

Dance in Copenhagen, c. 1750-1840

By Henning Urup

The subject of this article is dance forms in Denmark, and especially in Copenhagen, in the period c. 1750-1840. The account is based on the preserved source material, and this involves an important methodological problem. Dance is a transitory phenomenon in the form of motion in the present. The written sources are descriptions of something seen and experienced, or instructions on how the dance/music is to be executed.

It has always been difficult to write dances down, and for that reason many dances have never been recorded on paper. In the European musical tradition, the notation of music plays a central role, and the concept of the work is often tied to the notation. By analogy with this, incomplete or inadequate dance notation poses a problem. Musical notation gives us information about pitch and durations as well as dynamics and phrasing. The notation of dance requires similar information, but also indications of body movements, orientations of arms and legs and progressions of movement through space. Dance notation therefore becomes complicated, and the various systems of notation are usually associated with specific dance forms and styles where, because of certain shared assumptions, one does not need to write down too much. Elements that are self-evident in the tradition in question are usually omitted. Many important details have thus never been written down, and this poses an important problem for later researchers.

The relationship of the author to dance and music is of great importance in interpreting the source material. Was this person a practicing performer or a describing spectator? What was the purpose of the material, and who were the target group?

Printed dance books may be small publications intended for former pupils, or more comprehensive works aimed at the general public. Manuscript dance books were often meant for private use, as an *aide-memoire*.

The impression one gets of a dance from simply reading about it on paper is often different from what results from an attempt to reconstruct it in practice - with all the elements of uncertainty that emerge with the addition of the details (typically steps) which are not evident from the source, but which are necessary if the dance is to work. The same description can lead to different results, but the experiments will usually result in a considerably subtler understanding of the dance - not least of its nature and movement. *Dansk Dansehistorisk Arkiv* (Danish Archives of the History of the Dance), has worked regularly on the reconstruction of historical dances in the context of study groups since 1980, and the experience gained there forms an important part of the basis of judgements in the article.¹

The basis of the article is Danish descriptions of the dance, with related music of the age, and announcements in the Copenhagen newspaper *Adresseavisen*.²

The dance in Copenhagen was greatly influenced by the pace-setting dancers of the theatre, who inspired the court and the upper classes. The court dancing-masters were dancers at the theatre, and the dance music was to a great extent composed by the musicians of the Royal Theatre who, besides their posts as "court violinists" (i.e. members of the Royal Orchestra, working for the Royal Theatre) were also directly employed by the court. The dance ideals of the upper classes were apparently the dances of the court, and the dancers and figurants of the theatre offered their services as dancing-masters. In view of this it is reasonable to suppose that the dancing style in Copenhagen was more influenced by the theatre dancing than was the case in other parts of the country.

The remainder of the article is arranged in two main sections. The first section describes the dance and the source material, mainly in chronological order. The last section, based on the information in the first, traces the individual dance forms separately through the period c. 1750-1840.

Sources for the dance in Copenhagen - dance books

The first known printed book with descriptions of the dance and the related music in the Copenhagen dance milieu is the court violinist H.H. Jacobsen's comprehensive edition of English dances from 1780. There were however printed editions of dance music from Copenhagen before this time. We can mention the German-born Carl August Thielo's edition of *Musikaliske Galanterie Stycker*, Copenhagen 1753, and a few collections "of those odes which have been performed at *Den danske Skueplads* [i.e. the Royal Theatre] in Copenhagen", the first of which appeared in 1751. The content is piano pieces, arias and duets and dances like minuets, anglaises and contredanses.³

In Thielo's work of music theory *Tanker og Regler fra Grunden af om Musiken*, Copenhagen 1746, the dance is only mentioned briefly a few times. In a passage headed "Om Musikens Foragt" (On Contempt for Music), he writes lamentingly that:

One finds even more of those people who know no better than to say that the best quality of music is dance music, and in their ears English, Dutch sailors' and Polish or Swiss pieces are the most beautiful.¹

However, we know of two manuscript dance books - both with music and descriptions of the dance - which must be considered representative of the dance in Copenhagen in the latter half of the eighteenth century. One is in the Trondheim University Library, with *B's DanseBog No. 3 Kjøbenhavn 1753* written on the binding. The other, presumably from a slightly later date, is in the theatre museum *Teatermuseet* in Copenhagen. The books share much of the same repertoire, and in addition many of the tunes can be found in contemporary manuscript books of violin music such as the Bast Brothers' music book (c. 1763) and Svabo's music book (c. 1770).

The descriptions in both dance books are in Danish. The titles of the dances are both Danish and French and many are English. Examples of titles that recur in both dance books are *Masqueraden*, *The Drommer*, *Give Me Love and Ljåbertj*, *La Chainé a Six* and *La Jolie*. The content is mainly the usual anglaises, English dances with dancers in two rows - a ladies' row and a gentlemen's row facing each other. In the book from 1753, though, there are also some contredanses in the French style for four couples in quadrille formation.³

The author Ludvig Holberg mentions dancing several times in his comedies and poetic epistles. In Epistle 453 (published in 1754), for example, which is about the difference between strict and free style in general, he says of contemporary dancing that complex dances like the *rigaudon* and *Folie d'Espagne* have gone out of fashion, and "in these times the taste is all for minuets, English and Polish dances, inasmuch as these are done with greater comfort". The statement probably mainly indicates that simpler dance forms with less demands on dancing technique have ousted the more demanding steps of the French dance types described in French, English and German dance books of the first half of the eighteenth century.⁶

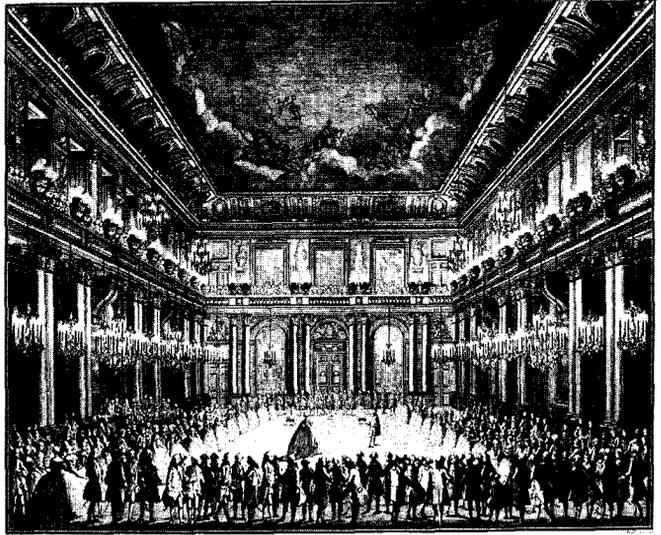
Holberg was probably thinking primarily of the social dances, but by this time there were undoubtedly many similarities and links between the dancing at the theatre and the court and among the Copenhagen upper classes. Holberg's statements accord very well with the dance tune repertoire in the preserved music

books, whose content is dominated by marches, minuets, ballad tunes, dances with specific titles, and a few entitled “Polish Dance”.

The minuet was the most prestigious dance of the age; it is a couple dance with a fixed structure, but the dancers, according to taste and ability, can interpolate more virtuosic steps. There are innumerable minuet tunes in the music books, but we know of no Danish descriptions of minuets from the eighteenth century. We must suppose that the dance is the same as the one described in the more detailed French, English and German dance manuals.

We do not know much about what the term “Polish dance” actually covers, but it is reasonable to assume that it is a more popular type of couple dance corresponding

to the couple dances described elsewhere in Europe. The most detailed Danish description is undoubtedly the one in the undated manuscript of a wedding speech which must be assumed to be from the mid-eighteenth century. It compares the life of man to a Polish dance, and we are told that fine folk have their children taught anglaises, while others are content with a Polish dance, which first consists of “simple time”, then the “leaping dance” and finally “the makeweight, in German called *Käs und Brodt*, which in Danish is *Ost og Brød* - cheese and bread”.⁷



It is probably the minuet that the Royal couple are dancing in the picture, which shows the celebrations in the Christiansborg banqueting hall of Christian VII's marriage to the English princess Caroline Mathilde on 8th November 1766. Engraving by Bradt after a drawing by Jardin. Den kongelige Kobberstiksamling / Royal Print Collection, Copenhagen.

The court and the theatre

At the Court Theatre in the palace of Christiansborg, which opened in 1767, and at *Den danske Skueplads*, now the Royal Theatre on Kongens Nytorv, operas and plays were performed with related *entrées* with dancing. On 1st October 1770 it was announced in *Adresseavisen* that *Den danske Skueplads*, as usual, would “in the

coming winter perform comedies, tragedies and postludes” including Sarti’s opera “Soliman den Anden [Suleiman the Second]...with related divertissements consisting of dancing”.

In 1771 a dancing school was established for the dancers of the Court Theatre on the basis of a proposal from the French dancer Pierre Laurent, who had come to Copenhagen in 1752 and joined King Frederik V’s French court troupe. He was also engaged as the court dancing-master and dancing-master to the Royal family and thus to the Crown Prince, the later Christian VII, and in this capacity he had a great influence on the court dance in Copenhagen.

