
CHAPTER 7

**BALLET: ITS HISTORY AND
MODERN RECONSTRUCTIONS**

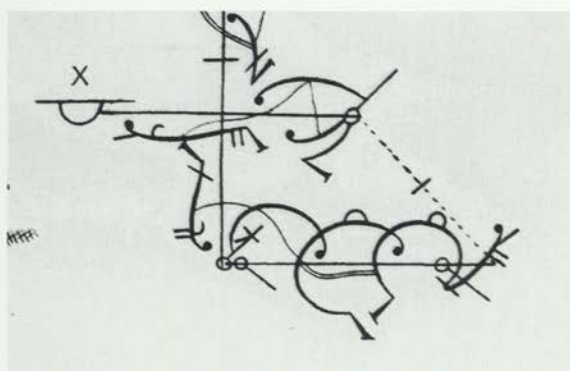
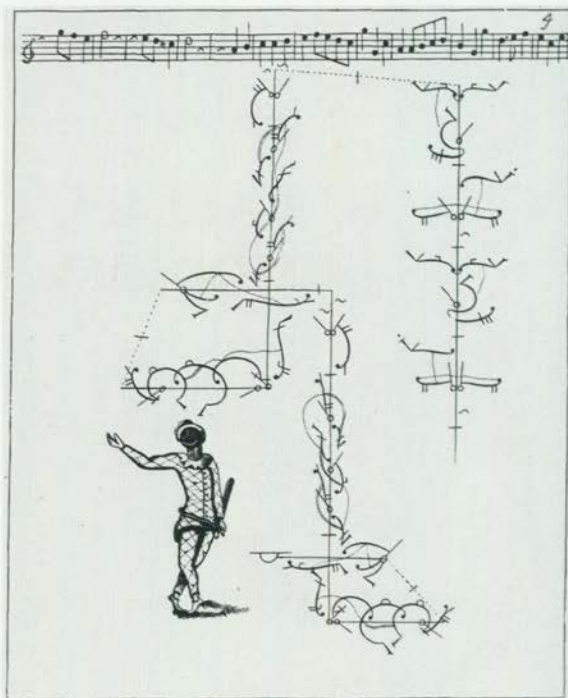
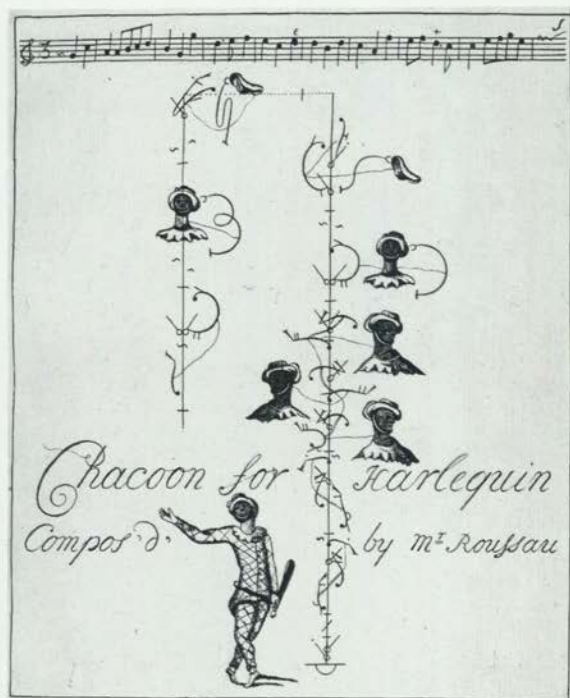


Fig. 1 a. Flyleaf of Chacon for a Harlequin. Compos'd by Mr Roussau. Chacon for a Harlequin. With all the Postures, Attitudes, Motions of the Head and Arms and other Gestures proper to this Character. Engraved by F. Le Roussau. London 1730. British Library.

Fig. 1 b. The continuous line shows the dancer's path across the floor. The little lines crossing it represents barlines. Illustration no. 4 out of seven from "Chacon for a Harlequin". Engraving by F. Le Roussau. London 1730. British Library.

Fig. 1 c. Detail of 1 b. This is contained within two bars of the illustration. Not the activity in bar 2. At x the dancer starts, facing the audience.

ON RECREATING 18th-CENTURY DANCE

A historical survey and attempt at
reconstruction and recreation

Regina Beck-Friis

INTRODUCTION

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STAGE ballet is very poorly documented. The few descriptions we possess are fragmentary and incomplete. So how can we proceed if we wish to come closer to our forefathers' way of thinking, staging, dancing?

A few stage instructions are extant, but no steps or accounts of spacial movements. When staging eighteenth-century ballets today we are therefore obliged to recreate them from such sources as do exist. Chief among these an extant eighteenth-century publication of a notation system, containing detailed descriptions of the actual dancing technique. What we do not know is how individual artistes danced, or how they applied their technique.

Where it is a question of central European productions, however, we can make a good guess, both dancer and choreographer often being well-known, likewise the music's and dances' year of composition. Just how the latter were performed etc., may be described in letters, programmes, newspaper cuttings and diaries. Not that any exact descriptions of any dance compositions have been found, at least not yet, neither for Sweden nor other countries. Swedish sources other than the kind already mentioned, e.g. the music to many of the ballets, are to be found in the Royal Opera's music collections and in the library of the Royal Academy of Music. Several of these scores even contain written stage directions, usually above the first violin part (the first violinist always playing at rehearsals). Since 1956 a great number of ballets, opera ballets and dances introduced into operas have been

recreated in conformity with the old dance technique at the Drottningholm Court Theatre. Though these are my topic here, a few more words, first, about the source situation, what we know about them, and about the history of stage dancing on the continent and in Sweden.

EARLY SOURCES

Seventeenth and eighteenth century ballroom dances were complex and elaborate, and consequently not at all easily danced. The importance of being a good dancer if one wanted to make a good impression and count for something in society was widely appreciated, particularly in France. It was during the reign of Louis XIV, himself greatly interested in dancing, that this idea became general. The king had commanded his court circle to keep up with developments in the art and themselves to be good dancers. Outside that circle, too, people kept well-informed as to *le dernier cri*. The latest dances could be bought at the nearest newspaper stand. Dancing masters and *Maîtres de Ballet* came to enjoy real social status. Summoned to their salons, by teaching the wealthy the latest dance they handed them the key to social success.

It was also Louis XIV who commissioned his dancing master Pierre Beauchamp, who had composed and staged court ballets at Versailles, to invent a notation method, so that they could also be staged elsewhere. Though Beauchamp himself never wrote down his own ideas while working them up¹, he initiated a colleague, by name Raoul Auger Feuillet, into their secrets. It was the latter, in his book *Chorégraphie ou l'Art de décrire La Danse par caractères, figures et signes Démonstratifs*² (Paris 1700), who presented the new notation method. As early as 1706 the book was translated into English by John Weaver, a dancing master and theorist who would become important in eighteenth-century England. One consequence of the work's popularity was that many other dances soon came to be written down—all on the new system. This usually thanks to the dancing masters, who either themselves noted down each latest dance, probably commissioned for some festive occasion, wedding, birthday etc, or else got someone else to; which in turn provided for its correct dissemination. Since dancing masters were usually also musicians, each dance would be published with its own tailor-made music, usually composed at the same time³.

Unfortunately Feuillet's system was not altogether unambiguous, nor was it always logical. Certain elements in the notational system were afterwards clarified by the dancing master Pierre Rameau, author of *Abbrégé de la nouvelle Méthode dans l'Art d'Ecrire ou de Tracer toutes sortes de danses de Ville* (1725). In this book he among other matters describes and clarifies the Feuillet system, which in spite of its shortcomings continued to be used throughout the greater part of the century.

Feuillet tried to describe the relation between dancing and music by dividing up into bars and rhythmical stresses in the combinations of steps. The latter's rhythm within a musical bar could be seen differently depending on tempo and rhythm, but also because the combinations of steps could extend over several bars, e.g. in the minuet. But the opposite could also happen, compressing as many steps and turnings as possible within a single bar (Fig. 1 a-c). That stage dances were so little written down was due to several reasons. To do so took, for one thing, a lot of time; and since the *Mâitre de Ballet* was often busy with several works at once he had little time to spare. New subjects, new commissions were forever demanding new dances and new ideas. Much of the time he was also involved in occasional productions and performances; and changes and reworkings were always being made as the work went on. A solo dancer, for instance, could be allowed to dance his own personal variation rather than what was prescribed.⁵

As the art of dance developed and became more complex, these changes became more and more refractory to description in terms of Feuillet's system. The Neapolitan dancer Gennaro Magri's book *Il Trattato-teorico-prattico di Ballo* ("Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Dancing"), published in Naples, 1779, forms for today's dancers and choreographers an important complement to Feuillet's work, showing as it does how stage dancing had developed in the meantime. Itself, however, it contains no notations at all, apart from the contradances at its end. Everything else is described verbally.⁶ Magri's own technique as a dancer being considerably more advanced, it was in many respects impossible to describe in Feuillet notation.

Il Trattato is a particularly valuable source, linking up as it does dance technique and style from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

EARLY SWEDISH BALLET

The court ballet, *le Ballet de Cour*, had reached Sweden as early as the 1630s, during Queen Christina's minority (1632–44). Most members of her family, the Wasas, who had been on the throne since 1523, had been highly cultivated individuals, music lovers who were either themselves musicians or had other artistic ambitions. Erik XIV, who had come to the throne in 1560, was a gifted lutanist and composer. It was also he who had first "imported" Italian musicians into Sweden. His nephew the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus was a man of many talents, with a knowledge of languages far above the average, and both he and his queen Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg were able lute-players. A good education and refined manners, however, were not all that easy to come by in the Sweden of those days.

We read in the Swedish sources that in 1635 Cardinal Richelieu's ambassador had a word with the dowager queen Maria Eleonora about the unrefined behaviour of members of the Swedish court. He suggested that Antoine Beaulieu—a good dancer and dancing master—be engaged to do what he could to set things to rights. And in July 1636 the Chancellor of the Realm proposed to the Council that riding, dancing and fencing masters be invited to Sweden to train young noblemen and their children to comport themselves in a manner befitting their rank. In 1637 Antoine Beaulieu arrived in Stockholm. He was to teach *danse et maintien*. He must have been a master of his craft, because during the very next year he was able to present the very first *Ballet de Cour* ever danced in Sweden. Entitled *Le Ballet Plaisirs de la vie des Enfants sans Souzy* it was performed before the seven-year-old Queen Christina, on whom it made a great impression. All her life she would worry her financial advisers by spending huge sums of money on courtly pleasures.

Unfortunately we have only a modicum of source materials on this first production, so crucial to the history of Swedish ballet, only a printed text, but no pictures. Its music too has vanished without trace. Study of the surviving textbook enables us however to form rather a clear idea of what it was like. We learn, for instance, that the ballet was divided up into 15 *entrées*, that the production, at the palace, lacked all scenic effects and used only the simplest requisita, usually the dancers' attributes.

Uppsala University Library has a fair amount of dance music from Queen Christina's time, probably used both for court ballets and social dancing. Study of these sources⁷ shows that her court was well

acquainted with *Les Nouveaux Branles*⁸, i.e., the latest French ring dances, social in nature and arranged to fit the court. We gain the impression that music was chosen for the court ballets from the existing repertoire. The older Andreas Düben (1597–1662), who was court kapellmeister 1640–1662, must certainly have helped in selecting it, and also composed music of his own for ballroom dancing; likewise, probably, for the ballets.

In this way each year, more or less, saw a new court ballet. *Le Ballet Plaisirs* was immediately followed by *Les Passions Victorieuses et Vaincues*, *La Diane Victorieuse*, *La Naissance de la Paix*, *La Parnasse Triomphante*. All had ballet libretti, specially published for the audiences present, with the text in several languages, by royal command.⁹

La Diane Victorieuse was written for and dedicated to Queen Christina in 1649 by Hélié Poirier. Its Swedish title is *Then fångne Cupido* ("Cupid Enchained") and the translation was by Georg Stiernhielm. Its theme is a struggle between Diana, the goddess of chastity, and Venus, the goddess of love, as to which kind of love is the more admired and desirable.

Like most of the other ballets at that time, *Then fångne Cupido* held a symbolic message for its public. For it was in that same year that Christina had declared her intention never to marry—a declaration which found immediate expression in the subjects chosen for court ballets. Amorous themes were replaced by panegyrics of the queen's chastity, her determination not to become the slave of love. The queen herself appeared in the leading role. She is said to have particularly enjoyed featuring herself as Diana.

After her abdication, in 1654, the court danced less. A last reflected glow was seen that same autumn on the occasion of Karl X Gustaf's wedding, when *Ballet de la Félicité* was staged. Being primarily a military man, the king had little time for theatre or ballet. Even so, Stockholm saw some carousels. When he died, his son Karl was only five. In 1672, his majority as Karl XI was celebrated with a magnificent tournament¹⁰. This event, staged on Dec. 19, was one of the most brilliant spectacles the Stockholmers had ever seen. The older Nikodemus Tessin was responsible for the arrangements and for policing the arena at Hötorget. Though some ballets were created in Karl XI's reign, few were very successful. Yet it was at this time that the Lejonkulan—the lion pit, where Queen Christina's old lion, a gift from Prague, had just died—was rebuilt as a theatre.

But the Swedish court ballet, in its original form, can be said to have

died with the *Ballet de la Félicité*. Karl XI being more interested in cutting back his expenses and putting the Swedish economy on a sound footing, such extravagant and costly spectacles were thereafter out of favour. And when he died, in 1697, the capital's theatrical life came completely to a halt, the national mourning demanding that all spectacles be forbidden for a whole year after the royal demise. Two years later, however, Karl XII let himself be persuaded by Nicodemus Tessin jnr to summon a troupe of French actors. Led by Claude Guilmois de Rosidor, they were known as the Rosidor company, and they furnished, at their own expense, their own theatre in the Bollhuset. Formerly a tennis court, the Bollhuset opened in 1700. But for many years to come Sweden would be at war; and since this interfered both with theatre and with ballet, the troupe by and by had to leave the country.

Not until the mid-century did the country's theatrical life revive.

THE GUSTAVIAN AGE

Both in its ballrooms and on its stages the second half of the eighteenth century was, for the dance, an extremely lively epoch, even stage dancing was perhaps regarded as the more interesting variety. Lovisa Ulrika, sister of Frederick the Great, who came to Sweden in 1744 to marry the crown prince, Adolf Fredrik, would be the mother of Gustaf III. Pained by what she regarded as the lack of theatrical life in her new country, she summoned a troupe of French actors and an Italian opera company. And upon the former, who had come to Sweden in 1753, looking for some French dancers, one of those who applied was Louis Gallodier (1733–1803). At that time a second “figurant”¹¹ at the Royal Opera in Paris, he arrived in Sweden in 1758, and the next time we hear of him is as first dancer at the Royal Opera in Stockholm, a position he retained from 1773 to 1780. In 1773, Gustaf III appointed him *Maître de Ballet* and commissioned him to form an opera ballet and found the Royal Opera Ballet School (Fig. 2). Contemporary audiences, delighted with Gallodier's dancing, praised his “beautiful poses and physical movements”¹² ... “his dancing pleased so much the more as in our country *le genre sérieux* pleases out of all comparison with *le genre comique*”.¹³

In the 1770s Stockholm still had some fine solo dancers, left over from Lovisa Ulrika's French troupe. Gustaf III wanted to see Swedish artistes on his stages, and on becoming king in 1771, Gustaf III had dismissed all the foreign ones, except for a handful of French dancers.



Fig 2. Louis Gallodier (1733–1803), First Dancer, Maître de Ballet 1773–1795, First Maître de Ballet 1795–1803, here shown holding castanettes. Inscribed: "Gallodier at a rehearsal in Drottningholm Theatre." Washed pencil drawing by J. T. Sergel. NM.

But there were absolutely not enough of them to make up a great opera house's *corps de ballet*. So Gallodier's task of creating one for Gustaf's new Opera was far from easy. No trace was left of the dance teaching and school of manners enjoyed by the Swedish court in Queen Christina's reign (1637–58). The young Swedish talents modelled themselves on the French dancers who were still around. But the kernel of the Gustavian opera ballet was French: M. Gallodier, Mlle Ninon Dubois (ca. 1750–1799, second dancer 1773–1779), also called Le Clerc, Mme Soligny (*prima ballerina* 1773–1782), M. Frossard (first dancer 1773–1776), and Mme Frossard (*prima ballerina* 1773–1776), all of them, that is to say, former members of the French troupe. After its dissolution in 1771 M. Frossard returned to Paris, where he appeared at the Théâtre Italien as dancer and choreographer. In 1773 Gustaf III summoned him back to Sweden. We read in Dahlgren (p. 510) that

In character dances and pantomime he is perfectly admirable. Few dancers reveal to the same extent as he lightness, fiery liveliness and elasticity.

