of the dances of the people, certainly from their own country, but probably also from neighboring countries. Bournonville tells the story about how he totally outdid a group of rural Italians in their own dance, so certainly even ballet masters might have known traditional dances. The warnings against being too realistic could then be read not as a defence for not being able to show fairly realistic »folk dance« on stage, but rather to say that this would not be a serious work of art. The cultural capital of thespians was the refinement, the artistic touch, and the noble technique. I am of the opinion that members of a theater audience in those days would at least have had stereotypical ideas about the dancing of lower

classes; most of them may even have had personal experience. A ballet master could then easily score a hit with realistic parodies. In my mind, the message of those writers is rather: »We could stage such material very easily (it is even done all too often), but it is far below us, it needs a total work over.«

ANNE

So, Egil, if I understand you correctly, your proposal is that a choreographer would need to take into consideration the more or less concrete or reality-based, perhaps even stereotypical notions of his audience. In other words, what would Galeotti's audience think about Norwegian dance, and Springdance in particular? Can we expect the upper-class Copenhagen audience of those days to have had any idea of what a Springdance looked like? Is there any reason to believe that any of them had ever seen a Springdance, and if so, do you think it would make a choreographer feel obliged to satisfy some of the stereotypical notions of his audience?

EGIL

Norway had no noticeable aristocracy in the 18th century, so the highest-ranking people were the bourgeoisie of the towns and the civil servants and bureaucrats. Many of these would be Danes, who moved back and forth between Denmark and Norway. A number of Norwegians also went to Copenhagen to study, and some made their career there. There are also sources dating back to the early 17th century that tell of a bishop from Denmark who participated in the dancing at rural weddings and celebrations while serving in Norway. The Swedish admiral Carl von Tersmeden reported in his diary from 1741 about how he saw peasants dance, and how young people at a party joined in a dance with the servants in the kitchen.[31] From the 19th century we have several sources describing how at least the sons of civil servants in rural areas knew the rural dances,[32] and how actors at a theater in Bergen had learned Springdance during their childhood from servants and used it on stage in plays.[33] Therefore it is hard to believe that the Norwegian Springdance would be something unknown even to a Danish ballet audience. There are good reasons to believe that there would be a number of Norwegians in Copenhagen who knew the Springdance, and had even performed it on occasions.

The theory I propose is that a ballet master could easily pick ideas from rural dancing, and that he certainly did. In this way he could satisfy his audience's expectation to find something recognizable in, say, a Norwegian dance. The ballet master would polish and clean it up, applying an educated technique and a polite style that would make his building blocks acceptable.

Now we would like to test this theory by comparing the two sets of material, Galeotti's Springdance and our present knowledge of the Norwegian Springdance. Galeotti's ballet, including the Springdance mentioned above is available to us as a recording of a TV broadcast from 1975. This material could of course be dismissed as »not in any way representative of the late eighteenth century«.

ANNE

Let us look at the performance history of *Amor*, which is quite impressive. In October 1823 it was performed for the 100th time, and it was given frequently until 1841. Then, under Bournonville, it disappeared from the stage for 22 years, until February 1863, when it was restaged. After this, it was not given for a year, but then performed again in 1884/85. Since then it has been produced regularly to the present day. According to August Bournonville (Galeotti's follower), the ballet was kept alive by the dancers, even through periods when it was not performed very often. It was introduced to European audience by Hans Beck's staging at the Paris Opera in the 1950s. In 1895 an abbreviated piano version was published of the music, and during the 1960s it was performed in England and the USA.[34]

EGIL

Most historians writing about *Amor* claim that Bournonville did not particularly like this ballet. The Springdance must have been an exception. In the period from 1847—1867 it was performed as an individual piece more than 200 times,[35] so even if the ballet was not performed, the Springdance was. On the 100th anniversary program of the Royal Ballet in 1848, Bournonville included the Springdance, explicitly attributing it to Galeotti.[36] For this reason, it is possible that Bournonville did not rework the Springdance, and that it remained fairly unchanged throughout this period. Why would Bournonville attribute this little piece to his predecessor if he himself had made major alterations? For the following discussion, we therefore assume that the Springdance is Galeotti's work,[37] and that the elements and the structure have not changed much. What about the music, Anne?