The ballets at the theatre were usually composed by Italian balletmasters - for example *Skibbruddet* (The Shipwreck) (1769) by Gambuzzi, or *Bønderne som gaa paa Jagt* (Peasants Who Go Hunting) by Martini, performed with Holberg’s comedy *Julestuen* in 1771. But there were also Danes who composed ballets. In January 1771 Molière’s *Don Juan* was performed with *entrées* composed by the figurant Rasmus Soelberg. The dancer Barch, who was an assistant teacher at Laurent’s dancing school, also composed *entrées*.⁹

But announcements in *Adresseavisen* also tell us about fancy-dress balls and *ridotti* at the theatre. It is announced for example that on the Tuesdays 22nd January, 5th March and 12th March 1771 at the Danish “comedy house” there will be a “*ridotto* or masquerade, to begin at 10 o’clock in the evening and end at 4 o’clock in the morning”. On 21st March the same year, at the Court Theatre, there was a “Bal Masque paré en Domino” for persons of “all nine ranks”.⁹

In 1775 a new balletmaster was engaged by the Royal Theatre, the Italian Vincenzo Tommasselli, called Galeotti; and he is generally considered the founder of the Danish ballet traditions later developed and renewed by August Bournonville. The very same year he managed to stage his ballet *Kongen paa Jagt* (The King Hunting) and “a new merry ballet called The Peasants and the Country House Gentlemen”, but Galeotti was not the only one creating ballets. In March 1775 *Adresseavisen* announced “a gardeners’ ballet, called “The Girl Who Steals Apples”, danced by the young Mr. Laurent and Miss Dallas, and composed by the court dancing-master Mr. Laurent”. The young Laurent was the court dancing-master Pierre Laurent’s son, Pierre Jean Laurent, who was born in Copenhagen in 1758 and made a name early as “Le petit Laurent”. In 1777 he went to Paris to train further with the famous Noverre and was engaged by the Paris Opera.¹⁰

At the end of January 1776 we hear of a banquet and ball in the royal banquetting hall Riddersalen on the occasion of the King’s birthday. The next day the Royal Theatre staged the comedy *Væddemålet* (The Wager) by Sedaine, the Singspiel *Belsor i Hytten* (Belsor in the Cottage) by “M.” (Ove Malling) with music

by Zielcke, and between these pieces the new ballet *Zigenernes Løyer* (The Gypsy Camp) by the balletmaster Galeotti. On the third day the Court Theatre staged an Italian musical drama with “related *entrée*, representing a masquerade”, composed by “the balletmaster Bark”. Admission to all the pieces was free.¹¹

The period’s most important Danish supplier of ballet music was Claus Nielsen Schall, who was born in Copenhagen in 1757, the son of a poor shoemaker and dancing-master. He played violin at an early age at his father’s dancing classes, and in 1772 he was admitted as a pupil to the dancing school of the Royal Theatre. He quickly progressed to performing as a figurant at the theatre, and as a soloist in the ballets of the balletmaster Barch. In 1780, at the request of Galeotti, Claus Schall wrote music for the ballet *Kierlighed og Mistankens Magt* (Love and the Power of Suspicion) - music that aroused attention thanks to “the expressiveness and vitality” that made it stand out from much of the earlier ballet music. In 1782, at the recommendation of the *kapelmester* J.A.P. Schulz, he was appointed concert-master.¹²

Minuets and anglaises were the main elements of the social dance, and these were found at the theatre too. Stage managers’ records begun at the Royal Theatre in 1777 say, of the intermezzo for Holberg’s comedy *Mascarade*, that when the curtain rose “one saw masques in full anglaise style, then minuets, then a contredanse and finally a so-called *Kehraus*” and the same records say that in the intermezzo of Holberg’s *Kilderejsen* minuets and anglaises were always danced.¹³

The dance acts at the theatre are also illustrated in the naval officer Peter Schiønning’s diary notes for 21st February 1780, where he writes that he was at the comedy and saw the Singspiel *Fiskerne* (The Fishermen) by Johannes Ewald, and a ballet in which he recognized “our old dances”. The music for the dancing that concluded *Fiskerne* has been preserved among orchestral music from the Royal Theatre, and consists of fifteen short dance pieces. In the music the musicians have written the names of both the dances and the performing dancers, and several of these dances can be found in manuscript music books from the period.¹⁴

Printed editions of the Anglaises

The oboist and court violinist H.H. Jacobsen was an important supplier of dance music to the court, and in 1771 he was appointed “Royal Inspector of Court Dance Music”.¹⁵

Jacobsen appears to have been the first in Denmark to publish a printed dance book with music and related descriptions of the dances - the comprehensive

Samling af de nyeste engelske Dandse med Tourer af Hr. Pierre Laurent (Collection of the Newest English dances with Figures by Mr. Pierre Laurent) in three volumes - each consisting of a music volume and a volume of dance descriptions - printed by Gyldendal in Copenhagen in 1780-81. The collection contains a total of 173 dances, where the music is printed with a violin part above a bass part in piano notation; and the court dancing-master Pierre Laurent's descriptions of figures are printed in parallel French and Danish versions on the openings of the book.¹⁶

It appears from a review of 1782 that it has long been common to use the court dances at social gatherings, but that they have been hard to obtain, since transcriptions have to go from hand to hand. To meet the needs of the public, in 1780 the bookseller Gyldendal was the first to publish a good, reliable dance book. The reviewer further writes that the contents of the first volume in particular are a number of good dances already known which are thus saved from oblivion.¹⁷



Dancing in Copenhagen at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This looks in general like an anglaise, and may be the characteristic figure of the écossaise, where the dancing couple chassé down and up between the rows. Water colour by Johs. Senn, Copenhagen 1807. Den kongelige Kobberstiksamling / Royal Print Collection, Copenhagen.

The theatre music is clearly reflected in the dances, and among the composer attributions in the music booklets, Jacobsen himself is responsible for about one fourth. Some tunes are said to come from a ballet, and among the composers' names we find Sarti, Zielcke and Schall. The music is mainly in duple time - 2/4, sometimes 4/4 - but a few numbers are in 6/8 time. The tunes have between two and four reprises, most of which are in major keys, but sometimes the last reprise is in a minor key.

In the piano notation, where the right hand is decidedly a violin part, there are often indications of instruments such as "Clarinetto solo, Corno solo".¹⁸

All the dances have French titles like *L'heureux jour*, *La charmante Elisabeth* or *Le Coucou* (where the call of the cuckoo is imitated in the music). The title of the last

dance in Volume III is very appropriate: *Adieux pour Long-tems*. Choreographically, the contents are mainly anglaises with ladies and gentlemen facing each other in two rows. In Volume II all 80 are anglaises. In Volumes II and III, numbered together continuously from 1 to 93, there are a total of 16 contredanses of the French type with four couples in squares.

Jacobsen announced in *Adresseavisen* in December 1783 that in future he would publish the newest dances monthly.¹⁹ From this time on there were also anglaises tunes in 3/8 time, and the figure “tour de wals” (to music both in 2/4 and 3/8) often occurs in Jacobsen’s anglaises from 1783 on.

In 1792 Jacobsen was appointed *stadsmusikant* or city musician in Copenhagen, but announced that he would continue to compose dances for the court for the usual fee of 4 Marks for each anglaise, contredanse and minuet he wrote in the court dance books. He carried on publishing dances until his death in 1795.²⁰

Jacobsen’s successor at the court was the violinist Niels Møller; he held the post for almost 50 years and also began to compose dances. The director of the orchestra, the chamberlain Gjedde, drew up instructions for him, according to which he was to procure the necessary people for balls from the *stadsmusikant*, to supplement the court musicians, who formed the core. It was impressed on Møller that for the *Bal paré* he should always ensure that there were beautiful minuets with trumpet and timpani, and that after the departure of the Royals he should have the drums struck alone to announce that the ball was over.²¹

Jacobsen’s printed edition was apparently the cue for numerous editions of new dances in subsequent years. An overview of the innumerable Copenhagen dance publications in the period from 1780 to 1802 has been drawn up by Dan Fog in the book *Musikhandel og Nodetryk i Danmark*.²²

Particularly many dance books appeared in the first few months of the year and at the beginning of the autumn season, frequently in collections of twelve dances, where the music was in part-books and the dance descriptions or “tours” were in a separate booklet, all in the same format. The music is usually scored for a string trio (two violins and a bass) supplemented with wind instruments (two flutes or oboes or clarinets and two French horns). The usual anglaises predominated in the content; but a booklet with twelve anglaises would often also have a contredanse.

The balletmaster Galeotti’s house composer Claus Schall, too, featured among the frequent publishers of anglaises. In November 1783 the music publisher Søren Sønnichsen announced that “Mr. Schall, court violinist and rehearser at the ballets, intends to publish twelve new anglaises for two violins, two oboes or flutes, two French horns and bass, of his own composition”.²³

It was particularly anglaises that were printed, but minuets, too, were published. The music publisher Søren Sønnichsen announced in October 1784 that he intended to publish twelve minuets by the violinist Peder Lem, the first six to dance to and the remaining six as amusement in convivial company.²⁴

The dances were published at this time both in part-books and in piano arrangements.²⁵

That the theatre music was reflected in the social dances is clearly illustrated by an advertisement in *Adresseavisen* in 1788, where Jacobsen said that he could provide sixteen new anglaises and also a grand contredanse, some of which was from the ballet *Kiedelflikkeren* (The Tinker).²⁶

Among other active suppliers of dance music to the Copenhagen public we can mention the double-bassist J.W. Haskerl, who came to Copenhagen in 1792 from Erfurt and in 1795 was engaged by the Royal Orchestra. His publications included a collection from New Year 1793 “consisting of five anglaises and one minuet, arranged for two violins, two flutes, two clarinets, two French horns and bass, as well as trumpets and drums for the minuet, with figures by Mr. Ebbesen”. Mr. Ebbesen was the ballet dancer Adam Ebbesen.²⁷

Antoine Bournonville, French contredanses and waltzes

In the spring of 1792 the French dancer and pupil of Noverre, Antoine Bournonville, who was employed in Stockholm, was granted leave for a tour where he stopped over in Copenhagen and performed there to great applause. He was given a provisional engagement at the theatre in Copenhagen, and in a series of diary entries from March until October 1792 he gives an account of his life in Copenhagen.