Among a considerable number of *scènes de danse* performed by him "his strange pirouette on one foot" was widely praised; likewise

the great strength and ability with which he, in his dancing, represented a slave in chains

where to he was reported

to possess great inventiveness and endless variation in his compositions, and also in his dances always knew how to make use of comic effects and what was most expressive.

Incidentally it was upon the occasion of Le Clerc's premature death that Kellgren wrote:

Erato and Gods of love Weep: Dubois has left you, [...]

Since it was the French style which prevailed in Sweden, it was in Paris the most gifted youngsters studied at the king's expense. The ballet came to consist of 12 first and second dancers, male and female, of whom eight were French, one was Italian and three were Swedes. The remaining sixteen *figuranter* (*corps de ballet*) were all talented young Swedes. Our sources tell us that the ballet's numbers rose sharply between 1773 (about 30 dancers) and 1786 (about 70). The figure during the reign of Gustaf III varied between 60 and 70. For some time after his death the ballet continued to enjoy royal support, and its numbers did not diminish. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century the subsidies fell away, and in 1806 came to an end.¹⁴

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Throughout the Gustavian epoch it was foreign dancers who dominated the Opera ballet. Even if some Italians came to Sweden, most were French. The only Swedish-born dancer who, like his foreign colleagues, was helped to study in Paris, was Louis Deland (1772–1823). Deland was a ballet dancer, singer and actor, and like his forerunners and contemporaries in the ballet he came, thanks to his studies and contacts in France to embody Europe's two most important and best-known choreographers: the Frenchman Jean Georges Noverre and the Italian Gasparo Angiolini. Not merely their aesthetic principles, but their current ballets were known throughout Europe.¹⁵ Before coming to Sweden, Gallodier had met Noverre, the young choreographer and, as he later would become, theorist. And this must certainly have had an important bearing on Swedish developments.

By studying the sources—letters, diaries, newspaper articles etc.—we can come close to the styles of individual solo dancers, and among other things this lends support to the assumption that the influence of Jean Dauberval, one of the dancers who renewed the French style, also made itself felt in Sweden. The action of his *La Fille Mal Gardée* has survived down to our own time. Contemporary balletomanes described Giovanna Bassi (1762–1834, *prima ballerina* 1783–94), Charles Didelot (second dancer 1773–177...), Carlo Uttini (1753–1808, second dancer 1773–1804) and others as admirable soloists. Uttini was the son of the court kapellmeister Francesco Uttini, leader of Lovisa Ulrika's Italian opera company; himself kapellmeister at the Royal Opera in 1773, first kapellmeister 1781–88. Besides being a dancer at the Opera, Carlo Uttini was an actor there (1776–1779) and at the Royal Dramatic Theatre (1788–1808). And along with the dancers from the French troupe it was certainly on them the Swedish dancers modelled themselves in point of technique and dramatic qualities. Charles Louis Didelot (born in Stockholm in 1767, first dancer 1786–179...) was one of the great talents. He was sent to Paris at the king's expense to train under Noverre and the famous Vestris. However, much to the king's irritation, he did not return punctually. If Didelot lingered on abroad it was quite simply because of Antoine Bournonville's (1760–1843, first dancer 1782–95) great successes in Stockholm (Fig. 3). The latter, a Frenchman, was another of Noverre's pupils. Dahlgren tells us among other matters that he was



Fig. 3. Danish courtier in Gustaf Wasa. Costume design for the first dancer, in this case Antoine Bournonville. Watercolour pencil drawing after L. J. Desprez in the costume books of the Royal Opera, about 1800. KTA.

both by natural talents, thanks to a well-trained sense of beauty, inexhaustible hard work and admirable schooling, an excellent artiste./.../ In the gay and comic as well as in the noble and imposing "genres", whether it was a question of astonishing by his incredible footwork or of enrapturing by a

definite and assured performance of difficult steps and lovely postures, in national dances as in artistic ones, in energetic tours de force as in light floating movements, he showed himself a master in whom neither effort nor weariness were to be remarked.

Quite obviously Bournonville was a very clever character dancer, and in Stockholm was famous for it. Kraus was inspired by Bournonville, and introduced Hungarian dances and English hornpipes into his ballet *Fiskarena* ("The Fishermen"). Kraus had also been charmed by Hungarian dances when visiting Haydn at the Eszterházy Palace. He also visited England on his grand tour, and this is probably why we find English hornpipes in *Fiskarena*, of which Bournonville was also choreographer and chief dancer at the première of 1789. He also appeared as singer and actor. From 1816 to 1823 he was director of dance at Kongl. Theatern in Copenhagen. August Bournonville was his son. Though Bournonville returned from abroad in 1786, he soon applied for leave of absence and thereafter worked among other things as ballet master and choreographer, above all in London, Lyon, Paris and St. Petersburg. For the Stockholm ballet, on the other hand, Louis Deland turned out to have been a better investment. Having made his début aged 10 at the Stockholm opera, and after studying in Paris under Pierre Gardel, he came back in 1791 and was immediately appointed first dancer. He also became assistant ballet master under the Italian Terrade (1759–1835). That was in 1803, and in 1809 he succeeded him. Jean Marcadet (first dancer 1778–1795), too, was a pupil of Noverre, who had even danced in his company at Stuttgart and later with his colleague Maximilian Gardel in Paris. In Stockholm Marcadet also worked from 1786 to 1795 as choreographer, introducing all the latest Parisian developments.

Compared with other famous late eighteenth-century dance troupes the Gustavian ballet was known both for its size and its quality. Many foreign dancers made guest appearances and even for the international greats Stockholm could even be said to have been a very attractive city. The Swedish ballet could bear comparison with the most famous in Europe, with the Burgtheater in Vienna, La Scala in Milan, and the St. Petersburg company. Throughout the Gustavian period the Swedes kept abreast with European developments, both in actual technique and the latest choreographic achievements.

THE MODERN SWEDISH TRADITION

The modern ballet tradition at the Drottningholm Court Theatre dates from 1956. In connection with the state visit of Queen Elisabeth II the Royal Opera management decided to stage a ballet divertissement at the Drottningholm Court Theatre. Mary Skeaping, who was ballet mistress, was engaged as choreographer and it was her ambition to present a ballet using seventeenth-century dance techniques. This ballet, *Then fångne Cupido*, was based on one of Queen Christina's court ballets from 1649, the text being in a Swedish translation by Georg Stiernhielm. *Then fångne Cupido* took a great deal of time to stage. The dancers found all the little rhythmically difficult steps "as hard as learning to speak Chinese". No matter how energetic such a dance may be, it must always be restrained, very clear, very precise, both rhythmically and distinct in point of foot movements, all without extinguishing its joy and expressiveness. Rather like playing a demanding piece of music on a muted violin!

Purcell's music was chosen to honour the Queen of England—no original music had been found. The costumes, based on sketches by Jean Bérain. This was the starting signal for a series of ballets, all created with the ambition of resuscitating the ballet of olden times. For the Stockholm Opera *Then fångne Cupido* was of immense importance. Until then no other theatre than the Drottningholm Court Theatre had worked so purposefully to present ballets or opera ballets in a contemporary framework of scenery, costumes, lighting and dance techniques.¹⁶ Thanks to the personal interest shown by Professor Agne Beijer, Mary Skeaping could draw on expert inspiration and assistance, e.g. when it came to searching out the texts to Queen Christina's court ballets. In this way she made the acquaintance of Georg Stiernhielm's translation of Poirier's text *La Diane Victorieuse*, which became *Then fångne Cupido*—we must bear in mind, of course, that ballet in those days comprised recitation, singing and dancing. In Mary Skeaping's version, however, it became a sort of court ballet for the stage, mingling classical seventeenth-century dancing with grotesque entries and mime scenes, but without song or recitation.

The Drottningholm Court Theatre, is a jewel beyond price, a unique source of inspiration for modern theatrical artistes, dancers and choreographers alike. Here, after all, is the precise milieu in which such ballets were originally created. Yet it takes time for a modern dancer to get used to the "personality" of this stage, i.e., to come to terms with an eighteenth-century theatre. No matter how technically

advanced they may be, today's dancers have to learn to function on this old stage, so deep by modern standards, but also so narrow.

Dancers of the Royal Swedish Ballet are collaborating wholeheartedly in this revival of early ballets. They feel it incumbent on them not to stray from the path Mary Skeaping opened up for them—enabling them to carry on the completely unique modern tradition of the older ballet style which is their heritage.

APPENDIX

MODERN ATTEMPTS AT RECONSTRUCTION AND RECREATION—SELECTED EXAMPLES

Tillfälle gör tjufven ("Opportunity Makes the Thief")—a lyrical comedy of comedy-vaudeville in 2 acts.

This is the first play written in this taste in Sweden, the intention being to exclude speech and recitatives between the Vaudevilles, and in one place to assemble cheerful, humorous and charming Music to dispel the serious impressions often made on the soul by a Tragedy or Drama. The faults of this piece may be many, especially as it has been made within rather a short space of time; furthermore summer's weakest swallow is often the one first out of the nest.¹⁸

This vaudeville was a great success when performed at Confidencen (The Ulriksdal Court Theatre) in 1783. Its libretto had been written by C. A. Hallman and its music was a collection of folksongs and pieces by various composers, among them Carl Michael Bellman. J. F. Grenser¹⁸ had written the overture. *Tillfälle gör tjufven* was performed by amateurs from the court and Bellman, who by now enjoyed the title of court secretary. The scene of the action is Vingåker and the people living there.

Tillfälle gör tjufven (pantomime ballet in 2 acts by Louis Gallodier).

Taking the vaudeville of the same name as his model, Louis Gallodier¹⁹ created a ballet of the same name, first put on at the Royal Opera House in 1785. A great success, it would afterwards be danced many times.

The revived ballet *Tillfälle gör tjufven* was first staged in August 1989 at the Ulriksdal Court Theatre, "Confidencen", produced by the Royal Opera and danced by the complete Royal Swedish Ballet. Orchestration by the conductor, John Lanchbery. Scenographer: David Walker. Choreography: Regina Beck-Friis.

Sources: The music exists in orchestral parts²⁰ with a first violinist's rehearsal score, containing stage instructions.²¹ The dancing technique is based on Gennaro Magri's *Il Trattato* and on earlier 18th-century technique (Fig. 4a-b). Early Swedish folk dances, even though not written down until the 20th century, have also been drawn on. Unfortunately, as usual, nothing has survived of Louis Gallodier's choreography.

Fiskarena ("The Fishermen"), pantomime ballet in 1 act by Antoine Bournonville. Music: J. M. Kraus.) See p.7.

This ballet, staged in 1789 at the Stockholm Opera, was first danced in

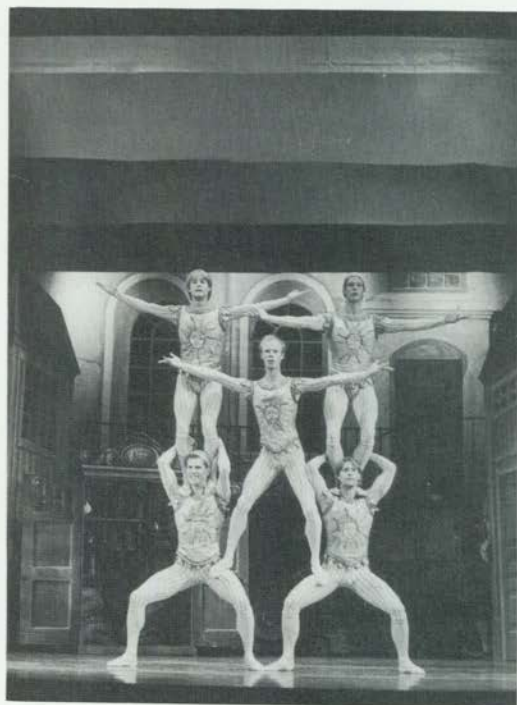
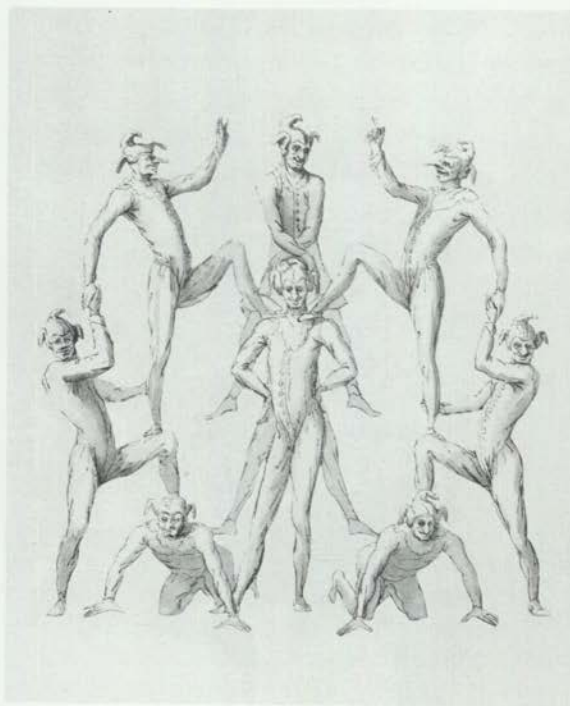


Fig. 4a. *Acrobates*. Washed pencil drawing by an unknown artist. NM.

Fig. 4b. Such sketches as 4a in the Tessin Collection gave the author the idea of using athletic formations as climaxes in a comic athletic dance in the Gustavian ballet *Tillfälle gör tjuven* ("Opportunity Makes the Thief"), pantomime ballet in two acts, music by various composers, among them C. M. Bellman and J. F. Grenser, libretto by C. I. Hallman. It was performed at *Confidencen* in 1989 by the Royal Swedish Ballet and the Royal Court Orchestra, conducted by John Lanchbery. Scenography by David Walker and choreography by Regina Beck-Friis. Production: the Royal Opera. Photo: E. M. Rydberg.

modern times at the Drottningholm Court Theatre in 1971, to Mary Skeaping's and Ivo Cramér's choreography.

Mary Skeaping tried to draw on what was characteristic of Antoine Bourdonville, he having been the first to produce this ballet in Sweden. Every known source credits him with brilliant technique in the "classical" style of the classical age, which included virtuosity, difficult steps integrated with pirouettes, beats, *assemblés*, *sissonés*, *caprioles*, etc.

Sources: Gennaro Magri, and in Act II, Hungarian and English folklore (see colour supplement).

Arlequins död ("The Death of Harlequin"), pantomime ballet in 2 acts by F. N. Terrade.

Fig. 5a. ORPHEUS AND EURIDICE, OPERA
IN THREE ACTS.

Performed for the first time by the Royal Academy of Music, before THEIR MAJESTIES and the ROYAL COURT upon the occasion of the proclamation of the engagement of HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SÖDERMANLAND to Princess HEDVIG ELISABETH CHARLOTTA of HOLSTEIN GOTTORP, Nov. 25, 1773.

STOCKHOLM, 1773, Published by H. FOUGT, Book Printer to His Majesty.

ORPHEUS AND EURIDICE, OPERA.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ. ORPHEUS Mr CARL STENBORG. EURIDICE Mrs OLIN. LOVE Miss OLIN. CHORUS.

ACT I. Mr CHATILLON Chorusmaster. Gods of Love. Genii. Shepherds. Shepherdesses.

ACT II. Tormenting spirits. Blessed shades in Elysium.

ACT III. The same as in Act I.

THE BALLETS.

ACT I. BALLET of Shepherds and Nymphs in Orpheus' company. In this Ballet are presented the Commemorative Feasts which the ancients celebrated around the graves of the departed. These feasts consisted of sacrifices and incense, flowers being likewise scattered and the tombs embellished with wreaths, libations of milk and wine were poured upon the same, dances were performed around them, with mournful gestures, and songs were sung in praise of the dead. At the most solemn of such Acts were introduced young persons, dressed as Genii, their attributes and gestures being suited to the qualities and nature of the deceased person: Thus in this Ballet, around Euridice's Tomb, weeping Genii represent their Amours, and one of them, representing Hymen, extinguishes his torch, which signifies a marital union that has been dissolved by death.

Hymen. Nymphs. Genii. Shepherds. Shepherdesses.