ANNE

We can see a few changes and additions, some of them made in relation to the performances in 1863 (after the 22-year pause). According to the musicologist Sven Lund, in 1863 it was provided with an introduction that was more »Norwegian« than the original one by Lolle, an emandation that is still in use today.[38] The changes are, however, insignificant for the purpose of our analysis.

Comparing the Springdance in *Amor* with traditional Norwegian material

Let us compare Galeotti's dance with what we know about our very extensive material on the traditional Springdance. It is true that it was documented on film only in the 20th century, but there are still other sources from previous centuries. The dance is found in local variants throughout Norway.

Element 1

The dance starts in a typical position, the couple hand in hand. It is a common starting position for Norwegian Springdances, where the woman is clearly following the man. The man holds his partner's left hand in his own right hand with a solid grasp, and letting their joined hands rest on his hip. This is perhaps a bit unusual in comparison to the Norwegian sources. The first sequence has some airy running steps and then a brief sequence of hopping on one foot, keeping the free one forward and in the air. This can also be found as a starting element in some Norwegian Springdances. This sequence is danced to a small motive of two bars of music repeated three times, which corresponds exactly to Lolle's scores from 1786.

Element 2

In the next element, the partners let go of their fastening and make two deep knee bends, partly facing each other. Then they take a fastening with both hands, the left arms crossed on their back and make one clockwise turn together. This part is repeated, as is the music, which has a small motive of two bars + two bars. The knee bending is not something unusual in the Springdance, but mostly done in an improvised style and usually only by the man. Turning while holding both hands with crossed arms is (in principle) a quite typical motive of the traditional Springdance, but this variant, in which the partners are facing in different directions, is not functional in a traditional context and therefore hardly employed there.

Element 3

The couple dances forward along the circular path with crossed arms on the back, facing in the same direction. Then they make a clockwise turn. This is repeated twice to the same music as for element 2. This element is known from the traditional context, although this fastening is used more for turning than for dancing forward.

Element 4

The partners let go of the fastening and perform a motive in which they gesticulate to each other and change places; then the woman kneels and the man kicks above her head. This is an element unknown from Norwegian sources, but it can be found in choreographies attributed to the mid 19th-century Swedish choreographer Anders Selinder.[39] As far as I know it is not found in any traditional Swedish dance material. One is tempted to ask whether both Galeotti and Selinder might have borrowed this element from earlier choreographies containing theatricalized »folk« elements. It could, for instance, stem from Gallodier, who was ballet master in Stockholm from 1773 to 1795.

Element 5

is a repetition of element 1 with some variations. The couple runs along the circular path, but the man turns his partner once under the arm in the second bar of the music, and the hopping step has changed character, but clearly alludes to a well-known step of the Springdance.

Element 6

The woman dances around the man and then turns under his arm. This is a well-known motive in the Springdance, but it is hardly ever done with deep knee bends, although knee bends per se are common. The traditional flow of the motive is interrupted by these knee bends, which have the effect of poses, putting the dancers side by side in a line parallel to the front of the stage. This interruption would also not be used in a traditional Springdance. This motive, which corresponds to four bars of the music, is repeated.

Element 7 – The Halling

The music now changes to 2/4 meter, and displays melodic elements of the Halling. First, the woman performs a strictly ballet-like solo that does not seem to allude to traditional dance at all. The man is watches. Then the man performs his solo, which includes two well-known elements of the Halling: the kicking in the air (often at a target such as a hat, but not necessarily and not here) and then a somersault. The man's two motives are repeated, and the Halling concludes.