He describes his experiences at the theatre and in society, where he associates with the balletmaster Galeotti, the composer Claus Schall and the dancer Carl Dahlén (formerly his colleague in Stockholm), and not least the dancer Mariane Jensen, whom he married in December that year. He writes of his debut on 17th April, when he very successfully danced *la danse sérieuse* with Mme Bjørn and *le demi caractère* with Mlle Jensen.

He also writes that in July he dined at Count Breuner's, and that there was dancing there. He notes with pleasure that both the family and the Heir Presumptive to the throne and his consort took a lively part in the dancing. The Princess danced with the Count and the Prince with the Countess in the servants' quadrille. He was asked to dance solo, and he also danced the minuet with the ladies.²⁸

It does not appear to have been contredanses in the French style that dominated the ball repertoire in Copenhagen, and in the published dance books they make up a decided minority. This is illustrated by the reports of a Copenhagen ball arranged in January 1794 by the *commissaires* of the French Republic in Copenhagen to celebrate the reconquest of Toulon from the English (19th December 1793), where the contredanses were to be danced out of deference to the French.

The French ball is mentioned in the memoirs of the youth of Mrs Sophie Dorothea Thalbitzer (*née* Zinn).²⁹ She writes that Antoine Bournonville was specially invited to teach the participants French contredanses. With great difficulty they were able to learn two and decided to be content with them, and otherwise to dance anglaises. August Bournonville, too, describes the French ball in his biographical sketch of his father, where he writes that “the quadrilles followed one another in lively succession”, and when the orchestra struck up *Ça ira, Ça ira*, Bournonville was asked to perform a cotillon. As a brand new feature they improvised a figure with a *passage* under lifted arms.³⁰

The same year Antoine Bournonville was permanently engaged by the Royal Theatre, where he quickly settled into the repertoire and made a brilliant impression with his technical skill, and not least with small *entrées*. The music for one of these *entrées* - a “Fisherman’s *entrée*” performed three times in 1794-95 - is preserved in the Royal Library in its collection of early orchestral material from the Royal Theatre, and consists of a short introductory *Sinfonie* followed by seven dances, some of which are also found in Joseph Martin Kraus’s music for Antoine Bournonville’s ballet *Fiskerne* (The Fishermen), performed in Stockholm in 1789.³¹

The waltz appears to have been introduced in Copenhagen in the mid-1790s. Sophie Dorothea Thalbitzer’s memoirs give an account of a ball at *Kronprinsens Klub* at the beginning of the winter, and this must be in 1794-95, in the same season as the French ball. She writes that immediately on her arrival she was engaged by partners for all the dances up to the supper, and

...when Garonne came to ask for a dance, I only had the first dance after supper free. He asked me for this, and to be his dinner partner, and I promised him this.... The *tour* to the supper dance ended with a *Wals*....Garonne...had learned to *walse* in Germany and did so extremely well....We soared so lightly over the floor.

From this account we get the clear impression that the waltz was not a dance mastered by everyone, and that being able to waltz gave a partner a special advantage in the eyes of a lady.³²

The beginning of the nineteenth century

In 1777 Pierre Jean Laurent had gone to Paris to train with Jean Georges Noverre. He was engaged by the Paris Opera, where he made his debut in a “Lappish pas de deux”. His field was the comic role, and he had a great name for his agility in leaping. In 1786 he became a member of the *Académie royale de danse* founded by Louis XIV, and after marrying in Paris he was appointed balletmaster in Marseilles.

At New Year 1800 he came back to Copenhagen and took over his father’s former post as court dancing-master. He quickly tried to profile himself with editions of dances and as a ballet composer. As early as April 1800 he premiered his ballet *Rosentraet eller Hymens og Amors Forlig* (The Rose Tree, or The Conciliation of Cupid and Hymen), for which he had himself written the music; and August Bournonville writes in his biographical sketch of Laurent that the ballet was so successful that the balletmaster Galeotti, who was in company the evening the news reached him, fainted away. But the ballet was only performed a total of six times.³³

Laurent also composed ball dances for the Copenhagen upper classes. In October 1800 he invited subscriptions in *Adresseavisen* for six new anglaises with music in parts and “with related figures expressed by choreographic symbols” and “six new waltzes, composed for fortepiano and harp, with obbligato violin part”. In September the next year he advertised “six new anglaises in the Scottish taste with related figures and arranged for two violins, two flutes or clarinets, two French horns and bass”.³⁴

The ball dances were also published by Sønnichsen, who in 1804 advertised the first volume of the *musikus* J.L. Löffler’s new collection of 40 dances - Scottish, English and waltzes for two violins, two flutes or clarinets, French horn and bass with a piccolo part for most of them. For a surcharge the subscribers could receive the court dancing-master Laurent’s figures on a weekly basis.³⁵

Descriptions of dances

The announcements in *Adresseavisen* give only the names of the dances that were fashionable in the period; they say nothing about the execution or character of the dances. For this the only sources are the preserved dance descriptions and music material.

In 1801 a book was published in Copenhagen, entitled *Begyndelsesgrunde i Dandsekunsten* (Basics of the Art of Dancing), written by “J.F. Martinet, Dancing-Master in Lausanne” and translated by the medical student C.H. Lund. The intro-

duction emphasizes the value and usefulness of dancing in the upbringing of young people, then there are detailed descriptions of the “five natural positions”, “Bending (*Plié*), Stretching (*Tendu*)” and “various types of bows and curtseys”. A number of dance steps are mentioned or briefly described, and the section on the minuet says that it is hardly ever used any more in ball dancing; but since it is important in the art of dancing, the author urges the readers not to neglect this dance. The end of the book has an account of the “springing steps” (*pas sautés*) used in French contredanses.³⁶

Of the many volumes of music in part-books and dance descriptions that continued to be advertised in the period after 1800, not much seems to have been preserved. The only one known is a collection of six *écossaises* or Scottish dances (i.e. anglaises in the Scottish style) with music by Møller and *tours* by Laurent, published in Copenhagen in 1816 with the title *Lommebog for Dandseyndere, 2. Hefte* (Pocket-Book for Lovers of the Dance, 2nd Issue).³⁷

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "TOURER". The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes parts for Flauto octavo, Clarinetto I (A II), Corno I (D II), Violino I, Violino II, and Basso. The Flauto octavo part has a "Gt" marking. The Corno I part has a "dolce" marking. The second system continues the music for the same instruments. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4.

Music and dance description for *écossaise* No. 1 in the collection VI Nye Skotske Dandse with music by Niels Møller and dance descriptions by Pierre Jean Laurent, published in Copenhagen in 1816 by C.C. Lose with the title *Lommebog for Dandseyndere*. The music is in part-books and the dance descriptions are in a separate booklet. Kulturhistorisk Museum, Randers.

TOURER

Nº 1.

1, Første C. med anden D: bag om
Første D. ogsaa 1 T. Rundt.



2, Første C. med første D: bag om.
3. = D: og en Tour Rundt.



3, Første C. mellem anden og første
D. første op.



4, De samme først ned, igjen...



Music from the period without dance descriptions is however preserved to a great extent, especially in the form of collections of dances for piano. Examples that can be mentioned are Löffler's *36 nyere originale Dandse og Walzer indrettede for Klaveret* (36 recent original dances and waltzes arranged for the piano) (1805?) and *24 nye Dandse, saavel skotske og engelske, som Walzer* (24 new dances, Scottish and English as well as waltzes) (1808?). Both collections mainly contain short dances (mostly in 2/4, a few in 3/8) with two reprises of eight bars, both repeated, and waltzes (in both 3/4 and 3/8). Dance music is also amply represented in the series publications which with titles like *Apollo* or *Nordens Apollo* (The Apollo of the North), were published by the publishers Sønnichsen and Lose and by individuals like Claus Schall.³⁸

Nordic themes

In 1801 the Royal Theatre had considerable success with Galeotti's ballet *Lagertha* - described in the programme as "a pantomimic tragedy mixed with singing". The work was based on a dramatic text by the poet C.H. Pram, who in a free adaptation of the saga of Regnar Lodbrog from Saxo Grammaticus, tried to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk* with spoken dialogue, singing, mime and dance. In the ballet, however, the spoken dialogue was omitted. *Lagertha* was based on alternating mimed action and grand dancing scenes, and remained in the programme of the Royal Theatre until 1821.³⁹

Pierre Jean Laurent, too, wanted to try his hand with a Nordic theme, and in January 1802 he premiered his ballet *Sigrid eller Kjærlighed og Tapperheds Belønning* (Sigrid or Love and the Reward of Courage) to music by Claus Schall with a plot based on the chamberlain and historian Suhm's tale of the same name about Sigrid, the daughter of the King of Lejre, and the young hero Othar, who kills a giant who has been harrying the country and who has tried to abduct Sigrid. At the end of the ballet the young couple are united and a festal dance includes (as in Galeotti and Schall's ballet *Lagertha* of the previous year) a *Tempo di Menuetto Gotique*, which is however musically more in the nature of a polonaise than a minuet, but is evidence of the minuet as the prestigious dance which starts the dancing on festive occasions. But *Sigrid* only managed a total of fourteen performances in 1802-11, and Laurent had no great success with his subsequent ballets, the last of which was *Høstdagen* (Harvest Day) (1812).