ORPHEUS OCH EURIDICE,
OPERA

UTI TRE ACTER,

FÖRSTA GÅNGEN UPFÖRD AF KONGL. MUSICALISKA
ACADEMIEN, I DERAS KONGL. MAJ:RS OCH
KONGL. HUSETS NÄRVARO,

DÄ
HANS KONGL. HÖGHETS HERTIGENS AF
SÖDERMANLAND FÖRLÄFNING MED PRINCESSAN HEDVIG
ELISABETH CHARLOTTA AF HOLLSTEIN
GOTTORP KUNGIÖRDES,

d. 25 Nov. 1773.



STOCKHOLM. 1773,
PÅ EGGET FÖRLAG, NOS H. FOUGT, KL. BOKTRYCKARE.

32
1773

ACT II. BALLET of Furies and Ghosts, in the Pit, who want to terrify Orpheus.

Tormenting Spirits. Blessed Shades.

BALLET of the Blessed Shades in Elysium. The occasion of these Ballets have been taken from Virgil. Aeneid. B. 6.

ACT III. BALLET of Shepherds and Shepherdesses in the Temple of Love. Here Euridice's return is celebrated and the Victory of Love. Hymen's torch, extinguished in the first Ballet, in this last one is relit by Love, with the flame from His torch. Love and Hymen exchange torches, and the Feast is concluded with a gay Dance.

Hymen. Love. Gods of Love. Shepherds and Shepherdesses.

ORPHEUS och EURIDICE, OPERA.

PERSONERNE.

ORPHEUS Herr CARL STENBORG.

EURIDICE Fru OLIN.

KÄRLEKEN Mlle OLIN.

CHORUS.

FÖRSTA ACTEN.

M^r CHATILLON Mästare för Choren.

Kärleks-Gudar.

Falk.
Tybblin.
Aman.
Nettman.

Genier.

Kindström.
Nittscher.
Pilgren.
Bonne.

Herdar.

Arnquist.
Karsten.
Löf.
Werring.
Boge.
Gråberg.
Bonne.
Torik.
Weiterberg.
Segerström.

Herdinner.

Mlle Stenborg.
Gemell.
Svedman.
Ingman.
Lindsberg.
Ingman den yngre.
Levin.
Malmberg.

ANDRA ACTEN.

Plågo - Andar.

Fågerplan.
Schederman.
Kryger.
Edman.
Wirgman.
Schultz.
Sundberg.
Jern.
Collin.
Noublin.

Mlle Utterman.
Berg.
Adrianne Malmberg.
Slöberg.
Dyk.
Lindblom.
Biörkman.
Bonne.

Sälla skuggor uti Elysen.

Grönström.	M ^{re} Villeneuve.
Fågerplan.	Mlle Dunge.
Dillstedt.	Eark.
Reisen.	Krigstedt.
Friisk.	Eklöf.
Böriz.	Bergman.
Wolberg.	
Nyman.	
Sabin.	
Berggren.	
Wikbom.	
Kiellström.	
Biörklund.	
Hagerlin.	
Rusiere.	
Österberg.	

TREDIE ACTEN.

De samma som uti den Första.



BAL-

BALLETTERNE.

FÖRSTA ACTEN.

BALLET af Herdarne och Nymberne i Orphei sällskap.
I denna Ballet föreställas de Äminnelse-Foster, som de gamle frade kring de ofstidnes grifter. Dessa Foster be-
stodo i offer och rökelse, bvarjemte blommor ströddes och
griften utfrades med kranjar, mjölk och vin utgötes på
den samma, dans anställdes deromkring, med sorgliga åtbåf-
vor, och sånger upfördes til den dödas heröm. Uti de
bögstidligaste af slika Åtter infördes unga personer,
kläddes som Genier, och med märken och åtbörder, läm-
pade efter den ofstidnes egenskaper och beskaffenhet: I
denna Ballet, kring Euridices Grafvård, gräta således
Genier, som föreställa sinå Amourer, och en af dem,
som föreställer Hymen, utsläcker sin fackla, hvilket be-
teknar åkta foreningen, som blifvit upblåst genom döden.

Hymen.

Ackerberg.
Genier.
Vacklin.
Pantaleon.
Hedman.
Salmon.

Nymber.

Mlle Schlottberg.
Vetterberg.
Stoos.
Salbeck.

XXX

<i>Herdar.</i>	<i>Herdinnor.</i>
Tellerstedt.	Mille Lundblad.
Bjurman.	Sabina Schoubardt.
Levin.	Greta Schoubardt.
Lundblad.	Nordman.

ANDRA ACTEN.

BALLET af *Forerme och Gafarne, i Afgrunden, som vilja följda Orpheu.*

Plågo - Andar.

Mr GALLODIER, Mr FROSSARD, M^{re} FROSSARD.

Charles Uttini.	Mille Vibbing.
Bergström.	Kröger.
Öberg.	Schoubardt.
Berner.	Hietzell.

Sälla Skuggor.

BALLET af de *Sälla Skuggorne i Elyfen, Anledningen til dessa Balletter sages af Virgil, Æneid. B. 6.*

M^{re} SOLIGNIL.

Tellerstedt.	Mille Lundblad.
Bjurman.	Sabina Schoubardt.
Levin.	Schlottberg.
Lundblad.	Greta Schoubardt.

Berger.	Mille Nordman.
Högwall.	Blörk.
Vacklin.	Boman.
Akerberg.	Ulrica Schoubardt.
Pantaleon.	Holmstedt.
Hedman.	Vetterberg.
Salmon.	Zamore.
	Liungblom.
	Stoos.
	Salbeck.

TREDIE ACTEN.

BALLET af *Herdar och Herdinnor i Kärlekens Tempel. Här fröas Euridices återkomst och Kärlekens seger. Hymens Fackla, som släckes i första Balletten, blir, i denna sista, åter upptänd af Kärleken, med lågan af des Fackla. Kärleken och Hymen byta Facklor med bvarandra, och Festen slutas med en glattig Dans.*

<i>Hymen</i>	<i>Kärleken</i>
Acherberg.	Mille Schlottberg.
	<i>Kärleks - Gudar.</i>
Vacklin.	Mille Vetterberg.
Pantaleon	Stoos.
Hedman.	Salbeck.

Herdar och Herdinnor.

Mr GALLODIER.	M ^{re} SOLIGNIL.
Charles Uttini.	Mille Lundblad.
Vibbling.	Sabina Schoubardt.
Öberg.	Nordman.
Berner.	Holmstedt.
Mr FROSSARD.	M ^{re} FROSSARD.
Bjurman.	Mille Greta Schoubardt.
Tellerstedt.	Wjörk.
Bergström.	Boman.



ORPHEUS OCH EURIDICE. FÖRSTA ACTEN. SCENE I.

En behagelig, men enfelig Skogs-park af lagrar och cypresser, som är så gles, at derigenom synes EURIDICES Grafvård, på ei litet slätt såd.

När Täcket öpnat vid en förgelig symphonie, synes Theatren upfylld af en tropp Herdar och Nympber, af ORPHEI Sällskap, som bära blomster - och myrten -kransar; och under det en del af dem bränner rörelse, pryder Grafven med kranfar och strö blommar deromkring, instämmande de öfrige ståande CHORUS, som afbrytes af ORPHEI klagan, hvilken, fränst på Theatren, ligger på en sten och upprepar, då och då med öm rörelse, EURIDICES Namn.

A

This ballet had its first night in 1796. It was revived in 1981 at the Drottningholm Court Theatre, reconstructed by Ivo Cramér. Some of the dances were composed by Mary Skeaping in what the Italian school would call *grotesco*, i.e., a purely scenic kind of dance.

This is much more difficult than elegant classical dancing and demands extremes of ability in a dancer. Of all character dances *grotesco* is the most advanced. Character dances are dances for special characters, often grotesque and equilibristic ones, which have been included in performances from the *ballets de cour*, through pantomimes to the *ballet d'action*.

Arlequin, kärlekens trollkarl ("Harlequin, Magician of Love", comic pantomime ballet in 2 acts by J. Marcadet. Music: E. Du Puy).

This was performed for the first time, staged by the Royal Opera, at the Arsenal Theatre in Stockholm in 1793. Reconstructed by Ivo Cramér it was put on at Drottningholm in 1981. See also the colour supplement.

Dansurmen ("La Dansomanie" pantomime ballet in 2 acts by P. G. Gardel, staged by L. Deland. Music: probably by E. N. Méhul).

First put on in 1804. It was created on the French model by dance master Pierre Gabriel Gardel, a supporter of the French Revolution.

It again saw the light of day in 1976 at the Drottningholm Court Theatre, with choreography by Mary Skeaping and Ivo Cramér.

Orpheus och Euridice (*Orpheo ed Euridice*, opera in 3 acts by Ch.W. Gluck, libretto by R. de'Calzabigi. Transl. G. Rothman).

The first time the Vienna version of Gluck's famous opera was staged in Stockholm was in 1773, one year before the Parisian première.

Sources: (For the 1971 production). The printed programme from the first performance is extant, with libretto and all the roles.²² (Fig. 5 a–e). Feuillet, Rameau and Weaver have also been drawn on, together with contemporary costume sketches. In our own time *Orpheus* has been presented in two productions, both at the Drottningholm Court Theatre. In 1957 production was of the Paris version, with Mary Skeaping as choreographer. In 1971 it was the Viennese version of 1761, with Regina Beck-Friis as choreographer.

Study of the original programme reveals among other things that all the singers were Swedes, whilst some of the dancers were French.

Il Pastor Fido ("The Trusty Shepherd") opera in 3 acts by G. F. Handel, libretto by G. B. Guardini).

When this opera was staged originally, in London in 1712, it was not a success. In 1734 the definitive version was staged, with ballet music added for the famous French ballerina Marie Sallé and her company.²³ It was for her sake Handel composed a prologue, entitled *Therpsichore* ("The Muse of the Dance"). In it all the Muses gather to acclaim Therpsichore and Apollo. Erato sings in honour of Therpsichore and she demonstrates her art.

This opera, or perhaps opera-ballet, staged at the Drottningholm Court Theatre in 1969, was a milestone in the theatre's eighteenth-century productions. Mary Skeaping's choreography exemplifies dance techniques from the 1730s, and above all she intersperses solo song with dances, and introduces dance into the choral scenes in every act.

Sources: John Weaver's dance books from the 1730s, etc.

Proserpin (Opera in one act by Joseph Martin Kraus, libretto by Johan



Fig. 6. Act I, Scene 3 of *Don Juan/Don Juan ou le Festin de Pierre* ("Don Juan or the Stone Guest's Banquet"), pantomime ballet in two acts by Ch. W. Gluck, libretto by R. de'Calzabigi after Molière. A country wedding. The bride (Madeleine Onne) is furthest downstage and Don Juan (Per Arthur Segerström) is upstages. Don Juan was first performed at Drottningholm 1985 by the Royal Swedish Ballet and the Royal Court Orchestra, conducted by Thomas Schuback. Scenography by David Walker and choreography by Regina Beck-Friis. Production: the Royal Opera. Photo: E. M. Rydberg.

Henrik Kellgren). Kraus (1756–1792) wrote this work in 1781 and it had its first night at the Ulriksdal Court Theatre (see also Margaretha Åkerman's and Bertil H. van Boer's articles, and others). *Proserpin*, Kraus' first work for Gustaf III, initiated the pre-romantic era in Sweden. Although inspired by Gluck, there are premonitions here and there of music not unlike that in Act II of *Giselle*, *pièce de résistance* of romanticism. Kraus' score describes for instance a dark and menacing forest landscape.

In 1981 *Proserpin* was revived at Drottningholm Court Theatre on the occasion of its bicentenary. (Producer: Göran Graffman, choreography: Regina Beck-Friis, and conductor: Arnold Östman). The opera only contains a single composed dance scene, that of the bacchantes in Act II; but since many

choral passages are written in a wonderful dancing rhythm it was felt they could equally well be danced as sung. Dancing, in fact, was interfoliated throughout the production, which was rounded off, as well could have been the case in Gustaf III's day, in Drottningholm's English park, outside the theatre, where the audience were invited to witness a pantomimic performance of the opera's action: a torchlight dance, horses, a dragon boat, fireworks, etc. In other words, a real Gustavian adventure!

Sources: Action sketches from Pierre Gardel's *Alcidor*, a fairy opera in 3 acts to music by Dezède which had its première at the Paris Opera in 1787. The sketches were the work of Alexandre Moitte (1750–1828).

The music for Gustavian ballets has been taken from the Royal Swedish Opera's collections in the library of the Academy of Music.

Don Juan / Don Juan ou le Festin de Pierre / ("Don Juan, or the Stone Guest's Banquet"), pantomime ballet in 2 acts by Ch. W. Gluck. The libretto based on Molière's play *Dom Juan ou le Festin de Pierre* is written by R. de'Calzabigi. Choreography: G. Angiolini.

This ballet was one of the first thoroughly composed *ballets d'action*, fruit of a thorough collaboration between composer, librettist and choreographer. Even so, this was still counted as unusual. More commonly, the music for a *ballet d'action* was lifted from various works and composers.

In 1985 *Don Juan* was presented for the first time at Drottningholm (choreography: Regina Beck-Friis, cond: Thomas Schuback, costumes and some of the backcloths and sets added to the theatre's own stock of originals: David Walker). The production went in the Gustavian style. Thus the choreography was about 20 years 'more modern' than the original (Fig. 6).

Sources: Gennaro Magri was the main source for the dance technique, though no choreography is extant from the première.

Participants in the Gustavian Symposium were able to see demonstrations of dances from eighteenth-century ballets, including some of the above. These were given by dancers from the Royal Swedish Opera Ballet and the Cramér Ballet during Ivo Cramér's and the present author's lectures.

Participants also saw performances of *Dansvurmen*, *Fiskarena*, *Don Juan*, *Pygmalion* and *Arlequin, kärlekens trollkarl*, all at the Drottningholm Court Theatre.

NOTES

1. Beauchamp did however sign some dances in his own notation. One sarabande, for instance, is to be seen in Bibliothek des Musikwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Universität Salzburg.
2. Some dances from late 17th and early 18th-century stage productions are extant in the Feuillet system, e.g., from *L'Europe galante* by André Campra and *Fêtes Venetiennes* with dancing master Louis Pécour as *Compositeur des Ballets*.
3. See e.g. Kellom Tomlinson *The Art of Dancing and Six Dances*. London 1735. It contains a collection of six dance suites, published in the Feuillet notation between 1715–1735. They had been commissioned for special occasions. This book is also a translation and development of Feuillet's system.
4. The dance theorist Jean Georges Noverre's epoch-making *Lettres sur la Danse* was published in several editions in Europe; apart from Stuttgart, it appeared in Vienna in 1767, in London 1783, in Paris 1783, in Amsterdam 1787, in Copenhagen 1803 and at St Petersburg 1803–04.