Sections of the Halling would not be inserted in the middle of the Springdance in a traditional context, and a woman dancing a solo Halling would be an exception. We have however seen that even if a man and a woman have somewhat complimentary roles in the Springdance, they dance the same steps, which is not very usual in traditional dance.

Elements 1 and 2

The music now returns to the Springdance, and the music and dance elements 1 and 2 are repeated.

Element 8

The dance ends with a rapid »one measure couple turning«, which is typical for many Springdances in regions around Oslo. It is a very distinctive pattern that seems to be a link between the old couple dances that came before the rounddance[40] genre.

Even if the technique is closely related to the round dances described by the dancing masters, it is not present in their books, nor is it easily traceable in places other than Sweden, Norway, Poland, and Southern Germany.

Structure technique and style

EGIL

We have looked at the structural elements of the dance, and seen that all these elements have clear parallels in traditional Norwegian Springdance material. Exceptions are one piece that can be attributed to staged versions of Swedish couple dances of a similar age and profile, and the woman's solo in the Halling. Some aspects of the manner in which the elements are put together and some details also clearly point to the Norwegian Springdance material.

The music also has an obvious similarity to the basic melodic rhythm, and resembles the structure and melodic elements of a traditional Springdance. The brisk melody in 3/4 meter with numerous triplet motion and repeated short melodic motives corresponds surprisingly well to a conventional Norwegian Springdance, as, for example, we might imagine it to have been performed in the central-eastern part of Norway.

ANNE

I agree with your observation about the Norwegian elements, Egil, but at the same time I recognize the style of the »demi-charactère«. It is important to be aware that in *Amor* the various dances were composed in the different dance styles common to the period: »noble«, »demi-charactère«, »comique«, and »grotesque«. The dances are still today performed in these same basic styles, with the exception of the Negro dance, which today is a grotesque dance, but in 1786 was meant to portray the image of the »noble savage«.

We can find many descriptions of the various character traits of the dancing styles in writings by Gallini, Noverre, and Angiolini, among others. Characterizing the »half-serious style«, Gallini explains:

> In the half-serious style we observe vigor, lightness, agility, brilliant springs with a steadiness and command of the body. It is the best kind of dancing for expressing the more general theatrical subjects. It also pleases more generally […] A pastoral dance, presented emploxing all aspects of the pantomimic art, will commonly be preferred to the more serious style […] For [the half-serious style], it is impossible to have too much agility and briskness.[41]

In my mind, the characteristics of the »demi-charactère« shine through clearly in the Springdance. *Amor* is the only ballet that has survived in a contiuous bodily transmission, and we can hope to see at least traces of 18th-century dancing styles in it, but mainly we have to rely on verbal descriptions of the dancing styles from Galeotti's contemporaries. Don't you think that the Springdance is more an example of the »demi-charactère« style than of a folk dance?

EGIL

It is hard to believe that all these quite striking similarities could arise if the choreographer and/or his dancers did not have a good knowledge of the Springdance, and wanted to draw on this knowledge to satisfy the audience's knowledge or at least their stereotypes. On the other hand it is quite clear that the choreographer did not put a traditional Springdance on the stage. It seems obvious that the choreographer picked out elements that he cleaned up and transformed into clear-cut isolated motives. Then he put them back together in a fixed, strictly fashioned order with symmetrical repetitions, strictly structured in accordance with the musical structure. This process, I would imagine, was just what was needed in those days to tailor traditional dance material into a piece in »demi-charactère« style. So, yes, Anne, it is certainly not folk dance or traditional dance that we see, but it is not a pure »demi-charactère« piece without Norwegian elements either.

A traditional Springdance has a subtle tight-knit flow of motives, which would probably not satisfy a choreographer of the 18th century. The elements are colored and tied together because they are repeated with small variations, rather than being identically or symmetrically repeated, and they do not correspond precisely to the musical motives. The aesthetic ideal seems to be a complex, free-flowing, improvised, and unregulated form, in contrast to the transparent structures of the ballet.