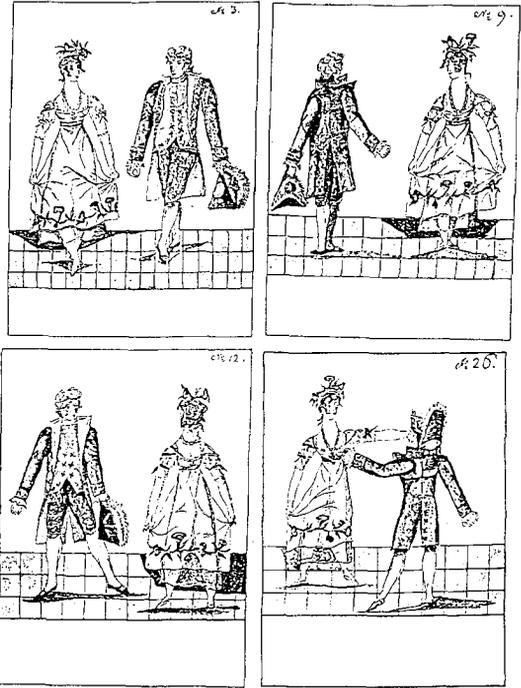
After this he concentrated on his post as court dancing-master and on teaching the dance. In a manuscript *Vejledning ved Undervisning i Menuetten* (Guide to

Instruction in the Minuet) he urges young Danish dance pupils to apply industry and labour to acquiring the skills necessary to the art, and adds that in the natural grace and enchanting gestures of the dancer Mme Schall they had a model to follow. The manuscript, which is from around 1816, has no real dance descriptions, but the last part consists of 31 coloured, numbered illustrations of the figures of the minuet and the pictures give us a complete choreographic account of the dance from beginning to end.¹⁰

Pierre Jean Laurent re-used some elements from his ballet *Sigrid* in his capacity as court dancing-master in the choreography for a court banquet at Amalienborg in 1803, preserved in the Queen's library *Dronningens Håndbibliotek*. The title page says *Plan des Marches, Danses, Polonoise et Danse Guerriere, Exécutées par toutes les Augustes Personne de la Famille Royale à la Fête donnée le Vingt huit Fevrier 1803*. The book is dedicated by Laurent to the Crown Prince (later Frederik VI).

The dances include an entry march with the musicians at the head, ending with all eight couples arranging themselves in two quadrilles of four couples each, one consisting primarily of princes and princesses, the second of the other courtiers. Then come three contredanses followed by a polonoise and four more contredanses. At the end comes a *Danse Guerre* concluding with a *Tableau Général* and accompanying *Fanfare*. All the contredanses are named after characters in the ballet *Sigrid* - for example *La Syvald*, *La Sigrid* - and the music is composed by Laurent himself, apart from two borrowings from Claus Schall's ballet music for *Sigrid* (the entry and the Polonoise: *Tempo di Menuetto Gotique*).¹¹

The whole choreography is specified in detail, with coloured diagrams showing the various figures of the dance with reference to the bars of the music, and with French step names, which is unusual in the age's descriptions of contredanses, where only the figures are normally given. The manuscript is thus a unique source



Four illustrations from Pierre Jean Laurent's unpublished *Vejledning med undervisning i Menuetten* (c. 1816), with 31 numbered, coloured pictures showing the figures of the minuet in sequence. Teatermuseet.

for the dancing at a court gathering around 1800. It is notable that the music is very remote stylistically from the Copenhagen dance music we know from people like Jacobsen and Schall. Pierre Jean Laurent may, as “a trained French dancing-master”, have deliberately dissociated himself from the usual dance music of the day and chosen a musical style with the character of the rather older French gavotte with its typical introductory double upbeat, during which the dancers pause.

Instruction in the dance

Dancing lessons were advertised very frequently in *Adresseavisen*. In October 1801 Stahl, a dancer at the Royal Theatre, announced that he instructed both children and adults in the minuet, anglaises, *menuet en pas grave*, French contredanses, waltzes with arm figures, Scottish dances - and in fencing.

In September 1804 he announced that besides his dancing institute for adults he would establish one for children where they could learn the latest good ball dances, which give grace to the body.

In December 1807 he writes that his dancing exercises are held with full music on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday, and in 1814 he emphasizes that “to enhance the dance as much as possible” he “always keeps seven musicians” for his dancing practice sessions.¹²

But Stahl was not the only one of the dancers at the Theatre who offered dancing lessons. The dancers Rose and Villeneuve (the latter advertising in French) had similar offers printed.¹³

In September 1804 Antoine Bournonville advertised in both Danish and French that by popular demand he was establishing a public dancing institute for young ladies of respectable families, and assured the public that he would obtain detailed information on the people who applied. The institute was to consist of sixteen young ladies who would be taught the art of the dance, posture and grace.¹⁴ Bournonville’s dance institute must have had some success. Claus Schall published his music in *Danseskolen for Bournonvilles Elever* (Dancing School for Bournonville’s Pupils) in the series *Nordens Apollo* in 1808-09.¹⁵

The Price family

However it was not only the dancing teachers and the “City Theatre” (i.e. the Royal Theatre and the Court Theatre) who presented dancing. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Price family established a theatre in the Vesterbro

area outside the west gate of Copenhagen. James Price advertised in *Adresseavisen* in April 1802 that, after travelling in Europe, he had settled down as a citizen of Copenhagen and built a comedy house in Vesterbro called *Det danske Sommer-Theater* (the Danish Summer Theatre), where new solo dances and mimes would be performed, and new optical-mechanical arts and fireworks would be presented. The programme included the new mime ballet *De hovmodie og bedragne Bønderpiger* (The Proud and Deceived Peasant Girls), and “Little Miss Price”, just two years old, would dance on the tightrope (this was James Price’s daughter Hanne Sophie, who had been born in Copenhagen).¹⁶

As early as the end of the 1790s the Price family had performed at Jægersborg Deer Park north of Copenhagen in competition with “the large Italian company” led by Pasqual Casorti. This company and Price were both permitted to play at the Court Theatre in 1801-02, and this was where the basis was developed for the tradition that still continues at the Tivoli Pantomime Theatre. The programme comprised both “pantomime” - i.e. mimed drama in the *commedia dell’arte* style - and dancing, including the Spanish fandango danced by Mme Angola Coco in the Spanish manner with castanets.

After Pasqual Casorti’s company left Copenhagen in 1802, his son Giuseppe Casorti remained and was engaged by James Price, and together they put on productions at the Court Theatre in 1802-1803 with both tightrope-walking and mimes.

After the death of James Price in 1805, Mme Hanne Price continued with the theatrical activities. In 1810 she married Franz Kuhn, and after this they jointly ran the summer theatre in Vesterbro. In May 1817 the company “H. Kuhn, formerly Price & Comp.” could open *Vesterbros Morskabsteater* (the Vesterbro Amusement Theatre) in a new building with the production *Harlekin Kukkenbager*. In 1819 Jean Pettoletti and his wife walked the tightrope - as a novelty - without a balancing rod on two parallel tightropes, and the dance numbers featured an *Allemande*, an *Adagio gratio* and an *Allegro Rondo*.¹⁷

New dances

In 1812 Sønnichsen published a collection of *31 Marcher og Dandse af forskellige yndede Componister* (31 Marches and Dances by various favourite composers) arranged for piano by the Royal *kapelmusikus* F. Kittler. The “favourite composers” included Kittler himself and the content was marches and dances with titles like *Engl.*, *Pas Redoublé*, *Francoise*, *Eccossoise*, etc. The dances were mainly short tunes with two reprises.

In 1813 Kittler published a *Samling af nye Marscher og Dandse udsatte for Fortepiano* (Collection of new marches and dances arranged for fortepiano), in which there are, besides the *eccossaiser*, a *francoise* in 6/8 time, a *hopsavals* (lively waltz) in 2/4, and a number of dances performed at “the naval cadets’ graduation” including “1. Contradands, 2. pas de deux, 3. Vaabendands (sword dance?)”. The collection also includes a “*Vaaben Dands* performed at the army cadets’ graduation”.

The tunes entitled *Pas Redouble* (a term apparently not used in the dancing-masters’ books) are in duple time (4/4 or 2/4), and if the name can be interpreted to mean repeated double steps, it is presumably a couples’ round dance of the waltz type in duple time and thus one of the precursors of the fashionable polka of the 1840s.

Among the dances for piano advertised by Claus Schall in 1810 with the music for the ballets *Lagertha*, *Sigrid* and *Rolf Blaaskæg* are “*Fandango* - a Spanish dance” and a “*Kehraus*”. But the Spanish fandango had already been introduced earlier in Copenhagen. There is a *Fandango Espagnol* in D minor and 3/4 time with the typical rhythm of the Spanish fandango as No. 15 in the music for Galeotti’s ballet intermezzo in Claus Schall’s Singspiel *Chinafarerne* (The China Travellers) of 1792.