- This last edition was a four-volume collection of Noverre's writings entitled *Lettres sur la Danse et les Ballet et les Arts*, and also comprised scenarios to many of his ballets. The edition is also to be found in the Royal Library, Stockholm, where Noverre had also applied for employment and sent up an exquisitely hand-written copy of *Lettres sur la Danse*, with certain variations. The title is *Programmes des grands ballets historiques héroïques, nationaux, moraux et allégoriques de la composition de Mr. Noverre. Dessinés par Mr. Bouquet premier Dessinateur des menus Plaisirs du Roi de France* (Tome II). Both volumes were sent to the Gustaf III with a dedication, signed by Noverre in his own hand, Paris, January 20, 1791. Part I contains 19 ballets, among them 5 not printed in *Lettres sur la Danse* (Petersburg 1804), an *Observation sur la Contruction d'une nouvelle Salle de l'Opéra* (found in the printed editions of 1781 and 1804) and, in Vol. 2, *Reflexions sur le Costume*, with 147 signed costumes designs by Bouquet. Noverre's application was however turned down. Royal Library (KB), Handskriftsavn.
5. Compare the opera singers' improvised ornamentation of airs during the same period.
 6. In the spring of 1988 *Il Trattato-teorico-prattico di Ballo* was published in Mary Skeaping's English translation.
 7. These sources have been printed in the collection *Monumenta Musicae Svecicae* No. 8, *Musica Svecica Saeculi XVII* No. 5, Edition Reimers, Stockholm 1976, transcribed and published by Jaroslav J. S. Mráček. Here we find music to the new ballroom dances of the day, as well as the dance suite called *Les Nouveaux Branles* (i.e. *Branle [simple/de Mons], Branle gay, Branle à mener ou de Poitou, Branle double de Poitou, Branle de Montirandé, and Gavotte*; to these dances have been added the optional *courantes, sarabandes*, etc.).
 8. These dances are described in *Apologie de la Danse, et de la parfaite Méthode de l'enseigner tant aux Cavaliers qu'aux Dames* published in Paris in 1623 by François de Lauze.
 9. KB and DTM.
 10. This famous carousel has been preserved for posterity in C. G. Einmart's engravings, based on Ehrenstrahl's drawings.
 11. The dancers fell into categories: first dancers, second dancers, coryphées and figurants. A figurant only moved at the rear of the stage. A *dubblende figurant*, i.e. second figurant, was his stand-in.
 12. Dahlgren, F. A., *Anteckningar om Stockholms teatrar 1737-1863*. Stockholm 1866, p.510.
 13. Ibid. p.50.
 14. See also Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell's article "Ballet in Stockholm during the Later Eighteenth Century and its Relationship to Contemporary Trends on the Continent" in *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*" (1984).
 15. One of the first thoroughly composed *ballets d'action*, namely *Don Juan*, choreography: Angiolini, music: Ch. W. Gluck and libretto: Calzabigi, never came to Sweden. (See also appendix.)
 16. As early as the 1930s and 1940s, however, a few performances had been staged on specially festive occasions. These were often divertissements or excerpts from larger works that also included dancing. The choreographer Cissi Ohlsson-Öhrberg did important work for that time for the Drottningholm Court Theatre. In 1949, together with Gustaf Hilleström, who later became the theatre's manager, she created a divertissement with three ballet sections on the history of dance, in order to illustrate developments from the baroque via the rococo to romanticism. It was probably the first attempt of the kind ever made in Sweden, and even if it involved no close study of early dance techniques, was epoch making. The dances performed were from *L'Europe galante* by Campra (1697), some Swedish dances from *Birger Jarl* to music by Uttini (1774) and Act II of *Giselle* (1845). This last had not been danced in Sweden since 1846.
 17. Hallman, C. I., *Tillfälle gör tjufven*. (Stockholm 1783).
 18. Johan Fredrik Grenser (b. at Dresden, d. in Stockholm 1795) was also an oboist (1773-83) and later a flautist (1783-95) in the court orchestra.
 19. *Tillfälle gör tjufven* was one of the 8 pure ballets and some 30 opera ballets he created.
 20. MAB.
 21. MAB.
 22. de'Calzabigi, R., *Orpheus och Euridice*. Stockholm 1773.
 23. Marie Sallé was in London with this ballet troupe in the 1730s, where she set the new style and was a forerunner both of the *ballet d'action* and later also of the reforms in costume which would take place in the second half of the century.

BALLET IN THE ROYAL OPERA'S REPERTOIRE 1773–1806

Magnus Blomkvist

THE CREATION OF THE Swedish opera in Stockholm has rightly been regarded as a miracle. What was even more remarkable, however, was the simultaneous birth of Swedish ballet, with artistes of international standing and a corps de ballet that impressed even the most exigent foreigners. For this latter miracle we have to thank one man: Louis Gallodier, a forty-year-old Frenchman who when he was summoned to Stockholm to join the French troupe in 1758 already had behind him a career in Paris. It was he who would build up the opera ballet, provide them with a repertoire, organize the dance school, and himself dance the leading roles. In his *Anteckningar om svenska teaterns uppkomst*, ("Notes concerning the origins of Swedish theatre", 1777), Gallodier is the only person for whom G. J. Ehrensvärd has nothing but praise:

I owe him the justice of saying that without him and his energy, his concern, his painstaking work, and all the trouble he took to put everything in order, the opera would not be what it is today, but have given up after one unsuccessful attempt.

Not merely did Gallodier found the Swedish ballet; throughout the entire Gustavian period, right up to his death in 1803, he remained its leader. During all that long time he had created ballets for more than 31 operas and for at least 8 pantomime ballets. Nor should we forget that in the eighteenth century opera ballets—unlike the pantomime ballets, which, often shorter, would be inserted to round off an evening in a jolly mood—could demand an hour and half of continuous dancing. This meant that people laid greater store by the operatic ballets, and it was there the important débuts were made. (Contrary to

today's situation, where the stipulated dance episodes are mostly introduced as a matter of routine.)

The Gustavian repertoire can be seen broadly as falling into three periods:

1. 1773–1782, when ballets were danced in the Bollhus Theatre, which from the outset was too cramped, and where a repertoire of Swedish-language operas was built up.

2. 1782–1792, when the opera had at its disposition both the Bollhus and the great new opera house, on what today is Gustav Adolfs torg. It was chiefly this period that came up to Gustaf's vision of a living theatre, striking a happy balance between original Swedish works and the best foreign operas.

3. 1792–1806, when the Bollhus was demolished and replaced by the Arsenal Theatre, in the old Makalös Palace, behind the Opera. Though this last period is typified by an ever more intensive theatrical activity, artistic idiosyncrasy wanes.

The first ten years are wholly dominated by the operas, 19 in all, and all with choreography by Gallodier. Of these, 8 whole works were composed entirely for Stockholm, 7 were translated from French—the *derniers cris* from Paris during the 1760s and 1770s—and 3 operas by Gluck: *Orpheus och Euridice* ("Orpheus and Euridice"), *Iphigenie uti Auliden* ("Iphigenia in Aulis") and *Alceste*. This is a great deal of dancing to be the work of a single choreographer; and after the first years of enthusiasm, objections begin to be heard that the ballet has become humdrum. In 1778 we hear a writer—probably the poet and critic Kellgren—complaining in the newspaper *Stockholms Posten* of the soullessness of the dances in *Aline, drottning av Golconda* ("Aline, Queen of Golconda"). By and by Kellgren will be openly critical of *Iphigenie uti Auliden*, call for dancing that is more dramatically motivated, and wonder why Noverre's dances are not being imported from Paris. It was during this period that discussion of Noverre's *Lettres sur la Danse* and Gluck's operatic reforms was at its peak in Stockholm.

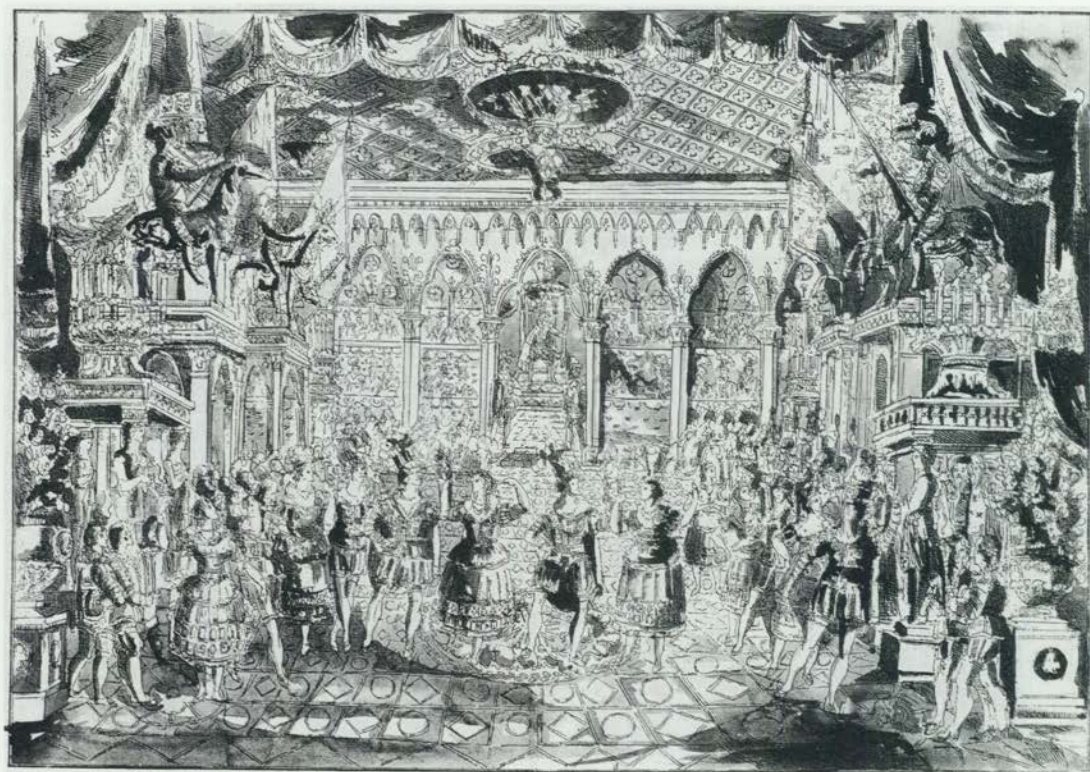
All this criticism of Gallodier, however, was not in the least hostile. On the contrary, his few autonomous ballets so far were being much admired. As early as 1776 a pantomime ballet called *Isabella och Gertrud*, described as a "dance to eloquent arias", had been presented, with Gallodier and Mme Du Tillet in the lead roles. In 1778, Kellgren rounded off his review of *Aline* by highlighting Gallodier's few scenes in a pantomime ballet in *Adonis* under the title *Endymion*



Fig. 1. Warrior and amazon in Frigga, lyrical drama in one act by O. Åhlström, libretto by C. C. af Leopold. Costumes for chief dancers. Watercolour pencil drawings in the costume books of the Royal Opera, about 1800. KTA.

och Diana. This may have been one reason why three new ballets were presented in 1779, among them an autonomous *Diana och Endymion*. But another is that Gallodier, in late 1778, had got a new premier danseur, and that this was enabling him to devote more of his time to his own ballets.

Like most of the dancers, the newcomer, whose name was Jean Marcadet, had come to Stockholm via Paris. As a child he had danced in Mme Pompadour's children's ballet, led by De Hesse—the same De Hesse who had breathed new life into ballets with popular motifs and had created a more expressive style of dancing. In the 1760s Marcadet had been at Stuttgart, at the time when Noverre was creating his *Ballets d'action*. Though at first he only appeared as a dancer, during the 1782–92 period he would become active as a choreographer, creating several ballets from the Parisian opera's repertoire: *Annette et Lubin*, *Rosette de la Salency*, *Ninette à la Cour* and *Les Petits Riens*,



Adelcrantzens

Adelcrantzens

Fig. 2. Act I, scene 4 in *Gustaf Wasa*. Torchlight dance. Engraving by John Hall, 1820. UUB.

all based on versions by Noverre or Gardel. But he also created such original works as *Ståndaktighetens seger* ("The Triumph of Constancy") and *Roxelanas kröning* ("Coronation of Roxelana").

The inauguration of Adelcrantz' new opera house in 1782 provided at long last enough room for grand-scale operatic productions. And it was in the same year that Antoine Bournonville and his sister Julie were engaged. Antoine's latest engagement had been with The King's Theatre in London, where he had danced in Noverre's company, and among her other engagements Julie, rather more than ten years her brother's senior, had danced for the Russian court in Angiolini's ballets in the 1760's. In the following year the soloists were augmented by the young Giovanna Bassi, who, like Antoine Bournonville, was one of Dauberval's pupils. This gave Stockholm its first prima ballerina—naturally at a top salary. With such solo dancers and an ever

Fig. 3. Act III, scene 7 in Gustaf Wasa. "Happy dreams". The dreams are personified by twelve female dancers. A ballet costume of light blue taffeta with silver gauze symbolized Gustaf Wasa's happy dreams of victory. Water-colour pencil drawing in the costume books of the Royal Opera, about 1800. KTA.



more capable corps de ballet, the Stockholm Opera was now regarded as one of Europe's better theatres. Thanks to Marcadet and Bournonville it came into contact with the latest developments in *ballet d'action*. Gallodier too, still in charge of the opera ballets, renewed himself remarkably. Staging *Iphigenie uti Tauriden* ("Iphigenia in Tauris"), he obviously followed Dauberval's Parisian production, and was praised for the dramatic coherence of the dancing. His productions for *Gustaf Wasa* (Fig. 2–4), *Christina* and the Parisian version of *Orpheus och Euridice*, too, were highly appreciated. In 1785 he also created *Tillfälle gör tjufven* ("Opportunity Makes the Thief"), the first genuinely popular ballet of Swedish origin.

In every way the 1780s were the period of greatest artistic fruition, striking as they did a happy balance between grand opera, *opéra-comique* and dancing, and with Swedish themes e.g. *Gustaf Wasa* and *Gustaf Adolph och Ebba Brahe*, both expressive of Gustaf's efforts to create a Swedish national theatre—dominating the repertoire.

The years 1786–87 gave Stockholmers a chance to appreciate the talents of the young Charles-Louis Didelot, both as dancer and choreographer. In his early youth Didelot had been sent to Paris to learn his



Fig. 4. Act II, scene 2 and 3 in *Gustaf Wasa*. "One of the Shades of the Ribbing children." Despatched at his command, King Christian is haunted in his dreams by the shades of his boy victims. "They are young children dressed in white serecloths, bloody at the neck, hair loose and with their arms around each other's waists." They say: "From the grave's darkness/We rise up for revenge./Oh cruel one! Hope not for reconciliation;/The hour of punishment is at hand./Youth, innocence, tears, prayers/All that lies in human wishes/Against thy hatred nothing could prevail:/But fear!—A God and Father/Shall require again our blood/Barbarian! Tremble, flee!" Watercolour pencil drawing in the costume books of the Royal Opera, about 1800. KTA.

art at the king's expense, but all Gustaf got out of his investment was two seasons, during which Didelot danced in most of the ballets and created the choreography for *Frigga* (Fig. 1), one of the first operas with a theme from Nordic mythology, naturally based on an idea of Gustaf's.

One measure of how important the ballet had become to the operas is the 1787 production of Gluck's *Armide*, the choreography to Acts I and III being by Marcadet, for Acts II and IV by Gallodier, and for Act V by Bournonville.

During the 1780s there was also a French troupe in Stockholm. Led

by Monvel it had been imported at the king's expense in 1788 to set the standard for the Royal Dramatic Theatre. Its inauguration in 1788 meant that the Swedish capital now had three royal theatres, all drawing on dancers from the opera ballet. The four last years prior to 1792 were the first climax, with up to 190 performances a year, more than 80 of them with ballet.

Though the assassin's pistol at the opera masquerade of March 16, 1792 abruptly interrupted all theatre, it by no means put paid to it. In the following year the ballet staged nine pantomimes, among them one on the Télémaque theme by Antoine Bournonville, and three ballets by Marcadet, among them the first harlequinade. Up to 1800, the peak year, 71 new ballets were staged, the 1800 record being 32 different works with ballet, 17 of them being ballets pure and simple.

Besides Marcadet and Gallodier, two new choreographers made original contributions. One of these was the Swedish-born Louis Deland. Like Didelot, he had been sent to Paris to study, but in 1791 he returned as premier danseur, and later took over the choreography of the minor ballets from Marcadet, who in 1795 resigned to carve out a career for himself in Paris and London. Deland introduced the latest Parisian novelties: on the one hand comic ballets, on the other such antique-style ballets as *Venus och Adonis*, *Diana och kärleken* ("Diana and Love") and *Echo och Narcissus*, thus marking, after a period of eclipse, a return of the old gods to the stage. Deland also put on ballets in the new melodramatic genre, in which the heroine, after passing terrifying nights in the clutches of the villain, was always rescued by the hero in the finale: typical titles being *Stråtröfwaren* ("The Highwayman"), *Den svartsjuka vilden* ("The Jealous Savage"), *Röfwarekulan* ("The Robbers' Den") and *Skeppsbrottet* ("The Shipwreck"). Deland also created the first long-run ballet: *Den komiska balletten* ("The Comic Ballet"). It would have no fewer than 118 performances up to the 1840s.