The whole free style seems to revolt against regularity. It still very well shines through the theatrical conventions of composition and polish in Galeotti's Springdance. On the other hand, the tightly knit, complex material of the variations of the traditional dance is taken apart and sorted out in a display of isolated, repeated elements.

ANNE

Your points are well taken, Egil. The dance we see today is similar to the one we see on our recording, I agree that this is not just a concept of the Norwegian Springdance, but almost the whole basic structure of elements. Notice also how actively the dancers use their arms in the Springdance; I think this is another trait of what Angiolini, in his *Dissertation sur les ballets pantomimes des anciens* (1765), points out as being typical of the »demi-charactère« style, and that

> demands of its performers correctness, lightness, equilibrium, smoothness and grace. It is here that the arms (if I may be permitted this expression) make their first appearance in dance and are to be supple and graceful; in the previous two styles [the grotesque and the comic], they count for nothing, serving merely to allow the dancer to soar with greater ease.[42]

Gender issues

EGIL

Galeotti's *Amor* is largely a series of couple dances. The ballet can also be seen in the light of gender issues and in how the relationship between man and woman is constructed.

ANNE

Earlier examples of the use of national themes, for instance in *Les Indes Galantes*, show more differences between the roles of the dancers. Joellen A. Meglin discusses the role of women in this piece and claims that the stuff (representations)

> of gender relations was used to narrate encounters between diverse peoples and the stuff of national character was used to narrate gender relations.[43]

Would you say that men and women are portrayed as equals, rather than as two adversaries struggling for power in the Springdance? This would be in accordance with what Susan Foster writes about duets around 1750 and after, that is to say, that they revealed equality between the sexes.[44]

EGIL

I would say that in the Springdance the man and woman have quite different, yet complementary roles, and that the man clearly has the leading part, performing the most demanding elements. The woman still has some freedom in composing her dance. This could be read in different ways in terms of gender relations, as a division of labor or as the woman being subordinate. In the traditional Springdance, a woman mostly uses very simple running steps and rarely the more complex steps of the man. She mostly follows the same step patterns as the man, and even executes his deep knee bend. This fits well to Foster's ideas about 18th-century duets.

ANNE

Our project is a work-in-progress. There are a number of questions still open. We would like to pursue the performance history of *Amor* – and particularly of the Springdance – in more detail. We would also like to draw upon the knowledge passed on to dancers of the Royal ballet in order to analyze, for example, the learning processes and the oral and bodily knowledge that was passed on.

EGIL

We do think, however, that there is a clear need to see the whole dance culture of the past as a continuum rather as isolated worlds. Comparisons help us to achieve this kind of broad view and make us realize that even the agents of the past moved between genres and social classes, probably far more than we imagine today.

Notes

1 The term »national dance« is used here for dances distinctive to a nation, mostly used in reference to dances belonging to the lower classes, later on called folk dances.

2 Both the Swedish and Danish companies were based on the French model; the first attempts in Sweden took place during the reign of Queen Christina in the early 17th century; further development, with the Frenchman Lois Gallodier, during the reign of Gustav III. Similarly, the French style and manners were imported to Copenhagen. In 1596 the Danish king Christian IV celebrated his coronation with a lavish spectacle of music and dance, thereby setting the tone for subsequent court entertainments. At first, courtiers danced in the spectacles, then, from the mid-16th century, professional dancers began to take over. In 1771 a ballet school was founded in Copenhagen. The small company was mostly made up of foreign ballets masters and soloists, with a »Danish« »corps de ballet«. Until Galeotti became ballet master in 1775, various dancers and dancing masters, mostly of Italian or French descent, had directed the ballet. See HAMMERGREN ET AL.: *Teater i Sverige*, ROEMPKE: *Vristens makt*; and ASCHENGREEN: *Mester*.

3 For more information on the traveling dancing masters in Norway, see HIRN: *Martin Nürenbach*; and JENSSON: *Teater i Drammen inntil 1840*.