The fandango is however not simply the Spanish dance. A collection of *Tolv nye dandse for Piano-Forte udgivne i Anledning af den XXVIII October 1822* (Twelve new dances for pianoforte published on the occasion of the 28th October 1822) from the Copenhagen publishers Richter, Bechmann and Milde both in piano arrangements and arrangements for several instruments (two violins, flute or clarinet, and bass) includes the dance titles *Vals* (3/4), *Gesvind Vals* (quick waltz) (3/8), *Cottillion* (3/8), *Eccossaise* (2/4) and a *Fandango*, which consists of a first section in 2/4 time followed by a waltz in 3/8 time. In the advertisement in *Adresseavisen*, this fandango is called “fandango with waltz”, and it appears to be of the type described by the dancing-master Jørgen Gad Lund in the book *Terpsichore, eller en Veiledning for mine Dandselæringer* (Terpsichore, or a guide for my dancing pupils) (Maribo 1823) and by August von Rosenhaim in *Bemerkungen über das Tanzen* (Schleswig 1821). The fandango bears no resemblance to the solo Spanish dance of the same name, but is a dance executed by couples in two rows facing each other and includes a waltz figure.⁴⁸

Jørgen Gad Lund’s *Terpsichore, eller: En Veiledning for mine Dandselæringer* is the first detailed textbook written in Danish on the dance. The book appeared in Maribo in 1823. A third edition supplemented with françaises appeared in Århus in 1833.⁴⁹

The book contains dance and step descriptions and in the preface the author says that it has long been his intention to write this book, and emphasizes that the

most important object of the dance is not pleasure, but the acquisition of comeliness, deportment and grace, and one finds this above all in the minuet.

After a discussion of the classic five positions of the dance comes a detailed description of steps and basic dance figures. This is where we find the earliest known description of the waltz in Denmark, where the slow waltz, the lively *hopsavals*, the Vienna waltz and the Tyrolean waltz are described, and the last of these is described as the most graceful and the one the author recommends for practice to his young friends. The minuet is described in detail from beginning to end, and the book has descriptions of anglaises with four figures and with six figures, and descriptions of, among other things, dances like the *Molinasky*, *Fandango*, *Figaro*, *La Tempete*, *La Bateuse* and the *Cotillon*.

The term *Quadrille* appears as early as the beginning of the 1820s in the Copenhagen music prints. For example we can mention the collections published by C.C. Lose of *Hoffdandse for Piano-Forte* (Court dances for pianoforte), of which the "Sixth Collection" from 1823 contains a *Premiere Quadrille* consisting of a series of five independent dances, each with two titles. For example No. 1 is called both *L'Athkinson* and *Figure de Pantalo*.⁵⁰

The terms *quadrille* and *française* are both used of the same type of dance series. In the collection published in November 1828 by C.D. Milde, *Danses Favorites...pour deux Violons*, with four *écossaises* and two waltzes, there is a series called *Françaises* consisting of ten dances or figures of the same type as those published under the title *quadrille*.⁵¹

Since the music prints do not include dance descriptions, it is not until the third edition of Jørgen Gad Lund's *Terpsichore*, Århus 1833, that we find the earliest known Danish descriptions of *françaises*. The book has three series of *françaises*, all resembling one another, but not quite identical. The figures have the usual names: *Le Pantalon*, *L'Élé*, *La Poule*, etc.

Jørgen Gad Lund's book - and this also applies to the first edition from 1823 - also has a description of the *cotillon* so beloved by the nineteenth century. The book discusses two forms: 1) the French, which is apparently a free form with the dancing couples arranged in a circle, where the music consists of three reprises in 2/4 time and a last reprise in 3/8, and which clearly resembles the old French *contredanse* form; and 2) the German, which is the mixture of a parlour game and couple dance of the waltz type that was to develop into the high point of the balls of the nineteenth century.

The lists of contents on the front pages of the music series *Udvalg af nye og yndede Dandse* (Selection of new and favourite dances) published by C.C. Lose show that the repertoire is mainly gallopades, waltzes and *quadrilles*, where the

motifs in the music are often taken from popular *Singspiele* and ballets.

An example is No. 27 in the second collection, published in 1834, with the *Quadrille og Gallopade af Balletten Nina* (Quadrille and gallopade from the ballet *Nina*). The quadrille on page 2 of the print is called *Française* and consists of three reprises in 2/4 time and a concluding part in 3/8. Is this perhaps an example of the dance form that Jørgen Gad Lund, in *Terpsichore*, calls “the French Cottillon”? The gallopade in 2/4 fills the remaining three pages.³²

Another example is the collection *Six Galopader og Écossaise for Pianoforte Componert af Füssel* (Six gallopades and écossaises for pianoforte composed by Füssel), published by Milde in 1833, where the gallopades are relatively short tunes in 2/4 and consist of three or four reprises, the écossaise consists of the normal two eight-bar reprises, and all the dances are in major keys.

August Bournonville

In 1820 the young August Bournonville accompanied his father on a study trip to Paris, supported by the foundation “Ad usus publicos”, and was already at this time proving to be a prolific writer. He describes the trip, which lasted from 2nd May to 12th December, in detail in his diary.³³

In Paris the father and son met fellow Danes, and their days were spent in, among other pursuits, dancing practice and violin playing. For example on Friday 26th May: “We got up at 8 o'clock and practiced *battement* for one hour, played violin for one hour...”. They visited the Opera and other theatres and met the father's old friends, including Antoine Noverre (son of the famous Jean Georges Noverre), Auguste Vestris, Louis Nivelon, Diderot and Louis Milon.

In Copenhagen it had been expected that Antoine Bournonville would return with new impulses, but the expectations were not fulfilled, and in 1823 he was dismissed because of dissatisfaction among both staff and management. But after re-applying he was allowed to continue until April 1824, when he said farewell to the public with one of his favourite *entrées*.

After the departure of Bournonville senior, Pierre Larcher became the de facto director of the ballet, but without actually being appointed balletmaster.

In April 1824 August Bournonville applied for and was granted three months' paid leave from his work at the Theatre for a study trip to Paris - but he stayed there for the next six years. In Paris he acquired a virtuoso dancing technique in perfection classes with Auguste Vestris, and there he concluded his training with an examination on 16th March 1826. Pierre Gardel offered him a position at the

Paris Opera - which then had the most famous ballet in Europe - and August Bournonville accepted.⁵¹

In Copenhagen Bournonville was now regarded as a deserter, but he did wish to come back, and in November 1827 he asked forgiveness in a letter to the King. In the autumn of 1829 he performed in Copenhagen, where he staged the mythological divertissement *Gratiernes Hyldning* (Acclaim to the Graces) and showed his virtuoso dancing, surrounded by a weak ensemble. In 1830 he was re-engaged at the Royal Theatre after releasing himself from his post in Paris.

Bournonville had in addition prepared the way for his homecoming in the role of literary writer. As early as 1828, in Paris, he had written a pamphlet published in Copenhagen in 1829, entitled *Nytaarsgave for Danse-Yndere, eller Anskuelse af Dansen som skjøn Kunst og behagelig Tidsfordriv* (New Year's gift for lovers of the dance, or a view of the dance as fine art and pleasant pastime).

In the book he discusses his view of the dance. His ideal is that the dancer must strive to produce pleasure before thinking of arousing admiration. Head, bust, arms and legs must be considered as a "complete chord".

He compares social dancing with social singing; as it cannot be a pleasure to sing out of tune, it cannot be a pleasure to dance grossly and without grace. Every dance requires a certain decorum, lightness and flexibility in the foot. Of the frequent use of the German waltz, he adds "that a little less waltzing at the balls would do no harm".⁵⁵

Similar views on the waltz were expressed by the Aarhus dancing-master Bagge who, in his book *Om Française* (On françaises), Aarhus 1830, laments the decline of the times and the way the finer type of social dancing has disappeared - including the minuet, French contredanses, anglaises and regular écosaises. Instead there was whirling at various tempos:

Under names like Swabian, Vienna, Tyrolean, Hopsa, Hungarian and *Pirre* [?] waltz, people tumbled and spun so terribly - some like chests of drawers in an earthquake.

Bagge continued by saying that as a bright spot in all this the françaises came to Denmark after being successful for several years in France and Germany. They were performed at a court ball in Copenhagen, then the best families took lessons in the dance. Among the dancing-masters mentioned in this connection are Bournonville and Larcher. Bagge adds that at balls in the Copenhagen clubs and musical societies - for example at *Harmoniën* - dancers were often invited from the Theatre to perform a solo or pas de deux.⁵⁶

Written dance music

One line in the development of the dance forms is evident from the content of the Copenhagen music publishers' editions of dance music, and in the first half of the nineteenth century Lose's publishing house assumed a central position. Dan Fog's systematic overview of Lose's publications in 1802-1845 gives us a valuable impression of this repertoire.⁵⁷

Since the music does not normally include dance descriptions, these only tell us the titles of the dances and the character of the music. The dances can presumably be classed in the standard repertoire of the age, comprising cotillons, quadrilles (with the usual figures), and couple dances like the galop and waltz.

But one exception from this rule is the *Sylphide Quadrille* which August Bournonville published in 1837 with music taken from Baron Løvenskjold's music for the ballet *Sylphiden*, premiered in 1836.⁵⁸

In Paris in the summer of 1834, August Bournonville, accompanied by his favourite pupil Lucile Grahn, had seen Filippo Taglioni's ballet *La Sylphide* with music by Jean Scheizthoeffer, and in 1836 he staged the ballet in Copenhagen in his own version with Lucile Grahn in the title role as the sylph and himself in the principal role of James - and with new music by the young Baron Herman Severin Løvenskjold.