The other dancer and choreographer was Federico Nadi Terrade, who came from Florence. He was the first assistant Gallodier had ever had after being solely responsible for the ballet for 22 years. Little by little Terrade took over the opera ballets. In 1795 he created a new choreography for the third production of Gluck's *Orpheus och Euri-dice*, now in a combination of the original and the 1774 Paris versions. Many of the earlier operas, e.g. *Alceste*, *Andromaque*, *Atys*, *Cora och Alonzo* and *Gustaf Wasa*, resumed their place in the repertoire, often with choreographies by both Gallodier and Terrade.; or else, as was the case with *Roland* and *Atys*, an opera would be put on

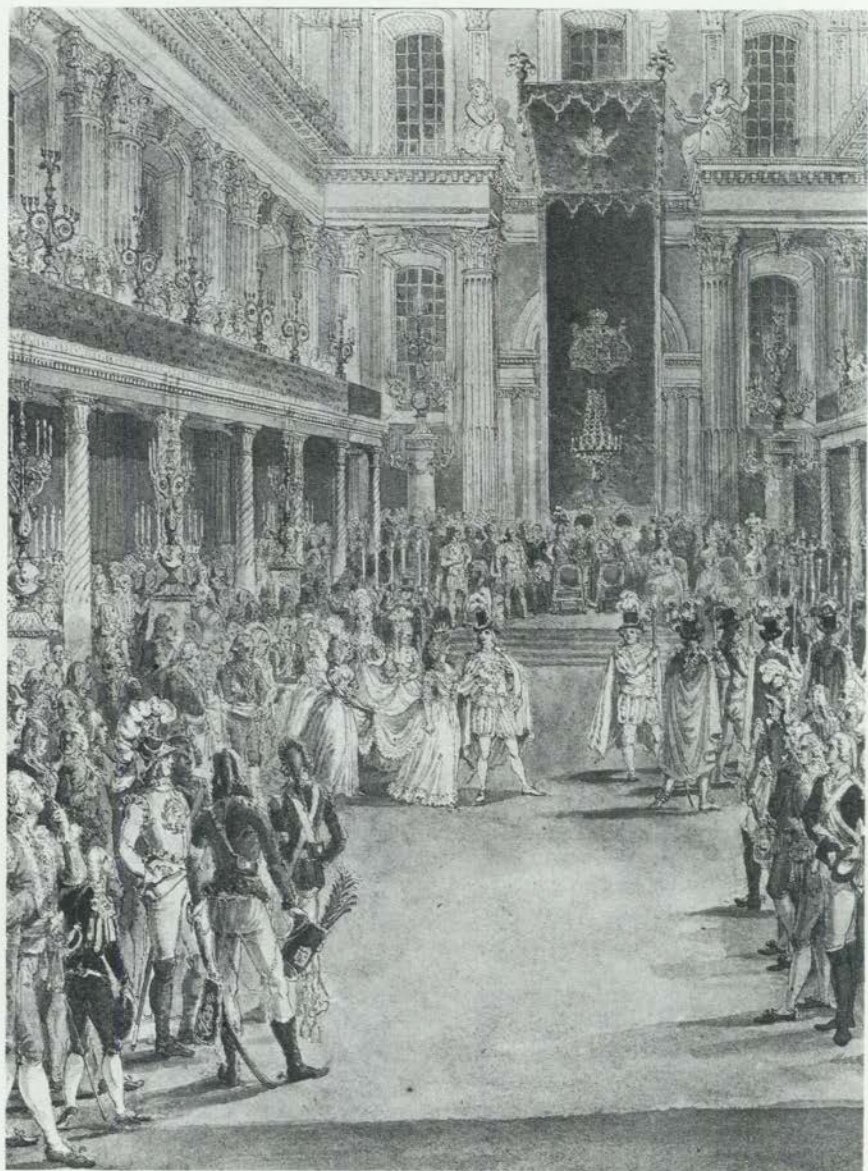


Fig. 5. Torchlight dance in the Hall of State, Stockholm Palace, at the time of Gustaf IV Adolf's nuptials in 1799. Watercolour pencil drawing by M. R. He-land, detail. NM.

first with Gallodier's ballet, then, a few days later, with a new one by Terrade.

The same year as Terrade arrived in Stockholm, Giovanna Bassi retired; and next year Bournonville left Stockholm for Copenhagen.

The first years of the nineteenth century saw Terrade and Deland sharing the ballets between them, and a repertoire dominated by late eighteenth-century French works. But at the very turn of the new century Kraus' great opera *Æneas i Carthago* at long last had its premiere, a magnificent opera with more than 36 dance numbers. The ballet's share of operas was indeed becoming ever more dominant and expensive. And it was this which made Gustaf III's successor, Gustaf IV Adolf (Fig. 5), ask whether it was really the king's business to pay for it all. He was no friend of the opera house, which was costing more and more money, and which furthermore had been the indirect cause of his father's death.

In 1803 an attempt was made to mollify the king by putting on a new grand opera on the occasion of the churching of the queen after she had been delivered of her first-born. The choice fell on Grétry's opera *Anacreon på Samos ö* ("Anacreon on the Isle of Samos"), with ballets by Terrade. In them a young man from Paris, Filippo Taglioni, was to make his début. But though all the circumstances were propitious, the whole project ended in catastrophe. The queen's sensibilities were offended by old Anacreon's amorous adventures and ideas on morals, causing the king to view the whole spectacle with horror. Before ever being shown to the usual opera-goers *Anacreon* was banned. Yet Taglioni stayed on for two more years, dancing in Deland's production of *Dansvurmen* ("Dance Mania"). Before leaving he also married the opera-singer Karsten's daughter, who soon gave birth to a daughter, christened Marie Taglioni.

In 1806, during the unhappy Finnish war, Gustaf Adolph managed to force through the opera's closure, the dismissal of its ballet and even the opera house's demolition. Only the last decision was never carried into effect, thanks to the circumstance that the opera house was State, not the king's personal, property. Even so, it was converted into a hospital for war-wounded returning from Finland.

Thus ended three decades which, within that brief space of time, had witnessed the ballet's transformation from the usual French operatic style to an independent ensemble, with a repertoire and a standard of dancing second to none in Europe.

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APPENDIX I

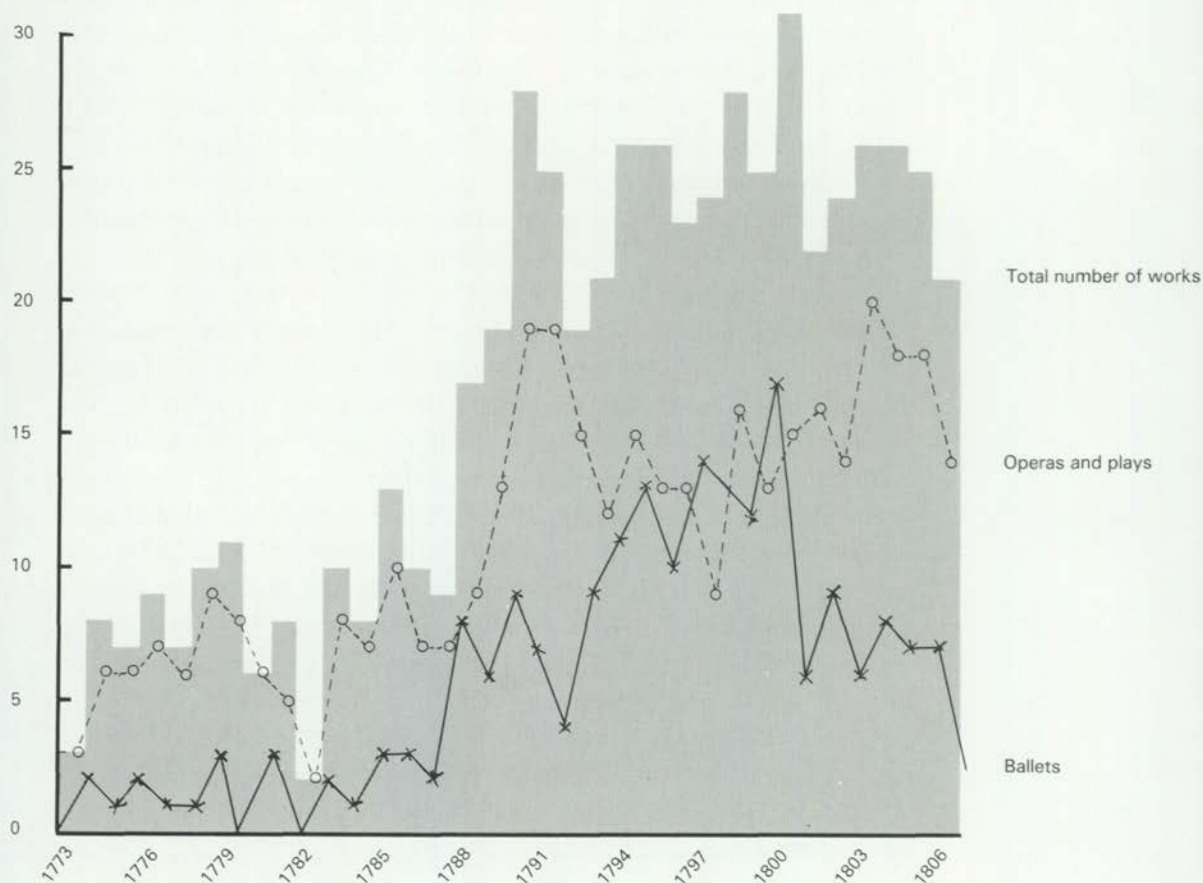


Diagram 1. Number of works for the ballet 1773–1806.

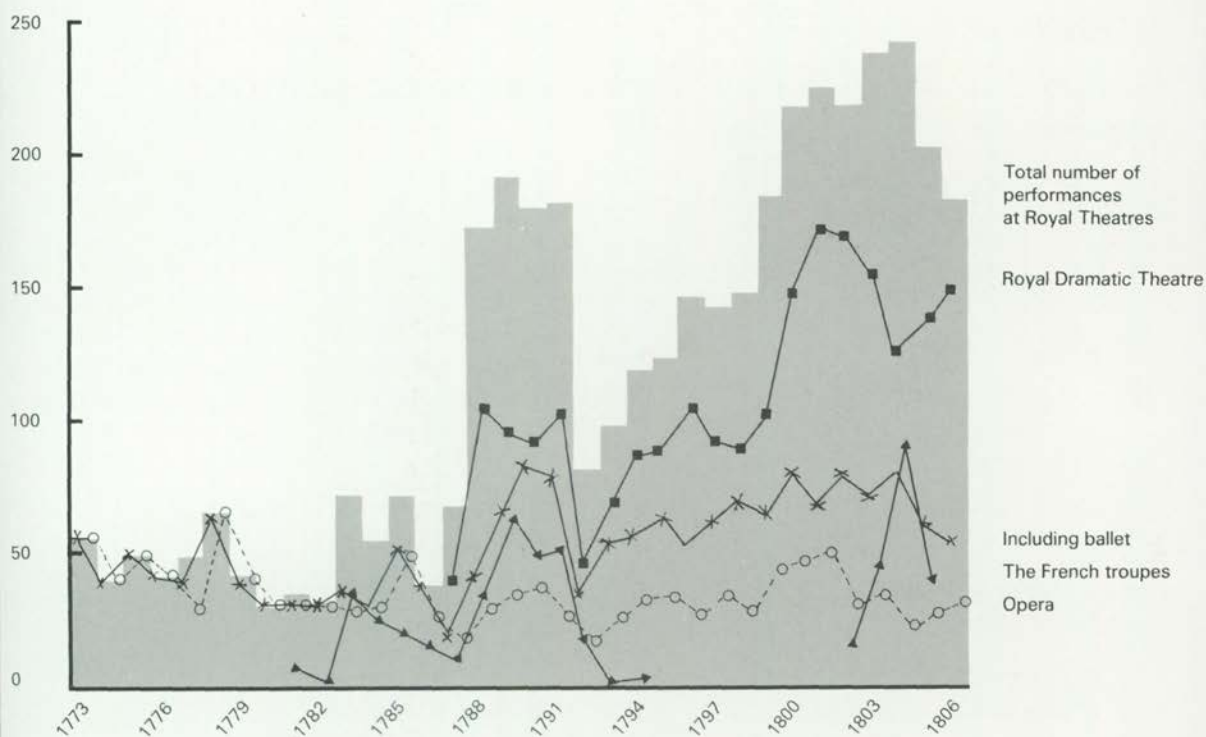


Diagram 2. Number of performances at the royal theatres 1773-1806.

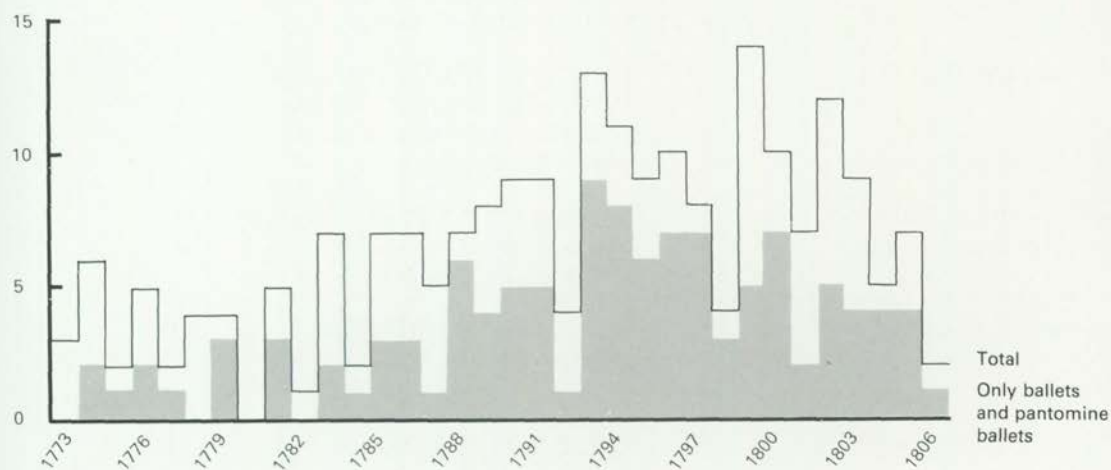


Diagram 3. Number of new productions with ballet 1773-1806.

APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WORKS IN WHICH THE BALLET PARTICIPATED, 1773-1806.

Abbreviations: Dr. = Drottningholm Court Theatre
 Fr. spec. = French troupe.
 Gr. = Gripsholm
 Ch. = Choreographer
 M. = Composer
 Ul. = The Confidencen Court Theatre, at Ulriksdal
 W.pr. = World première

Year	Ballets	Operas and plays
1773		THETIS OCH PELEE 18/1 M: F. Uttini Ch: L. Gallodier ACIS OCH GALATHEA 10/5. W.pr.1732 M: G. F. Handel Ch: L. Gallodier ORPHEUS OCH EURIDICE 25/11. W.pr.1762 M: C. W. Gluck Ch: L. Gallodier
1774	A MAJOR PANTOMIME BALLET 24/1 Ch: L. Gallodier BALLETT AF SKÅNSKA BÖNDER 24/1 ("Ballet by Skanian Peasants")	SVEAS HÖGTID 23/6 ("Svea's Festival") M: F. Zellbell. BIRGER JARL OCH MECHTILD by G. F. Gyllenborg, on an idea by Gustaf III. M: F. Uttini Ch: L. Gallodier ÆGLE 8/7 M: H. Ph. Johnsen Ch: L. Gallodier SILVIE 13/7 W.pr. 1766 M: P. M. Berton & J. C. Trial Ch: L. Gallodier & Frossard
1775	BALLETS 20/3	NEPTUN OCH AMPHITRITE 24/4 M: H. Ph. Johnsen Ch: L. Gallodier (THETIS OCH PELÉE, shortened version, 30/10)
1776	DE FYRA ELEMENTEN 22/3 ("The Four Elements") ISABELLA OCH GERTRUD 25/11 Ch: L. Gallodier	ALINE, DROTTNING AV GOLCONDA 11/1 ("Aline, Queen of Golconda") M: F. Uttini Ch: L. Gallodier ADONIS 5/2 M: C. Walther Ch: L. Gallodier LUCILE 19/6 W.pr. 1769 M: A. E. F. Grétry Ch: L. Gallodier
1777	BALLET COMIQUE 14/4 Ch: L. Gallodier	ALEXIS 15/5 W.pr. 1769 M: P.A. de Monsigny Ch: L. Gallodier PROCRIS OCH CEPHAL 8/1 W.pr. 1773 ("Céphale et Procris") M: arr. by S. Lalin Ch: L. Gallodier AMPHION 26/1 M: J. G. Naumann Ch: L. Gallodier ZEMIR OCH AZOR 22/7 W.pr. 1771