4 URUP: *Dans i Danmark*, pp. 116—131.

5 BAKKA: *Norske dansetradisjonar*, pp. 25—27.

6 Vincenzo Galeotti (1733—1816) played a crucial role in the establishment of the Danish royal opera. Italian by birth, he was originally named Vincenzo Tomasselli. According to BOURNONVILLE: *Mit teaterliv*, p. 27, Galeotti initially studied medicine, but gave this up to study dance and music with Gasparo Angiolini, and possibly also with Noverre. Before coming to Copenhagen, he had been active in Venice and London. After having worked as a ballet master at various theaters in Venice, he went to the Italian opera company at the Kings Theater on London's Haymarket and was appointed ballet master there in 1767. Galeotti came to Copenhagen in 1774, performing both as a solo dancer and together with Signora Guidi, whom he later married. In 1775 Galeotti was hired to work with the Royal Danish Opera as ballet master, a position he held until his death in 1816. During the more than forty years he led the ballet, he is accredited with creating the foundation for the Danish Royal Ballet, the company with what many consider the world's longest unbroken ballet tradition. The Danish ballet flourished under Galeotti, who stood in the tradition of Angiolini and Noverre, the advocates of ballet action: Galeotti thus integrated in ballet the latest trends, which called for more than technical display and a dramatic unity. He was supposedly especially skilled at choreographing for the figuranti, but also developed Danish soloists, improved the »corps de ballet«, and created a repertoire of over 50 ballets.

7 »Madame« Biörn, because she was allowed to use music not composed by Lolle. Marie Christine Björn (1763—1837) employed the music she used at her debut in 1781: a solo in the noble style. In the following 20 years, she was a leading pantomimic dancer at the Royal Theater. In *Amor* she most probably performed the French dance, which in 1786 was a solo and not a duet (Lund 1966, pp. 83—85). One can assume that as a highly esteemed dancer, she was allowed to choose her own music for her solo, which was then inserted into the ballet.

8 LOLLE: *Amors og Ballettmesterens Luner*.

9 See, for instance, JÜRGENSEN: *The Bournonville ballets*; and JÜRGENSEN: *The Bournonville heritage*.

10 JÜRGENSEN: *Den norske Springdans i Danmark*.

11 See, for example, MARTIN: *Die Branles von Arbeau*.

12 *Dancing from past to present* [BUCKLAND].

13 MUNSLOW: *Deconstructing History*.

14 Copenhagen: The Royal Library, Sign. »Det Kongelige Teater« nr. 0226.

15 Ibid., Sign. MA ms 2951-52.

16 Some of the changes include the addition of the Greek Dance (Adagio) and the French Dance (Gigue) shortly after the premiere in 1786. The score used today was copied with some revisions during the early part of the 1880s by the professional scribe Fredrik Rung. Rung proudly stated on the last page of the score that he had improved the instrumentation in December 1884: »Instrumentationen forbedret af Fredrik Rung Decbr. 1884« (Lund 1966, p. 84).

17 We know very little about Lolle. He was never regarded as a great composer, and had it not been for the fame of *Amor*, he probably would have fallen into total oblivion. His date of birth is known, but not that of his death (most likely 1789, when he vanished from all records of the Royal Theater). We know that he was engaged, but not if he actually got married. He probably composed the music for more ballets than just the few that have survived, and he likely would have composed more of the small »entrées« so typical for this period. One short »entrée« composed by Lolle in 1780 is known because parts of the score have survived. In accordance with the tradition of the time, this »entrée« was inserted after the »Syngespill« (Singspiel) *Fiskerne* (The Fishermen). In addition, Lolle was the creator of two one-act ballets that were premiered in 1784: *Angelica og Medoro* and *Den straffede Vandkundighed eller Kunstnerens Sejr*. These ballets were performed at various intervals until 1787, but then fell into oblivion (Lund 1966, pp. 83, 86, and 88).