National dances and Bournonville

National dances - including Spanish dances - were very popular on the European stages. The Spanish *cachucha* - a solo dance with castanets to music in 3/4 time - was interpolated in the second act of Jean Coralli's ballet-pantomime *Le Diable boiteux*, which was premiered at the Paris Opera in 1836, where the dance was performed by the Austrian-born dancer Fanny Elssler.⁵⁹

In the summer of 1836, Lucile Grahn, after her success in Bournonville's *Sylphiden*, was in Paris on her own for further studies with the French ballet teacher Jean-Baptiste Barrez, and over the next few summers she repeated her study trips and made her debut at the Paris Opera. When she came back home she brought with her the Spanish dances *La Cachucha* and *El Jaleo de Xeres*, and in 1837 C.C. Lose & Olsen published a piano arrangement of *Cachucha Spansk Nationaldands udført af Jfr. Lucile Grahn* (*Cachucha, Spanish national dance performed by Miss Lucile Grahn*).⁶⁰

The dance sensation of the summer of 1840 was a Spanish dancing couple, Mariano Camprubi and Dolores Serral, who aroused a storm of enthusiasm.

August Bournonville wrote of them in *Mit Teaterliv* that they were well nigh completely natural dancers with strange movements, and in his imagination he could conceive a whole new world of character dances. At a benefit performance he assisted them in a *Bolero à quatre*.⁶¹ Shortly afterwards Bournonville presented his ballet *Toreadoren* with music arranged by Edvard Helsted, where he showed his audience “natural dancing” organized in a ballet.

However, disagreements between Bournonville and the leading female dancers gave rise to some newspaper articles, and at the fifth performance of *Toreadoren* (14th March 1841), a booing and hissing demonstration was arranged, with the result that Bournonville addressed the Absolutist King directly from the stage.

The episode meant that Bournonville had to go on an unpaid trip abroad for six months. He came home with new inspiration, resulting among other things in the ballet *Napoli*, the solo dance *La Cracovienne*, which he had seen in Paris and had written down for his new, promising dancer, Caroline Fjeldsted, and a *Polka Militaire* to music by H.C. Lumbye, which was performed at the Court Theatre in 1842. This gave the dances and dance music of the subsequent period new impulses, and the polka became the new fashionable dance - especially to music by H.C. Lumbye, Copenhagen's leading composer of dance music.⁶²

Dance forms in Copenhagen c. 1750-1840

The following section is a systematic overview of the development of each dance form in the period 1750-1840.

The year 1840 forms a natural concluding date for this account, since the 1840s - among other reasons because of the introduction of the polka - heralded a new stylistic period in the dance and dance music in Copenhagen.

Anglaises and contredanses - dances for several couples

The bulk of the dances in Danish dance books preserved from the latter half of the eighteenth century are anglaises where the gentlemen and ladies are arranged in two rows facing each other. The dance begins with the top couple executing certain dance figures which draw in the dancers standing immediately next to the performing top couple (first couple). After the tune has been played through the couple will normally end up one position further down the row. The original couple continues to dance the same figure with the next couple and so on. In the course of the dance more couples join in, and eventually all will have danced with

all. The dance thus affords an opportunity for social interplay among all those participating and is perfectly suited to a room of the most common oblong form. Choreographically, most anglaises fall into two main groups: in one, the dance figures are executed by two couples; and in the other three more couples are necessary to the execution of the figures.

In some dance books there are a few dances entitled *kontradans*, and these dances are normally done by four couples arranged in a quadrille which may be a square or oblong rectangle. All the couples begin at the same time with a figure which is executed to the first reprise of the music and is varied with each repetition of the tune according to a fixed pattern used for the contredanse form (circle, round in couples with one hand, *moulinet* etc.). Then the dance continues with the refrain of the contredanse, which comprises the dance figures characteristic of the particular contredanse in question, and which are described in the dance books. The contredanses thus have a structure of a rondo, and in this dance form all the dancers keep their original positions, to which they will often return - at any rate each time the tune begins.

The names of the dances in the eighteenth-century dance books may be Danish, English or French, but French names dominate in the Copenhagen dance books in 1780-1800.

The anglaise tunes appear in 2/4, 4/4 or 6/8 time, and the major tonality is predominant; but there are also tunes in minor keys. In some major melodies there may be one or more reprises in minor keys (usually the parallel minor).

The dance books normally have the melody (usually a violin part) and a verbal description of the "tours" or figures of the dance. There are however also Danish dance books where the dance figures are illustrated with a graphic diagram notation which is also well known from other European dance books.⁶³ However, we know of no eighteenth-century examples from Copenhagen of this type of dance notation.

The dance descriptions normally only indicate the figures - that is, how the dancers move in relation to one another. Dance steps as such are rarely mentioned - probably only when a particular step is required. We must assume that the steps were known to everyone and were therefore superfluous in the descriptions.

It is characteristic of the dance books of the eighteenth century that the choreography is published with a melody, which was thus associated with the dance.

This differs from the practice of the nineteenth century, where the dance tunes and dance descriptions were normally published separately, and the chore-

ography and melodies could now apparently be combined freely. Perhaps the new dancing fashion of the age, with short *écossaises* and waltzes, did not make such great demands on the memory as the figurally more complex *anglaises* of the end of the eighteenth century. It would therefore only have been necessary to publish the music.

The *écossaises*, “English dances in the Scottish style” were a novelty in the Copenhagen dance repertoire just after 1800, and they were published both in piano arrangements and in part-books for the normal ensemble for *anglaises* (a string trio supplemented with wind instruments) and were typically furnished with a part for *piccolo*. The tunes normally consist of two eight-bar reprises, both of which are repeated, and the choreography comprises a couple of simple figures and usually a concluding figure where the first couple *chassé* down and up through the rows, and then begin the dance with the next couple. It was apparently in this simple form that the English dances lived on in the nineteenth century.

The *contredanses* in the French style also appear in the eighteenth century Copenhagen dance books, but to a very limited extent, and the Copenhageners apparently preferred the English dances. The French *contredanses* had their own repertoire of steps, and these steps, with many rising stresses, may have seemed difficult and strange to the Copenhageners. In the Danish folk dance repertoire, however, the quadrille dances in the French form were very widespread and popular, but without the special French steps.

In the nineteenth century the French *contredanses* appeared in a new form called *quadrilles* or *françaises*. These were structured as a suite of short *contredanses* each with its own tune, usually borrowed from the popular *Singspiele* and ballets of the day. Quadrille music of this type in Copenhagen is known from the mid-1820s on. The dance figures are mainly very simple, but the steps seem to have become more artistic.

The steps in the dance in the last act of Heiberg’s play *Elverhøj* (The Elf Hill) (music by F. Kuhlau, dances by Paul Funck, premiered in 1828) are very similar to the steps described in the dancing-masters’ books of around 1830 for *françaises* and *quadrilles*.⁶⁴

Other dances for several persons

Several dances do not fit into the categories of *anglaise* or *contredanse*. Some dances must be viewed as mixed forms - for example the *fandango* described in Jørgen Gad Lund’s *Terpsichore* of 1823, which is done by couples arranged in two

rows, and which also includes a figure with pairs of waltzing couples where the couples change places.

Another dance which does not fall within this system is the reel, which is probably British-inspired and is more likely to have been introduced by sailors than dancing-masters, who do not mention this dance at all. However, August Bournonville does mention it. A threesome reel (a dance done by a man and two women) is one of the dances he mentions among his childhood memories of social gatherings on the island of Amager (near Copenhagen) around 1815, published in *Illustreret Tidende* in 1871, where he describes his sources of inspiration for the ballet *Livjægerne paa Amager* (The King's Volunteers on Amager) of the same year, in which the reel is one of the concluding dances.⁶⁵

The typical semiquaver melody of the reel is also prominent in the music for the "English entrée" performed by Antoine Bournonville at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen in 1794-95.⁶⁶

Another dance that falls outside the system drawn up here is the polonaise. Polonaise tunes in 3/4 time with a characteristic rhythm are known from Denmark as early as the eighteenth century, but the dance - a processional dance where the dancers move forward and in figures among one another - is only mentioned by Danish dancing-masters in the latter half of the nineteenth century. However, the polonaise must have been known in Copenhagen earlier. A polonaise with a detailed description is included in Pierre Jean Laurent's choreography for a court ball at Amalienborg in 1803. There is a polonaise of a similar type in the fifth act of *Elverhøj*.⁶⁷

Couple dances. The most prestigious dance of the age: the minuet

According to the dancing-masters the minuet was the most prestigious dance of the age, and the dance that more than any other gives the body grace. That the minuet was also widespread is evident from the enormous repertoire of minuet melodies in music books with dances. We know of no Danish descriptions of the minuet from the eighteenth century, but the minuet was presumably danced in the same way as in Germany, England and France, countries from which there are detailed descriptions of the dance. The minuet is a standard dance with a fixed structure, so only the music would have been necessary for the execution of the dance. Although the minuet is a couple dance, several couples can dance at the same time, but in the high style it was undoubtedly only one couple that danced at any one time.

The minuet is danced by a couple, a lady and a gentleman, who begin the dance with a bow to the public (or the most prominent people at the gathering), and then a bow and curtsy to each other. In the main figure of the dance the partners change places, passing each other a suitable number of times in a Z-shaped floor figure. Then the dancers go round with the right and then the left hand, and then they dance the main figure again. Finally the dancers both join hands and go round, and the dance ends with bows and curtseys as at the beginning. Described briefly, the minuet step consists of four foot changes: right, left, right, left, executed over six counts corresponding to two bars of 3/4 music. The main figure normally extends over a phrase of six minuet steps, and thus twelve bars of music. The phrasing of the dance does not fit directly in the eight-bar periods normal in the melodies.