- 1779 PANTOMIMBALLET 29/1
DIANA OCH ENDYMION 6/5
Ch: L. Gallodier
NEW BALLET 3/6
- 1781 ANNETTE OCH LUBIN 28/3
W.pr. 1778
Ch: J. Marcadet (?)
ZEPHERINE 8/10
- 1782
- 1783 INTERMEDE 22/7
BALLETS 22/9 Dr.
- 1784 PANTOMIME BALLETS 21/6
- 1785 TILFÄLLE GÖR TJUVFEN 14/2
("Opportunity Makes the Thief")
Ch: L. Gallodier
LES MEUNIERS PROVENCEAUX 14/3
("The Provincial Millers")
Ch: A. Bournonville M: J. F. Grenser
LA CLOCHETTE 26/8 Dr.
- 1786 BALLET DES TROIS GRACES 24/3
BALLETS 19/8
- M: A. E. F. Grétry Ch: L. Gallodier
IPHIGENIE UTI AULIDEN 28/12 W.pr. 1774
("Iphigénie en Aulide")
M: C. W. Gluck Ch: L. Gallodier
- ARSENE 22/7 Dr. W.pr. 1773
M: P. A. de Monsigny Ch: L. Gallodier
- ALCESTE 26/2 W.pr. 1767
M: C. W. Gluck Ch: L. Gallodier
- ROLAND 28/7 10/12 W.pr. 1778
M: N. Piccini Ch: L. Gallodier
- CORA OCH ALONZO 30/9
M: J. G. Naumann Ch: L. Gallodier
- GUSTAF ADOLPHS ÄDELMOD 14/1 Gr.
("The Magnanimity of Gustavus Adolphus") by Gustaf III
IPHIGENIE UTI TAURIDEN 5/5 W.pr. 1779
("Iphigénie en Tauride")
M: C. W. Gluck Ch: L. Gallodier
ODEN OCH FRIGGA 15/5 Ul.
ARLEQUIN HULLA 24/6 Fr. spec.
("Nice Harlequin") by D. Biancolelli
MASKERADEN 19/8 Dr.
("The Masquerade")
- ATYS 1/11 W.pr. 1780
M: N. Piccini Ch: L. Gallodier
- LE MARIAGE DE FIGARO 20/5 Fr. spec.
by P. A. de Beaumarchais
- ANDROMAQUE 22/7 W.pr. 1780
M: A. E. F. Grétry Ch: L. Gallodier
PASCHAN FRÅN SURESNE 27/8 Dr..
("Le Pacha de Suresne")
by C. G. Etienne
AMOUR POUR AMOUR 28/8
by La Chaussée
- GUSTAF WASA 19/1
M: J. G. Naumann Ch: L. Gallodier
LE MALADE IMAGINAIRE 27/7 Dr.
by Molière

- LA ROSIERE DE SALENCY 4/12
W.pr: 1775
Ch: J. Marcadet
- 1787 NINETTE A LA COUR 12/3
W.pr. 1778
Ch: J. Marcadet
M: Ciampi & Duni
- 1788 TURKISH BALLET 28/1
BALLET 20/2
STÅNDAKTIGHETENS SEGER
("Le Triomphe de la Constance")
21/4
Ch: J. Marcadet
DIVERTISSEMENT 5/6
L'ORACLE 17/9
(LES MEUNIER PROVENCEAUX,
revised version 7/8)
- 1789 FISKARENA 9/3
("The Fishermen")
Ch: A. Bournonville M: J. M. Kraus
A MAJOR BALLET 16/9
ROXELANES KRÖNING 22/9
("Roxelane's Coronation")
Ch: J. Marcadet M: J. M. Kraus
was performed together with
SOLIMAN II
PANTOMIME BALLET 4/10 Fr. spec.
- 1790 NATHALIES KRÖNINGSFEST 11/2
("Nathalie's Coronation
Banquet") Ch: J. Marcadet
performed with ALEXIS MICHAELWITZ
AND NATALIA NARISKIN
LE SCULPTEUR DUPE 10/3
Ch: J. Marcadet
BALLET 29/6
- HERR de POURCEAUGNAC 8/9 Dr.
by Molière
ORPHEUS OCH EURIDICE 11/5 W.pr. 1774
M: C. W. Gluck Ch: L. Gallodier
- ARMIDE 24/1 W.pr. 1777
M: C. W. Gluck Ch: J. Marcadet, L. Gallodier
and A. Bournonville
- FRIGGA 31/5
M: O. Åhlström Ch: Ch. Didelot
ELECTRA 22/7 Dr.
M: J. C. F. Hæffner
CHRISTINA 19/8 Dr.
by Gustaf III
M: C. F. Müller Ch: L. Gallodier
- GUSTAF ADOLPH OCH EBBA BRAHE 24/1
M: G. J. Vogler Ch: L. Gallodier
- LES VENDANGES DE SURENE 21/1
by Dancourt
- LES TALENS A LA MODE 1/4
by L. D. de Boissy
Ch: A. Bournonville (?)
DEN BEDRAGNE BASCHAN 21/4
("The Pascha Deceived")
by Gustaf III M: O. Åhlström
(GUSTAF ADOLPHS ÄDELMOD, repeat
14/3)
- SLÄDPARTIET 28/3
("The Sleigh Party") by
C. G. von Holthusen M: J. F. Grenser
Ch: J. Marcadet
- DEUCALION OCH PYRRHA 21/10. W.pr. 1772
M: G. Sarti Ch: J. Marcadet
FÖDELSEDAGEN 20/11
("The Birthday") by Gustaf III

- DANCE DIVERTISSEMENT 9/9
(BIRGER JARL OCH MECHTILD, new production
18/12) M: F. Uttini Ch: J. Marcadet
- PERSEE OCH ANDROMEDE 18/12
Ch: J. Marcadet
- 1791 DET DUBBLA GIFTERMÅLET 12/1
("Le Double Mariage")
Ch: J. Marcadet
LES PETITS RIENS 16/3
W.pr. 1778 Ch: J. Marcadet
PANTOMIME BALLET 1/7 Fr. Spec.
Ch: G. Bassi
Pupils' performance:
PANTOMIME BALLET 14/4
Ch: J. Bournonville Alix
NEW PANTOMIME BALLET 8/9
Ch: J. Bournonville Alix
- 1792 Pupils' performance:
PANTOMIME BALLET 18/2
Ch: J. Bournonville Alix
- 1793 MIRZA OCH LINDOR 28/1
W.pr. 1779
Ch: J. Marcadet
LES MARCHANDES DE MODES 6/2
Ch: J. Marcadet
L'ISLE DESERTE 9/3
Ch: Victor
- LE RENDEZ-VOUS COMIQUE 3/5
Ch: L. Gallodier
- PANTOMIME BALLET about Télémaque
7/10
Ch: A. Bournonville
PANTOMIME BALLET 6/11 at the
Palace
ARLEQUIN MAGICIEN PAR AMOUR
18/12
Ch: J. Marcadet
COMIQUE DIVERTISSEMENT BALLET
21/12
Ch: Giboin
ENGLISH DIVERTISSEMENT BALLET
21/12
Ch: Giboin
- LA PUPILLE by C. B. Fagan 12/1
- RICHARD COEUR DE LION 14/12 W.pr. 1784
Fr. Spec. M: A. E. F. Grétry
(CHRISTINA, repeat 24/1)
M: C. F. Müller Ch: L. Gallodier (?)
- LE GALANT COUREUR 3/2
by M. A. Légrand
LES DEUX PETITS SAVOYARDS 15/2 W.pr.
1789 Fr. spec .
M: N. Dalayrac Ch: J. Marcadet (?)
LE COCHER SUPPOSE 22/2
by N. de Hauteroche
- FOLKE BIRGERSON TIL RINGSTAD 28/1
("Raoul, Sire de Crequil")
M: N. Dalayrac Ch: L. Gallodier
AZEMIA 6/6 W.pr. 1786
M: N. Dalayrac Ch: F. N. Terrade (?)
WERKELIG IMPROMPTU 5/8 perf. at the Palace
("Real impromptu") by
C. G. Leopold
DEN STORMIGA AFTONEN 7/10 Dr. W.pr.
1790
("La Soirée Orageuse") by Radet M: N. Dalayrac

- 1794 LE TUTEUR DUPE 19/5
Ch: J. Marcadet

LES DEUX PUPILLES 26/5

DIVERTISSEMENT I DANS 6/6
("Dance Divertissement")
Ch: J. Marcadet
BALLET 7/8 Dr.
DIVERTISSEMENT OF PANTOMIME
BALLETS 1/11
Ch: L. Gallodier
ALEXIS ("Le Deserteur") 26/11
W.pr. 1785
Ch: J. Marcadet
STRÅTRÖFVARNA 18/12 ("The Highwaymen")
Ch: L. Deland M: E. Du Puy
- (DE TVÅ SAVOYARDERNE 6/6 new Swedish production)
("Les Deux Petits Savoyards")
M: N. Dalayrac Ch: J. Marcadet (?)
ROI DE COCAGNE 17/8 Dr.
by M. A. Legrand M: F. Quinault
DET FARLIGA FÖRTROENDET 1/11
("Le Rival Confident")
W.pr. 1788
- 1795 BALLET DE DIVERTISSEMENT 19/3
Ch: L. Casagli
DEN SVARTSJUKE VILDEN 17/4
("Le Sauvage Jaloux")
Ch: L. Deland
FOGELBUREN 16/8 Dr.
("The Birdcage") Ch: F. N. Terrade
DEN NARRADE BAILLI 15/10
("The Bailiff") Ch: L. Deland
LE TRIOMPHE DE L'AMOUR 19/11
Ch: L. Deland
DIVERTISSEMENT AV BOND- OCH
DALDANSER 19/11
("Divertissement of Peasant and
Dalecarlian Dances")
Ch: L. Deland. Performed with DEN
OROLIGA NATTEN.
- LODOISKA 2/11 W.pr. 1791
M: R. Kreutzer Ch: F. N. Terrade
(ORPHEUS OCH EURIDICE 17/12 new Swedish
production) W.Pr. 1762 & 1774
M: C. W. Gluck Ch: F. N. Terrade
- 1796 PANTOMIMBALLET 11/1

ARLEQUINS DÖD 29/1
("Death of Harlequin")
Ch: F. N. Terrade

DIVERTISSEMENT 9/5
Ch: F. N. Terrade
L'IMPROMPTU DU COEUR 6/6
W.pr. 1792 (?)
Ch: L. Gallodier
- GREFVE D'ALBERT 15/10 Dr. W.pr.1786
("Le comte d'Albert")
M: A. E. F. Grétry Ch: F. N. Terrade
CARAVANEN 1/11 W.pr. 1783
("Le Caravan du Caire")
M: A. E. F. Grétry Ch: L. Gallodier,
F. N. Terrade & Ch. J. Ambrosiani

(ALEXIS new production 26/11)
("Le Deserteur")
M: P. A. de Monsigny
Ch: F. N. Terrade

- EN COMIQUE BALLET 28/9
 ("A Humorous Ballet")
 Ch: L. Deland
 MUNKEN OCH HALMKÄRVEN 9/12
 ("The Monk and the Bale of Straw")
 Ch: L. Deland
 ARLEQUIN TROLLKARL 9/12
 ("Harlequin the Magician")
 Ch: L. Deland
- 1797 DEN BEDRAGNE MÅLAREN 9/2
 ("Le Peintre Cocu")
 Ch: F. N. Terrade
 DEN FINTLIGE ÄLSKAREN 1/3
 ("Colin et Annette")
 Ch: L. Gallodier
 SKOGVAKTAREN 27/4
 ("The Gamekeeper")
 Ch: F. N. Terrade
 RÖFVAREKULAN 16/5
 ("The Robbers' Den")
 Ch: L. Deland
 DE TVÅ ARLEQUINERNE 23/5
 ("The Two Harlequins")
 Ch: L. Deland
 BALLET 13/12
 Pupils' performance:
 DIVERTISSEMENT BALLET 26/1
- 1798 ARLEQUIN FAUSSE MOMIE 16/4
 Ch: F. N. Terrade
 NYA FOGELBUREN 11/6
 ("The New Birdcage")
 Ch: F. N. Terrade
 Pupils' performance:
 DIVERTISSEMENT 31/1
- 1799 PANTOMIMBALLET AF 3 SERSKILDA
 CHARACTERER 7/2
 ("Pantomime Ballet by 3
 Separate characters")
 Ch: F. N. Terrade M: P. J. Lambert
 perf. together with Fiskaren
 SKEPPSBROTTET 28/3
 ("The Shipwreck")
 Ch: L. Deland
 DIVERTISSEMENT 25/4
 BALLET 16/5
- (RICHARD LEJONHJÄRTA, new Swedish
 production 30/1) W.pr. 1784
 ("Richard Coeur de Lion") by J. M. Sedaine
 M: A. E. F. Grétry Ch: F. N. Terrade
- FISKAREN 9/11
 ("Toberne, ou le pêcheur
 suédois")
 M: A. B. Bruni Ch: F. N. Terrade
- (ANDROMAQUE, new prod. 14/1)
 W.pr. 1780. M: A. E. F. Grétry
 Ch: L. Gallodier and F. N. Terrade
 (ROLAND, new prod. 15/11) W.pr. 1770
 M: N. Piccini Ch: F. N. Terrade
- DEN UNGE ARRESTANTEN 25/4
 ("Le Prisonnier") W.pr. 1783
 M: D. Della Maria Ch: F. N. Terrade
 (GREFVE D'ALBERT 16/5 repeat W.pr.
 1786)
 M: A. E. F. Grétry Ch: F. N. Terrade

BALLET PANTOMIME 30/8 Dr.

DEN UNGA BRUDEN 6/6 W.pr. 1783

("Le Droit du Seigneur")

M: J. P. E. Martini

Ch: F. N. Terrade

FIGAROS BRÖLLOP 19/10

("Le Mariage de Figaro") by

P. A. de Beaumarchais

ÆNEAS I CARTHAGO Dido och Æneas

("Æneas in Carthago") 18/11

M: J. M. Kraus Ch: F. N. Terrade

PANURGE PÅ LANTERNE-ÖN 16/12

W.pr. 1785 ("Panurge dans l'Isle des

Lanternes")

M: A. E. F. Grétry Ch: F. N. Terrade

CAMILLA 30/8 Dr. W.pr. 1791

M: N. Dalayrac

Pupils' perf: LES POMMIERS ET LE

MOULIN 30/1

W.pr. 1790. M: Le Moyne Ch: F. N. Terrade

1800 DET FALSKA SPÖKET 27/1

("The Bogus Ghost")

Ch: F. N. Terrade M: P. J. Lambert

BARBERAREN I SEVILLA 24/2

("Barber of Seville")

Ch: F. N. Terrade

DIVERTISSEMENT 21/4

Ch: F. N. Terrade

KÄRLEKENS BEDRÄGERI 29/5

("La Tromperie de l'Amour")

Ch: L. Deland

A BALLET 16/6

Ch: F. N. Terrade

ENLEVERINGEN 1/12

("The Robber Band")

Ch: L. Deland

ZELIMA 11/12

Ch: Bautain

IPHIGENIE DEN ANDRA 25/2

("La Petite Iphigénie")

by C. S. Favart

(ALCESTE, new prod. 13/3 W.pr. 1767)

M: C.W. Gluck Ch: F. N. Terrade

CEDIPUS I ATHEN 1/11 W.pr. 1786

M: A. M. G. Sacchini Ch: F. N. Terrade

1801 DIANA OCH KÄRLEKEN 12/1

("Diana and Love")

Ch: L. Deland

A DIVERTISSEMENT 22/1

Ch: L. Deland

RENAUD 24/1

M: J. C. F Hæffner Ch: F. N. Terrade

(ATYS, new production 26/2) W.pr. 1780

M: N. Piccini Ch: F. N. Terrade

(CORA OCH ALONZO new production 13/4)

M: J. G. Naumann Ch: L. Gallodier &

F. N. Terrade

FATIMA 19/10

("Gulnare, ou l'esclave persane")

M: N. Dalayrac Ch: F. N. Terrade

(GUSTAF WASA new prod. 2/11)

M: J. G. Naumann Ch: F. N. Terrade

- 1802 VENUS OCH ADONIS 1/2
Ch: L. Deland
- DIVERTISSEMENT OF BALLETS 6/5
- ZELIE OCH LYCHORIS 2/12
Ch: Gigel
- ECHO OCH NARCISSUS 21/12
Ch: L. Deland
- Pupils' perf.:
DIVERTISSEMENT AV DANS 20/7
Ch: F. N. Terrade
- (IPHIGENIE UTI AULIDEN, new production 22/2) W.pr. 1774
M: C. W. Gluck Ch: F. N. Terrade
(ARMIDE new production 30/3) W.pr. 1777
M: C. W. Gluck Ch: F. N. Terrade
SKÖN KIRSTIN OCH MATTS HANE 24/11
("Lovely Kirstin and Matts Hane")
by J. D. Valerius
GUBBEN I BERGSBYGDEN 6/5 W.Pr. 1797
("La Maison Isolée") M: N. Dalayrac
Ch: L. Deland
(TILLFÄLLE GÖR TJUFVEN
new production 22/5) by C. I. Hallman
- GREFVEN AV CASTELLI 4/8
("Le Pèlerin blanc") by
R. Ch. G. de Pixérécourt
Ch: L. Deland
COELINA 10/10
by Pixérécourt
Ch: L. Deland
- 1803 LES CAPRICES MAGIQUES 7/2
Ch: L. Deland
- LES GENS DE LA NOCES 27/10
Ch: L. Deland
A BALLET 1/12
Ch: L. Deland
Pupils perf.:
DIVERTISSEMENT AV DANS 4/6
Ch: F. N. Terrade
- ANACREON PÅ SAMOS Ö 18/1 W.pr. 1797
("Anacréon chez Polycrate")
M: A. E. F. Grétry
Ch: F. N. Terrade
CHATEAU DE MONTENERO ("Léon") 14/7
W.pr. 1798 Fr. spec. M: N. Dalayrac
(BASCHAN I SURESNE new production 30/9)
- VATTENDRAGAREN 2/12 W.pr. 1800
("Les Deux Journées")
M: L. Cherubini Ch: L. Deland
VICTOR 21/12 by U. C. Widström, after
F. G. Ducray-Duminil. Ch: L. Deland
- 1804 POLSKA BALETTEN 2/2
("The Polish Ballet")
Ch: L. Deland
DANSVURMEN 20/2 W.pr. 1800
("La Dansomanie")
Ch: L. Deland after P. Gardel
A BALLET 19/4
Ch: L. Deland
PARIS TIDSFÖRDRIF PÅ BERGET IDA
1/11 W.pr. 1793
("Le Jugement de Paris")
Ch: A. B. Brulo
- TVÅ MÄNNERS HUSTRU 1/2 ("La Femme
à Deux Maris") by Pixérécourt
Ch: L. Deland
- 1805 TURKISK BALLET 7/1
("Turkish Ballet") Ch: L. Deland
SAVOYARD-BALLET 11/3
Ch: L. Deland
performed with VATTENDRAGAREN
- DIDON (2/4) 11/4 W.pr. 1783 Fr. Spec.
M: N. Piccini Ch: L. Deland
(DEN BEDRAGNE BASCHAN new
production 15/5) Ch: L. Deland