18 In 1768, both Jens Lolle and his father received positions in one of the two orchestras of the »Komediehuset« (the Comedy House was later renamed the Royal Theater). Lolle worked for the theater orchestra (Teaterorkesteret) as a second violinist. »Det kfl Kapel« (The Royal Chapel) was a better orchestra; Lolle sometimes played there as a substitute. The Danish musicologist Sven Lund has opined that Lolle was most likely not a brilliant musician, but more skillful as »répétiteur« for the ballet. When the old ballet repetiteur Klopfer retired in 1776, the composer Claus Schall was appointed first, and Lolle second repetiteur. However, since Schall was a also dancer and still wanted to perform now and then, Lolle stepped in as conductor of the orchestra. In 1786 Schall was removed against his will from his position as repetiteur and assigned to the Royal Chapel; Lolle assumed Schall's position as first repetiteur.

19 See, for example, HAMMER: *Sogne-Beskrivels*, p. 257.

20 See, for example, MOE: *Besøg i et bondebryllup*; and Niels Hertsberg's painting from the 1820s (*Norden in Dans* [BAKKA], p. 52).

21 GALEOTTI: *Amors og Ballettmesterens Luner*, front page: »At frembringe en munter Ballet var min Hensigt og mig anbefalet.«

22 Ibid. Translation by Fiskvik.

23 Ibid.

24 BOURNONVILLE: *Mit teaterliv: erindringer og*, p. 28. In Sweden, too, pantomime ballets became very popular around the 1780s. Two examples are Antoine Bournonville's *Les Menuiers Provenceaux* from 1785 and *Tilfellet gjør tjuven*, a comedy-ballet by Gallodier, first performed in 1783 with members of the nobility, and later as a pure theater piece on the opera stage in 1785. HAMMERGREN ET AL.: *Teater i Sverige*, p. 38.

25 Lena Hammergren claims that it was during King Gustav III's reign that the participatory court culture had been supplanted by a focus on the audience (»deltagandekulturen for alvar bytas ut mot ett focus på åskådaren«). Ibid., p. 34.

26 Ibid., p. 36. Translation by Egil Bakka.

27 MEGLIN: *Galanterie and gloire*, p. 228.

28 Noverre 1803/1966, p. 153. Translation by Beaumont.

29 Ibid., pp. 153f.

30 HAMMERGREN ET AL.: *Teater i Sverige*, p. 36. Translation by Egil Bakka. It is worth noting that we also find depictions of the dances of the people in Swedish ballet. In the comedy-ballet *Birger Jarl och Mechtild* from 1774, the dancing master Louis Gallodier composed two dances for lapper (sami-people). See ibid., pp. 35f.

31 TERSMEDEN: *Admiral Carl Tersmedens memoarer*.

32 See, for example, ØSTGAARD: *En Fjeldbygd*; and SØEGAARD: *I Fjeldbygderne*.

33 BULL: *Minder fra Bergens første Nationale scene*.

34 See Lund 1966, pp. 83f.; and ASCHENGREEN: *Mester*.

35 JÜRGENSEN: *Den norske Springdans i Danmark*, p. 12.

36 Ibid., pp. 11f.

37 According to August Bournonville, *Amor* was based on or inspired by an earlier work, a divertissement of national dances choreographed by one of Galeotti's predecessors, Jean-Baptiste Martin. This work was staged for the first time in 1768 and also had a Norwegian »Springedans«. See JÜRGENSEN: *Den norske Springdans i Danmark*, p. 11.

38 Lund 1966, p. 84.

39 See, for example, in *Jössehäredspolska* and *Daldans* (*Norden in Dans* [BAKKA], p. 210).

40 A term used by 19th-century dancing masters to indicate a genre of fashionable couple dances, among others waltz, polka etc.

41 GALLINI: *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, p. 77.

42 Translated by, and quoted from FAIRFAX: *The styles of eighteenth-century ballet*, p. 105.

43 MEGLIN: *Galanterie and gloire*, p. 228.

44 See FOSTER *Choreography and Narrative*.