The special value of the minuet is emphasized by the dancing-masters, but its special status is also evident from the Royal Theatre's use of the minuet as the introductory dance at a gala ball. It was used this way both in Galeotti's ballet *Romeo og Giulietta* with music by Schall (1811) and in *Elverhøj* (1828). The significance of the minuet is also illustrated by the chamberlain Gjedde's instructions to the court musician Niels Møller of 1792, where he is enjoined, in the *Bal paré*, always to ensure that there are beautiful minuets with trumpet and timpani.⁶⁸

The minuet seems to have gone out of fashion as a social dance in the first part of the 1800s, but its importance is still stressed by dancing-masters, and the first complete description of the dance in Danish is in Jørgen Gad Lund's *Terpsichore* (1823). The minuet description there is very similar to the minuet that begins Act Five of *Elverhøj*, where the minuet has however been slightly influenced by contredanse figures, and the choreographic structure consist of eight-bar periods corresponding to those of the music.

The round dances for couples - the waltz

Some form of round dance or turning was probably an element of the "Polish dance" mentioned by Holberg, and apparently primarily associated with the common people. We do not know much about this *polkskdans*, which is not mentioned in the dancing-masters' books, but tunes designated *polkskdans* can be found in the manuscript music books that exist from the latter half of the eighteenth century, some of which probably come from the student milieu in Copenhagen. The dance presumably consisted of a *Vortanz* to music in duple time, followed by a leaping *Nachtanz* with turning to the same tune, played in

proportional triple time on the same model as we know from other parts of Europe.

We know more about the German waltz, and it was probably the success of this dance that was one of the reasons for the decline of the minuet around 1800. The figure *tour de wals* or the term *at gøre wals* (to do the waltz) occurs often in the anglaises of the 1780s, and presumably means that the couple executes a turn with a hold like what we understand today as the waltz hold. In the anglaises this is only in one of the figures of the dance, but the waltz quickly developed into an independent dance - indeed one of the most popular, although it was considered difficult. Sophie Dorothea Thalbitzer's memoirs describe a Copenhagen ball in the mid-1790s where she danced the waltz.

To "waltz" primarily means to dance round with a waltz hold, and this can be done to music in both duple and triple time. One round lasts two bars of music (i.e. the same as a minuet step, but the periods are normally in four-bar phrases). It would appear that the independent form "waltz" is primarily associated with music in triple time (mostly 3/4, but also 3/8) and is thus the form later definitively considered a waltz. The waltz in duple time is often called *hopsavals* and perhaps the term *pas redoublé* indicates a dance of the same type.

The earliest known Danish description of the waltz is in Jørgen Gad Lund's *Terpsichore* (1823), but this description is very brief. A detailed description of the waltz was published by the Englishman Thomas Wilson in 1816.⁶⁹

Several people had scruples about the waltz. In 1823 Jørgen Gad Lund wrote:

The waltz is undeniably a beautiful dance, when we see delicacy constrain any freedoms; but when this fails, nothing can be more harmful, for both body and soul, than the waltz.

August Bournonville remarked in his *Nytaarsgave* (1829) that a little less waltzing at the balls would do no harm.

The festive high point of the ball - the cotillon

A dance form that became very popular in the nineteenth century is the cotillon. In the eighteenth century *cotillon* was a common term for French contredanses, but the name was not generally used in Denmark, where this dance form was called *Contredands* or *Francoise* in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century *cotillon*, and later in the century *kotillon*, became a term for a composite of round dances for couples and parlour games, *kotillons-ture* (cotillon tours/figures)

which often involved chairs and other props, the purpose of which was to change partners before the next round dance. In the music books the dance tunes are called cotillon (in the above-mentioned *Tolv nye Dandse...October 1822* there are two such tunes, both in 3/8), and the dance is described by Jørgen Gad Lund in 1823 as “the German or *Kehraus cotillon*”. In the dance books of the latter half of the nineteenth century much of the content is innumerable “cotillon tours”.

The structure is that of a round dance (waltz, later also gallopade and polka) with interpolated parlour games, and it can be regarded as a rondo form; in this sense the dance can be seen as a spin-off from the old contredanse cotillon, but with elements from later ball traditions with many round dances for couples.

Entrées and dancing at the theatre

Interpolated dances have always been common in theatrical productions, and this is also mentioned in the advertisements in *Adressavisen*. In stage managers' records from the Royal Theatre begun in 1777 it is mentioned in connection with the intermezzo of Holberg's comedy *Mascarade* that when the curtain rose the public saw “masques in full anglaise” and the records also mention minuets and contredanses, and the same is said of the comedy *Kilderejsen*. There is a slightly supercilious description of the dance interpolations in T. Overskou's *Den danske Skueplads* (1860), where, in discussing the 1789-90 season, he says that besides the ballets there were a kind of dance divertissements called *entrées*, which were used in the dramatic performances. These *entrées* were normally performed by two solo dancers and the *corps de figurants*, and were often composed by a dancer who would appear before the audience, but sometimes also by the ballet-master. When the solo dancers had done their acts, the figurants began again, and finally they formed a group and the curtain went down.⁷⁰

There were however also ballets with a proper plot, but it was perhaps mostly the inventiveness of the action and the feats of the stage manager that distinguished the various ballets. The only eighteenth-century ballet that has been preserved (although not wholly unaltered) is Galeotti's *Amors og Balletmesterens Luner* (The Whims of Cupid and the Ballet Master), to music by Jens Lolle, which was premiered in 1786. The ballet consists of a number of pas de deux in the form of national and character dances, linked by a plot involving Cupid, who shoots off his arrows and thoroughly mixes up the couples, and in the finale everything ends in total confusion.

Exotic themes and national dances were frequently used, and several of the ensemble dances probably partly had the same structure as we know from the

social dances described in the dance books, although the steps may have been more artistic.

An example that clearly demonstrates the affinities between the theatre dances and the social dances is the dances (choreographed by Paul Funck) which begin Act Five of *Elverhøj* (1828). The sequence of dances begins with a minuet (influenced by contredanse figures and danced by groups, each consisting of four couples); after this comes a contredanse, a polonaise, a children's dance (a children's pas de deux consisting of series of steps like the solo figure in a *française* figure), a *pas de huit*, and finally, *Kransedansen* (a "garland dance"), which starts off the action of the act.

Antoine Bournonville was noted in the 1790s for his elegant, virtuoso dancing, which was new in Copenhagen, and he was outstanding in his *entrées*, but it was Galeotti who dominated the ballet repertoire in the years around 1800. The choreographic renewal came when August Bournonville became head of the ballet in 1830 after coming back from his years of study in Paris.

It is only possible to describe stylistic development in the dance in connection with the court and theatre dances, about which we know many of the details. The lower classes danced too, but we have no descriptions of this. The theatrical dancing - disregarding mime, sets and plot elements - used the same choreographic elements as the social dance, although the technique of the professional dancers permitted them more artistic expression.

NOTES

1. The activities of *Dansk Dansehistorisk Arkiv* are described in the yearbook *Meddelelser fra Dansk Dansehistorisk Arkiv*, 1981ff.
2. *Kongelig allene privilegerede Kiøbenhavns Adressecontoirs Efterretninger*, usually referred to as *Adresseavisen*, appeared from 1759 on with news and advertisements. The music publisher Dan Fog's collection of excerpts from the period 1783-1854 has been very useful in this context.
3. To the *Tredie Samling af de Oeder...*, 1753, Thielo added "some theatrical dances, which more than others sound best in the music."
4. Thielo 1746, 9.
5. *B's DanseBog No. 3, Kiøbenhavn 1753*, a collection left by Counsellor C. Hammer, University Library, Trondheim. The book was bought in Copenhagen. Dance book in Teatermuseet with violin music and related dance descriptions. The book once belonged to the Price family. James Price was active at the Court Theatre around 1800. Manuscript music books at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, e.g. Bast's music book, c. 1763 (Music Dept. CII, 5) and Svabo's music book, c. 1770 (original in Tórshavn, Faroe Islands, copy in Music Dept. C II, 23).
6. Rameau 1725 and Taubert 1717, see also Hilton 1981 and Urup 1985.
7. Royal Library, NKS 819d, 4°, pp. 208-210, no. 56. *Brude-Vielse holden i Randers af T. Bræmer. Stakket Dans er snart sprungen*. The manuscript must be from the mid-eighteenth century (since Text No. 57 mentions the death of Frederik V in 1766).
8. *Adresseavisen*, 14/1 1771.
9. *Adresseavisen*, 21/1, 4/3, 11/3, 18/3 1771.