A BALLET 2/12

Ch: L. Deland

APOLLO OCH TERPSICHORE 16/12

Ch: F. N. Terrade

SLOTTET I MONTENERO Sw. production

16/12 W.pr. 1798 ("Léon") M: N. Dalayrac

1806 INTRIGEN I SERALJEN 3/3
("The Intrigue in the Seraglio")

Ch: L. Deland

SARGINES ("Sargino") 19/5

W.pr. 1803

M: F. Paer Ch: L. Deland

GUSTAVIAN DANCES IN THE COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE TRADITION

Ivo Cramér

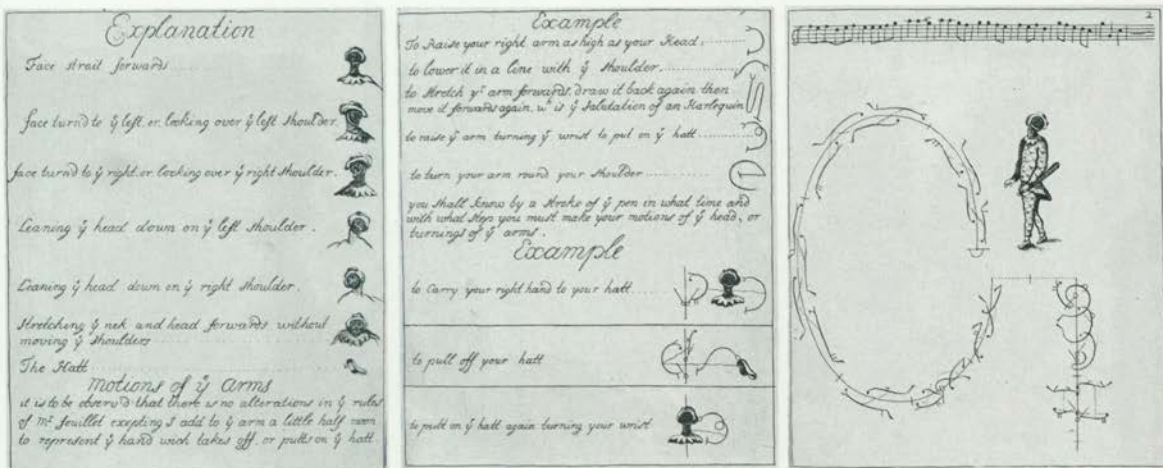
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WAS the century that danced. Besides folk dance and social dancing, it was also then that the stage ballet came into bloom. Eighty percent of all plays put on in the 1700s were filled out with various kinds of dances, either as *entr'actes* or *divertissements* fitted into the action. Usually these dances were gay or humoristic, feelingful and expressive, or else, sometimes, satires on human behaviour, expressed in lively choreography. Toward the century's end the narrative dance became commoner. Up to then audiences had been content to admire brilliant technique in combining steps or high leaps. Giovanni Andrea Gallini, an Italian balletmaster who most of his life lived and worked in England, writes in his book *Treatise on the Art of Dancing* (1772):

Lately the taste for dances of action, animated with meaning and conveying the ideas of some fable . . . has begun to gain ground. People are less tired with dance in which the understanding is exercised, than by merely seeing a succession of lively steps and cabriols, however well executed.

The narrative dance, more frequent earlier in the century, was not as new as Gallini maintains. Little dramatic poems and ballets in several acts were danced, a simple story being clearly expressed in simple movements, steps and gestures. But throughout the entire eighteenth century dance-pantomimes with characters and themes taken from the *commedia dell'arte* had been immensely popular. This tradition was carried further by the Gustavian ballet. In the Opera ballet's early repertoire we find a number of ballets with *commedia dell'arte* themes, to choreography by, on the one hand, the Italian-born balletmaster Terrade, and, on the other, by the dancer Marcadet, who



Fig. 1. Scaramouche taking great strides. From *Neue und Curieuse Theatralische Tantz-Schul* ("New and Curious Theatrical School of Dancing") by Gregorio Lambranzi. Engraving by J. G. Puschner. Nürnberg 1716.



Figs. 2 a-c. From Chacoon for a Harlequin, With all the Postures, Attitudes. Motions of the Head and Arms, and other Gestures proper to this Character. Engraved by F. Le Roussau Dancing-master. London 1730. British Library.

before coming to Stockholm had belonged to a *commedia dell'arte* troupe in Paris.

How do we know what these eighteenth-century dance pantomimes looked like?

Certain scenic traditions have of course survived here and there, e.g. in Britain and Denmark. But these may be assumed to have been modified by successive generations of artistes. So anyone who wants to produce those ballets today must look to other sources. Exact reconstructions are impossible. Having found a ballet's action described in some printed programme, we must be content with interpretations. In the music to some such ballets, preserved in the Stockholm Opera library, are some meticulous and interesting descriptions of events on stage. Sometimes terse items of information are to be culled from the orchestral parts, jotted down there by a member of the court orchestra: e.g. "Herr Pantalone falls over". But such jottings are rare. In some cases there may even have been dances that didn't go to music at all. In which case we read in the score: "Harlequin plays alone".

Contemporary paintings and engravings give us some idea of these dances, at least in outline. There is also a literature, sparse though it is, devoted precisely to the *commedia dell'arte* figures' manner of dancing. In his *Trattato-teorico-prattico di Ballo* (Naples 1779), a book that newly appeared in Mary Skeaping's English translation,



Fig. 3. From *Neue und Curieuse Theatralische Tantz-Schul* by Gregorio Lambranzi. Engraving by J. G. Puschner. Nürnberg 1716.

Gennaro Magri describes certain steps. Executing these comic movements in accordance with Magri's descriptions, it is easy to recognize schematically in them the movements of such modern comics as Chaplin, the Marx Brothers or Buster Keaton (Fig. 1). All of which



Fig. 4. Rehearsal of *Harlequin, Kärlekens Trollkarl* (Harlequin magicien par Amour), comic pantomime ballet in two acts by E. Du Puy, choreography by I. Cramér at the Paris Opéra, 1984. The choreographer is instructing Rudolf Nurejev. Photo: Rudolphe Torette.

perhaps goes to show that when it comes to the art of entertaining and amusing, human body language, gesture and mimicry are the same today as two hundred years ago.

In the British Library is a very interesting manuscript called

Chacoon for a Harlequin, With all the Postures, Attitudes, Motions of the Head and Arms, and other Gestures proper to this Character. Engraved by F. Le Roussau Dancing-master

(London 1730). This dance has been noted down in accordance with a system of notation launched in Paris in 1699 by Raoul Feuillet, the Versailles balletmaster, in his book *Chorégraphie ou l'Art de décrire La Danse par caractères, figures et signes Démonstratifs* (Paris 1700). Though nothing more than a little composition with conventional

steps, Harlequin's *Chaconne* comprises many unexpected movement directions and also funny head and arm movements, as well as gestures and special ways of using the hat when making compliments (Figs. 2a–c).

The richest, most unique source for comic eighteenth-century dances, however, and more especially for dances in the *commedia dell'arte* style, is an exclusive little book published in 1716 at Nuremberg by Johann Jacob Wolrab. Its author, Gregorio Lambranzi, was a balletmaster from Venice. Entitled *Neue und Curieuse Theatralische Tantz-Schul* it falls into two sections, and consists of 101 engravings with concise explanatory texts. Lambranzi must have been a clever dancer with a strong creative gift and a wealth of choreographic imagination. His book is one of the most instructive and pedagogically valuable books on eighteenth-century stage dances. Instead of using Feuillet's system of notation, or indeed any other, he gives the reader the theme, the style, the atmosphere and the costume appropriate to each dance, suggesting a variety of situations, positions and, for each dance, several suggestions for the steps (Fig. 3). By means of such information he wishes to leave the choreographer or dancer free to choose and by himself filling in the details to create living terpsichordic art. Johann George Puschner made some drawings of Lambranzi in various roles. The result is extraordinarily alive, and shows not merely his postures in outline, but also, equally in outline, his dance movements. A very large number of the dance scenes described by him are devoted to the traditional *commedia dell'arte* characters: Harlequin, Scaramouche, Pulcinella, Scapino, Il Dottore or Pantalone (Figs. 1, 3).

Personally I have taken Lambranzi's advice *au pied de la lettre* and created choreography for, or else "interpreted", many ballets and dance scenes with details suggested by him. At the same time—as he himself wished—I've used my own living imagination in order to avoid creating something dry-as-dust or merely museal (Fig. 4 and the colour supplement).

COMEDY BALLET IN THE NEO-CLASSICAL ERA

“La Fille Mal Gardée” and “La Dansomanie”

Ivor Guest

ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL ingredients which enable a ballet to flourish in any period is its ability to evoke a response from the spectator; to reflect in some way his cultural tastes and the life which he or she leads outside the theatre. This is a simple truth, but one that ballet—or any theatre art for that matter—ignores at its peril. In this context the place of the comedy ballet is very much a case in point, for there is no surer means of bringing individuals into sympathy—and this is particularly relevant in the performer–spectator relationship—than by getting them to share a joke. In human terms there can be no life worth living without laughter. And this is where the comedy ballet comes in, for movement can raise the spirits with much greater immediacy than it can stir more sombre passions. We have only to look to the art of the great mimes—Deburau, Chaplin and Marceau—to realise the truth of this.

The comedy ballet played an important part in the acceptance of ballet as an independent theatre art, a part that tends to be somewhat overlooked by historians who, to illustrate this development, concentrate on more ‘serious’ works. So let me try to redress the balance by discussing in particular two unpretentious masterpieces created within eleven years of each other, at the point in history where the *ballet d’action* was still establishing itself. And first, lest the reader be given the misleading impression that those two works sprung from nowhere and out of nothing, let us cast a quick glance at earlier attempts at conveying comedy through the dance.

Although a strong comic element had occasionally manifested itself in the French court ballet, notably under Louis XIII in the first half of



Fig. 1. La Guinguette. Engraving by F. Basan after a drawing by G. de Saint-Aubin.

the seventeenth century, its thrust was more towards burlesque satire than a reflection of everyday life. The ballets, too, which Molière interpolated in his comedies frequently contained comic elements, but they did not motivate or advance the narrative, although they were always relevant to it. Molière was greatly influenced by the companies of Italian comedians who remained a popular feature of the Paris theatre until well into the eighteenth century, their stock characters of Harlequin, Scapino, Pantaloon, Scaramouche, Punchinello and the like being recognizable to the public in much the same way as Chaplin's little man and Marceau's Bip have been in our own century. Long before the ballet broke away from opera at the Paris Opéra to become an independent form, the Théâtre Italien had its own ballet company

and presented modest ballets and divertissements in its programmes, accustoming the public to scenes that could be understood without the assistance of speech or song. One of the choreographers who worked there, Jean-Baptiste De Hesse, is a key figure in our study of the comedy ballet, for he had considerable success in presenting naturalistic scenes peopled by ordinary folk in ordinary settings. Evidence for this is to be found in an engraving from a painting by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin entitled *La Guinguette*, which conceivably depicts a scene from a popular little ballet of the same name by De Hesse, produced in 1750 (Fig. 1). If we can accept this print as a reasonably accurate representation of the stage action, De Hesse's ballet presented recognizable characters whom the average spectator might have come across on any day of the week—lackeys, chambermaids, a soldier, an abbé and the like—dressed in realistic clothes which were in marked contrast to the artificial costumes worn at that time at the Opéra.¹

Conscious of its status as one of the august royal academies, the Opéra was extremely conservative and resistant to change. In its operatic productions the dance had long been an important element, but it was not until 1776 that the *ballet d'action* gained a foothold there. This occurred when Jean-Georges Noverre was appointed ballet-master. Noverre's European fame might have been thought sufficient recommendation for the post, but he was not so easily accepted. His predecessor's two assistants, Maximilien Gardel and Jean Dauberval, considered that they had the right of succession. Consequently Noverre worked under considerable difficulties during his years in Paris, where most of his productions were revivals of ballets he had produced elsewhere. They had little if any comic content; most were based on classical mythology or tradition, the only exceptions being a revival of his Chinese ballet and the plotless *Les Petits Riens*, which is of interest today mainly because Mozart wrote music for it. Eventually, in 1781, Noverre resigned, and Dauberval and Gardel—the elder Gardel, as we should call him, for we shall come in a moment to his brother Pierre—were at last jointly appointed to the coveted post.

Theirs was never to be an equal partnership, for Gardel asserted his supremacy from the beginning, possessing one advantage which was decisive in a house that was a hot-bed of intrigue—the support of the real power behind the Opéra ballet, the ballerina Madeleine Guimard. The elder Gardel was a man of very great charm, which was felt not only by those whose favour was useful to him, but also by his dancers, who held him in great esteem and affection. As a choreographer, he was undeniably very competent, but he was not an innovator in the

sense that Noverre was. Nonetheless he had the intelligence to absorb Noverre's message, and during his brief reign as ballet-master he was to build upon the foundations laid by Noverre, albeit in a lighter vein. He happened to alight upon a formula which he was beginning to exploit with considerable success by the time of his early and unexpected death in 1787. Taking his inspiration from the popular form of *opéra-comique*, he became adept at transposing or adapting such works into ballets. He was not in fact alone in following this course, nor indeed was he the first to turn the popular *opéra-comique* by Sedaine and Monsigny, *Le Déserteur*, into a ballet. But this would be his most lasting work; produced by him first at Fontainebleau in 1786, it was revived two years later, after his death, by his brother Pierre at the Opéra, where it remained in the repertory for twenty years. It was a dramatic rather than a comic work, but what was significant was its presentation of real-life characters in a contemporary setting.

This de-artificialisation of the ballet was very much in tune with the spirit of the age. The 1700s had witnessed a gradual but inexorable social change in the rise of a powerful middle class, which, as the century wore on, was contending with the aristocracy for dominance, not only in politics and economics, but also in setting taste and fashion in the arts. One result was that the baroque-rococo tradition was giving way to more human, more accessible, more unassuming forms in the arts. It was the age of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and of Greuze.

And also of Dauberval, to whom we must now turn our attention. We left him, it will be recalled, at the moment when he and the elder Gardel had been appointed joint ballet-masters of the Paris Opéra. The relationship between the two men, while it lasted, was probably an uneasy one, for Gardel was not only ambitious but also skilful at ingratiating himself with the authorities, while Dauberval, although the darling of the public as a dancer, was a headstrong man who had been involved in a number of escapades which may well have told against him in some quarters. And he probably had few regrets when he resigned from the Opéra in the summer of 1783; not only had his new wife, Mme Théodore, recently been expelled from the company for, among other misdemeanours, some outspoken criticisms of the direction, but he himself had been given too few opportunities of exercising his choreographic talent.

Dauberval had no difficulty in obtaining an engagement elsewhere, and before 1783 was out, he and his wife were in London, he as ballet-master at the King's Theatre and she as principal ballerina. On that



Fig. 2. *Auguste Vestris in Ninette à la Cour. Engraving by an unknown artist.*

stage, between December 1783 and May 1784, he produced no less than seven ballets, of which two are of particular interest. *Le Coq du Village* was a ballet, based on a burletta by Favart, in the so-called rural style, in which the young virtuoso, Auguste Vestris, played a role that surely prefigures that of Colas in *La Fille Mal Gardée* (Fig. 2). The other ballet, produced for Mme Théodore's benefit, was *Le Déserteur*, based, like Gardel's version of two years later, on the popular *opéra-comique* of that name.