10. *Adresseavisen*, 8/3, 15/12 1775. See also Krogh 1952.
11. *Adresseavisen*, 29/1 1776.
12. Urup 1984.
13. The records are in the collections of stage director Nicolai Nejedendam. Quoted here from Krogh 1931.
14. Urup 1992.
15. Thrane 1908, 116.
16. *Samling af de nyeste engelske Dandse med Toure af Hr. Pierre Laurent, Inspecteur des danse de la cour, udgivet af Jacobsen*, Gyldendal, Copenhagen 1780-81.
17. *Kjøbenhavnske Nye Efterretninger om lærde sager for 1782 udgivet af Brødrene Berling* (2nd volume, No. 51, 20th Dec. 1782, pp. 314-316).
18. Jacobsen himself was responsible for 41 of the total of 173 tunes. 34 tunes have the composer attribution "B.", 20 are said to be "from Brunswick" and 13 are by Hundt. Some are said to be "from a ballet", including some "from *The Gypsy Camp*" (e.g. I, 40 and I. 43). In Volume II (published in 1780), No. 35 is entitled *Les Pêcheurs* and is said to be from a ballet. The tune (in G minor) is identical to No. 5 in the music from the concluding ballet of Ewald's *Singspiel Fiskerne* (premiered in January 1780), here said to be a "pas de deux for Weyle and Mme Dallas".
19. *Adresseavisen*, 19/12 1783.
20. Thrane 1908, 210-11, and *Adresseavisen*, 17/7 1792.
21. Thrane 1908, 211.
22. Fog 1984, I, 161-164.
23. *Adresseavisen*, 7/11 1783.
24. *Adresseavisen*, 22/10 1784.
25. *Adresseavisen*, 1/9 1786.
26. *Adresseavisen*, 31/3 1788. Galeotti's ballet *Vadskerpigerne og Kiedelflukkeren* (The Washing Girls and the Tinker) with music by Claus Schall, was premiered on 15th January 1788 and was a great success. Urup 1984, 7.
27. Fog 1984, 159, and *Adresseavisen*, 17/10 1792 and 21/1 1793.
28. Manuscript (in French). Teatermuseet. Danish translation, Clausen 1924.
29. Clausen-Rist 1906, 73-75.
30. Bournonville 1878. The tune *Ah! Ça ira* after Bécourt's contredanse *Le Carillon National* (1790), is reproduced in Coy 1978, 136-137.
31. Royal Library, Music Dept. KTB 181. Urup 1992, 65. August Bournonville interpolated his father's English *entrée* in the ballet *Gamle Minder eller Lanterna Magica* (Old Memories or Lanterna Magica), which concluded the gala performance for the 100th anniversary of the Royal Theatre in 1848. Fridericia 1979, 285.
32. Clausen-Rist 1906, 99-102.
33. Bournonville 1878, 230.
34. *Adresseavisen* 9/10 1800, 21/9 1801.
35. *Adresseavisen* 7/1 1804.
36. *Begyndelsesgrunde i Dandsekonsten. Bestemt til nyttig Selvøvelse, og for de Forældre som ej halde Dandsemester til deres Børn*, Lund 1801.
37. *Lommebog for Dandseyndere, 2. hefte*, published by C.C. Lose in Copenhagen 1816, containing "VI new Scottish dances in several parts with related figures by Court Dance Inspector Laurent composed by Møller, Court Dance Rehearser". The contents are six *écossaises* and a "Wals" with dance descriptions and music in part-books for Flauto octavo, Clarinetto I and II, Corno I and II, Violino I and II and Basso. Kulturhistorisk Museum, Randers.
38. Fog 1984, 88-99.
39. Urup 1984, 9-10 and Krogh 1954.
40. The 31 pictures in Pierre Jean Laurent's manuscript *Veiledning ved Underviisning i Menuetten* are numbered from 1 to 32. No. 29 is missing. The series begins with the introductory bow/curtsey of the minuet and shows all the figures up to the conclusion. On p. 24 of the

- introduction the author writes that he has now received a pension for thirty years as "Academician with an honorary pension, founded by Louis XIV", i.e. from 1786. This indicates that the text must be from around 1816. Teatermuseet. Mme Schall was the dancer Margarethe Schleuter, who married Claus Schall's brother Andreas Schall in 1795. Bournonville 1878, 243-245.
41. Over 400 guests were invited to the banquet (Rude 1989). The manuscript is in the Queen's private library (FR. IX: 57). A parallel to this manuscript, but dedicated to the Duchess of Augustenborg, is in the Schleswig-Holstein *Landsbibliotek* (Hortschansky Cat. 839). The richness of detail in the dance descriptions can be seen for example from the description on p. 11, Dance No. 5, *Polonoise de Sigrid*, Fig. 1, Quadrille 1: "toutes le Dms. posent leur bras gauche sur l'épaule droite de leur Cxtrs. et toute les 8 font pas de bourrée tout dessous et jetté, toujours en tournant pour le placer sur deux doubles Colonnes".
 42. *Adresseavisen* 30/10 1801, 21/9 1804, 7/12 1807, 27/9 1814.
 43. *Adresseavisen* 4/10 and 5/10 1808.
 44. *Adresseavisen* 9/11 1804.
 45. *Danseskolen for Bournonvilles Elever. Musiken af Schall* is on pp. 26-35 of *Nordens Apollo*, Vol. 4, "published by C. Schall, Royal Concertmaster", 1808-1809.
 46. *Adresseavisen* 25/4 1802.
 47. Nystrøm 1910, 37, 69, 102.
 48. *Adresseavisen* 3/11 1810, 6/11 1822. Rosenhain 1821.
 49. Lund 1823.
 50. *Hoffdandse for Piano-Forte*, publ. by C.C. Lose, the "sixth collection" of which is advertised in *Adresseavisen* 11/6/1823, and contains: "Premiere Quadrille", consisting of "L'Athkinson. No. 1. Figure de Pantalo", "La Niali. No. 2. Figure de L'ete", "La Hamilton. No. 3. Figure la Poule", "La Regne Matelaine. No. 4. Figure La Pastorelle", "La Filzgeralt. No. 5. Figure de Finale". The subsequent numbers (from No. 6 onwards) are écossaises and waltzes (including No. 13, a "Valse tirée de l'opera Gazza ladra", Rossini). The introductory "Premiere Quadrille" is also available, printed by C.C. Lose in 1827 with the title page *Quadriller for Pianoforte*, but here has two extra figures after No. 5 "Figure de Finale", i.e. "La Trenis" and "Le Carillon".
 51. The collection *Danses Favorites (10. Françaises. 4 Écossaises. 2 Walses) pour deux violons. Liv 3. Copenhague chez C.D:Milde*. The françaises are dated 1st November 1828.
 52. August Bournonville's ballet *Nina eller Den Varvittige af Kjærlighed* (Nina or Mad with Love) was premiered in September 1834.
 53. The diary *Journal og Beskrivelse over reisen til Paris 1820*, Schjørring-Jacobsen, II.
 54. Bournonville described his years of study in Paris in his letters home, Schjørring-Jacobsen, I. In his manuscript *Méthode de Vestris* (Royal Library) NKS 3285 4°, probably from 1826), Bournonville wrote down a number of the basic exercises of Vestris' school, of which he later created a portrait in *Danseskolen* in the ballet *Conservatoriet* (The Conservatory) from 1849. Jürgensen-Flindt 1992, XII-XIV.
 55. Bournonville 1829, "respectfully and gratefully dedicated to the Danish public by the author".
 56. The book *Om Françaiser* is dedicated by the author to "the city of Randers, which loves the finer social dance". Bagge 1830.
 57. Fog 1984, I, 228-307.
 58. *Les Sylphides Contredanses française pour le Pianoforte Sur des motifs de la composition de Mr. H. de Løvenskjold arrangées et accompagnées de figures nouvelle par Aug. Bournonville*, published by C.C. Lose & Olsen in 1837. As an appendix to the piano music there is a sheet of dance descriptions in Danish and French for *Sylphiderne. Nye Françaiser komponerede af August Bournonville. Les Sylphides. Contredanses nouvelles composées par Auguste Bournonville. Directeur de ballet de S.M. le roi de Danemarck Kjøbenhavn Trykt i Bianco Lunos & Schneiders Officin*. Bournonville composed his Sylphide quadrille, which was advertised for sale in *Adresseavisen* 31/19 1837, with five figures modelled on the usual française form, but for "a quadrille of eight couples: two couples in each line". Bournonville had created his own choreography for the figures of the quadrille to selected numbers from Løvenskjold's ballet music, and the five

- figures have names in both Danish and French, related to the action and characters in the ballet: No. 1 Betrothal, *Les fiançailles*; No. 2 Effy, *L'Effy*; No. 3 The Sylphide, *La Sylphide*; No. 4 The Scarf, *L'Écharpe*; No. 5 The Delirium, *Le Délire*.
59. "La Cachucha" became one of Fanny Elssler's very great successes and there is a notated version of the dance in F.A. Zorn's *Grammatik der Tanzkunst*, Leipzig 1887. Zorn's notation forms the basis for Ann Hutchinson's reconstruction of the dance in Labanotation. Hutchinson 1981.
 60. Lucile Grahn is depicted dancing "La Cachucha" in a lithograph by Emil Bærentzen from the end of the 1830s. Royal Print Collection, Krogh 1952, 227.
 61. Bournonville 1848, 146-147.
 62. Nørlyng 1981, Jürgensen-Hutchinson 1982, and Jürgensen 1990, 57-66.
 63. The diagram notation is described by C.J. von Feldtenstein. Feldtenstein 1772.
 64. The children's dance is a combination of the very steps (*chassé, assemble, changement, glissade, balancé, ballotté*) that were characteristic of the quadrille dances of the 1830s. Lund 1823, Hentschke 1836.
 65. Bournonville mentions the dances *Contraseire, Syvspring, Reel* and "the endless *Hopsavals*" and mentions hoop dances and a "Threesome Reel". Bournonville 1871.
 66. The music for this entrée, *Fisker entre*, is available as orchestral parts. Royal Library, Music. Dept. KTB 181.
 67. *Dronningens håndbibliotek* Fr. IX: 57. The polonaise is Dance No. 5, and the steps are *pas de bourrées* sideways and forwards. The polonaise as a ball dance is described by the Copenhagen dancing-master Paul Petersen. Petersen 1877. In German dance books from the first half of the nineteenth century there are detailed descriptions of the polonaise. Helmke 1829, 116 and Hentschke 1836, 153.
 68. Thrane 1908, 211, 421.
 69. Wilson 1816.
 70. Krogh 1931, 73. Overskou 1854/64, III, 235-237.