Le Déserteur was an excellent example of Dauberval's unerring skill in telling a direct and touching story. It told of an adventure that befell its heroine, Louise, and her sweetheart Henri, which very nearly ended in tragedy. To test the sincerity of Henri's devotion, Louise's father conceives a subterfuge that seems innocent enough, although Louise agrees to take part in it only with the greatest reluctance. Henri's arrival is expected hourly, and the plan is to pretend that Louise is going to marry someone else. Unfortunately the plot miscarries, for the deception has such a shattering effect on poor Henri that he deserts his regiment in despair, only to be captured, court-martialled and sentenced to be shot. By tearful supplications, Louise

succeeds in obtaining his pardon, but the emotional strain is too much for her, and when she arrives at the prison and sees Henri being led out to execution, she collapses in a faint. Coming to, she cannot find the precious order, and in a frenzy of despair she runs after the firing squad and throws herself into Henri's arms just as the soldiers are about to fire. At that very moment, some officers arrive, one of them bearing the mislaid pardon. Thus tragedy is averted in the very nick of time.

Understandably, Dauberval seems to have had no thought of seeking re-engagement at the Opéra, and in 1785 he and his wife signed contracts with the Grand Théâtre in Bordeaux. It was a most fortunate move, for it was in that magnificent theatre, one of the finest in the country, that Dauberval found the conditions he needed to realise his choreographic ideas. In 1786 he produced *Le Page Inconstant*, a ballet version of Beaumarchais' *Le Mariage de Figaro*, which, considering the complexity of the plot, was no mean endeavour at a time when choreographers were still experimenting to express the action in mime and dance. And three years later he created *La Fille Mal Gardée*, which was to survive longer than all his other ballets and which still delights us in numerous versions today.

The story of its production is of unusual interest. In 1788 Dauberval's path had crossed that of a very unsavoury character by the name of Chevalier Peicam de Bressoles, a dancer with pretensions to becoming a choreographer. Managing to obtain an engagement, Peicam at once started to intrigue against Dauberval. The situation became so fraught that Dauberval tried to force the director not to re-engage this troublesome young man for the following season. Peicam then showed his true colours. Abuse was shouted at Dauberval in the theatre, and one evening he was waylaid by a gang of bully-boys who tried to force him to withdraw his opposition to their master. These mobster tactics were too much for Dauberval, who packed up his belongings and left Bordeaux with bitterness in his heart. But he reckoned without his own supporters, who managed to obtain from the king a *lettre de cachet*, forbidding Peicam to come within twenty leagues of the city. The public then rallied to Dauberval's cause, and he and his wife were recalled and given a rapturous reception in the theatre.

To restore his standing with the occupants of the pit, Dauberval realised that he must lose no time in staging a new ballet—and one, furthermore, that would appeal to every section of the audience, not least to those who had recently been so vociferously espousing the



Fig. 3. *La Fille Mal Gardée*. Engraving by Choffard after a drawing by P. A. Baudouin. The drawing supplied Dauberval with the inspiration for this ballet.

cause of Peicam. The first seed of this new work was sown in Dauberval's mind in a most incongruous manner. One day he was strolling through the town when a call of nature made him pause before the window of a glazier's shop to relieve himself. While doing so and for



Fig. 4. Mlle Théodore,
 creator of the role of Lise
 in *La Fille Mal Gardée*.
 Engraving by Chenard.

just long enough for the image to register, his eye was caught by a framed engraving of a pretty young village girl in tears, being berated by her mother while her lover, who has been caught fondling her, is fast disappearing up the stairs of the barn. It was an engraving from a picture by Paul-Antoine Baudouin, painted in 1764 and exhibited at the Louvre the following year (Fig. 3).

The action of the ballet developed naturally from that scene. It was deceptively simple, for on analysis it is a well-nigh perfect example of balletic narrative. The setting, as Dauberval's scenario tells us, is the farming country of Poitou, to the north of Bordeaux, and the story revolves around five main characters, all of whom are introduced in the opening scene. The heroine, played by the adorable Mme Théodore (Fig. 4), was called Lison—nowadays we usually know her as Lise—and she is the daughter of Ragotte—or Simone, as she has now become—a widow who owns a small farm. Lise has a sweetheart,

Colas, whose attentions arouse the disapproval of Ragotte, who has other plans for her daughter. She has been arranging a marriage for her to Alain, who is something of an imbecile but will one day inherit his father's vineyard. The ballet's action reaches its climax when the two lovers are unwittingly shut up in a bedroom by Ragotte and discovered there in compromising circumstances. Ragotte then has to make the best of the situation, and the ballet ends with her giving the lovers her blessing.

This unpretentious little piece, on which no particular importance was placed at the time, was originally billed as *Le Ballet de la Paille*, coupled with a subtitle taken from a vaudeville song that was sung in the divertissement at the end, *Il n'est qu'un pas du mal au bien*. It did not acquire its definitive title of *La Fille Mal Gardée* until two years later, in 1791, when Dauberval revived it in London.

Its score, for which no one was given or even claimed the credit, was no doubt hurriedly put together and contained a number of borrowed melodies, the identification of which might provide a challenging subject to a research scholar with a knowledge of late eighteenth-century French popular music. On one page, for example, is a popular melody entitled *La Jeune et Gentille Lisette*, which Haydn also used in the third movement of his 85th Symphony.²

For a long time it was believed that *La Fille Mal Gardée* was first performed in 1786. This date had been given by Saint-Léon in a biographical article on Dauberval published in 1852, and was slavishly followed by later writers. It was not until 1959, when I was researching the history of this ballet at the time Frederick Ashton was preparing his version, that the correct date of the first performance came to light: July 1st, 1789. It is in fact recorded in two separate manuscript sources: a daily chronicle of performances at the Grand Théâtre, which is in the Municipal Library of Bordeaux,³ and a copy of the original scenario which I unearthed in the Library of the Paris Opéra.

The date of the first performance has a most interesting connotation in that it coincides with the events immediately preceding the French Revolution. The Bastille was still to fall, but the Estates General were already in session, and great hopes were being held that many abuses from the past would soon be removed. The Third Estate, which consisted of elected representatives from every part of the country and was numerically stronger than the other two Estates, representing the nobility and the clergy, together, was demanding that resolutions should be passed by a simple majority of delegates and not by a



Fig. 5. Pierre Gardel,
choreographer of La Dan-
somanie. Lithography by
an unknown artist.

majority of estates, in which they would unfailingly be outvoted. This was an absolutely crucial issue, and the ballet's subtitle could equally well have referred to the people's political expectations as to the lovers' predicament in the ballet:

*Il ne faut désespérer de rien,
Il n'est qu'un pas du mal au bien.*

The news that the Third Estate had gained its point on the voting question reached Bordeaux very shortly before one of the early performances of the ballet, and the principal dancer interrupted the harvest scene to propose the toast of the Third Estate.

The proximity of the first performance to the fall of the Bastille, which took place only thirteen days afterwards, highlights the innovative, almost revolutionary, nature of the ballet. *La Fille Mal Gardée* did indeed break new ground. By showing a novel concern with the lives and feelings of ordinary, everyday folk, it proclaimed a rejection of the artificial modes formerly in vogue, whether the long-out-of-

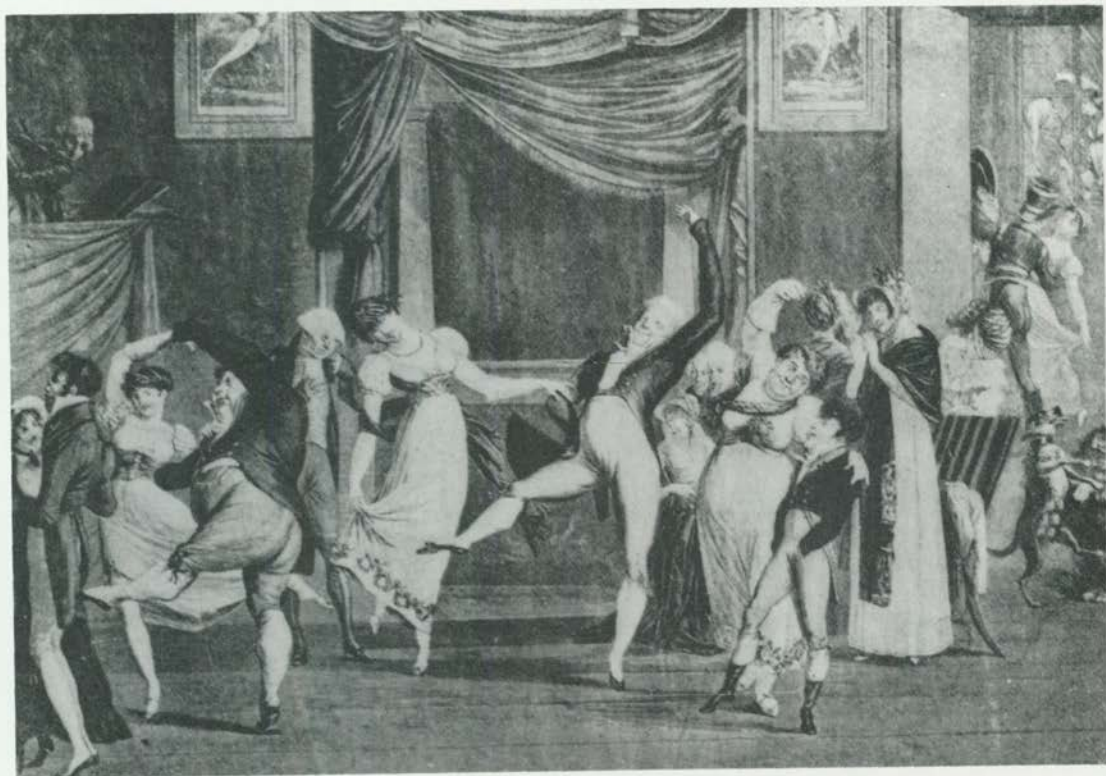


Fig. 6. *La Manie de la Danse*. Engraving by Debucourt.

favour baroque form or the more recent rococo pastorale, and launched ballet into the new age just dawning.

The later history of *La Fille Mal Gardée* falls outside the scope of this paper, but the continuing appeal of this seemingly minor work to succeeding generations is proof enough of its importance, not only historically, but also as a model of balletic construction.

The French Revolution now supervenes, one of the most cataclysmic events in the history of man. We move forward eleven years. The nineteenth century is almost upon us, and the direction of the ballet at the Paris Opéra has passed into the hands of Pierre Gardel (Fig. 5), the younger brother of Maximilien. A tougher man altogether than his brother, Pierre Gardel was to dominate French ballet for more than thirty years. He takes his place in history as a choreographer in the neo-classical mould, and particularly for three masterpieces which formed the mainstay of the repertory during the revolutionary years and the First Empire of Napoleon. All three were produced within a space of little more than three years: *Psyché* (1790), the most fre-

quently performed ballet at the Opéra after *Coppélia* with 564 performances, *Télémaque* (also 1790) with 408, and *Le Jugement de Pâris* (1793) with a mere 189. For some years after producing the last of these ballets life was to be very frustrating for Gardel as a creator, for he had a work already planned, based on the story of William Tell, which fate decreed would never be performed. And when, in 1800, life in Paris had settled down somewhat and a new ballet creation was called for, it was not with *Tell* or a grand anacreontic ballet to match his earlier works that Gardel complied, but with a gay, inconsequential piece, *La Dansomanie*.

La Dansomanie perfectly suited the needs of the time (Fig. 6). Paris had just emerged from a period of great social turmoil, and there was a general desire to forget the excesses of the Terror, concentrate on the present, and enjoy life to the full. During the Revolution, dancing had acted as a safety valve, and some families who had lost a loved one to the guillotine observed the anniversary of the event by giving a ball dedicated to the victim, a *bal à la victime*, to which only guests who had been similarly bereaved were invited. Now, under the Directoire, Paris was gripped by a mania for dancing, and in balls and dance halls throughout the city the Incroyables and Merveilleuses abandoned themselves to the newly invented waltz and also to an older dance, the gavotte, a favourite of pre-revolutionary times which enjoyed a brief resurgence of popularity. It was this fashionable mania that was reflected with topical clarity in Gardel's ballet, which retained its popularity into more austere times, remaining in the repertory of the Opéra until the 1820s.

Its plot was simple and easy to follow, and as in *La Fille Mal Gardée*, the characters were all skilfully drawn, introduced early in the action, and, allowing for a little choreographer's licence for comical exaggeration, recognisably realistic. There was an adorable heroine, played originally by Gardel's wife, Marie Gardel; her lover, a young colonel whom the audience could have envisaged as having risen rapidly in the campaigns of the 1790s and served perhaps in Bonaparte's Army of Italy, played by the experienced Auguste Vestris, by now a spry forty-year-old; and the heroine's parents—her father, the dansomane of the title, whose ridiculous mania was amusingly portrayed by a dancer called Goyon in a part that required his presence on stage practically throughout the entire action, and her sane and sensible mother, played by the elegant Mlle Clotilde (Fig. 7), wife of the composer Boieldieu. Gardel's assistant ballet-master, Louis Milon, was cast in the important subsidiary role of the dancing



Fig. 7. Mlle Clotilde in Gardel's *Pâris*. Engraving by an unknown artist.

CLOTILDE dans le Ballet de PARIS.
(Théâtre de l'Opéra.)

master, and the comic dancer Beaupré made a great impression as his assistant (Fig. 8). And in the minor role of the colonel's jockey was a young dancer whose name still meant nothing to most members of the audience, Filippo Taglioni.

Conditioned as we are to expect a revolutionary régime to show only scorn for its predecessor, we might think that a ballet coming so soon after the French Revolution would have introduced a dance so closely associated with the *ancien régime* as the minuet to have done so in a spirit of cruel satire, but that was not so. The minuet which Gardel incorporated into *La Dansomanie* was presented with complete authenticity and respect. In the Paris ballet of that time the dancers were divided into three exclusive categories, or *genres*, according to their styles—the *noble* or *sérieux*, the *demi-caractère*, and



Fig. 8. Beaupré as the dancing master's assistant in *La Dansomanie*. Engraving by an unknown artist.

the comic—and the two dancers who performed this minuet, Gardel himself and Clotilde, were *noble* dancers to whom any suggestion of comedy would have been utterly foreign. So there could have been no attempt at caricature, and contemporary reviews bear this out. Geoffroy, the most celebrated theatre critic of the time, spoke of this minuet as “*un coup de maître*”,⁴ and wrote that Gardel “*a déployé toutes les grâces de l'ancienne cour*.”⁵ Another critic, in the *Gazette Nationale*, observed with a touch of nostalgia that the couple

*font admirer le déploiement des formes, la dignité du maintien, la décence de l'attitude, qui caractérisent cette noble danse, monument un peu suranné de notre ancienne galanterie.*⁶

In a later notice, Geoffroy was even more explicit. Gardel, he wrote,

développe toutes les anciennes grâces françaises qu'on a trop négligées. Le menuet, aujourd'hui méprisé et banni de tous les bals comme ennuyeux et pédantique

(... note, by the way, that there is no suggestion of its being banished because of its association with the old régime ...)

*peint la décence, la dignité, la noble élégance des mœurs du temps où cette danse étoit à la mode. On saute aujourd'hui beaucoup mieux, on s'élève plus haut, on fait des pas qui exigent plus d'adresse, d'habileté et de vigueur; mais je ne sais si le grave menuet n'étoit pas une danse plus convenable à l'amusement des gens du grand monde, qui ne sont pas faits pour être des sauteurs, et pour qui la danse ne doit être autre chose que l'art de se bien présenter et de se développer avec grâce.*⁷

To quote Geoffroy again, *La Dansomanie* was "une véritable comédie pantomime";⁸

*on y remarque beaucoup d'art, d'invention et des idées ingénieuses : le sujet très mince et très frivole décèle, par la manière dont il est traité, le talent d'un grand maître, qui de rien sait faire quelque chose.*⁹

Gardel's choreography has long been lost, but the reviews of the time speak tantalisingly of one or two passages that bespeak his inventiveness. There was, for example, in the first act, a brilliant *pas de trois* for three gossiping women, a dance described as almost bacchanalian in the way it conveyed the notion of their chatter in a sustained outburst of infectious movement. In contrast to this was a lovely *pas de trois*, full of elegance and grace, for three young cousins dressed as shepherdesses—notable because Gardel himself, who was an excellent musician, took up his violin and accompanied them from the side of the stage. Incidentally, after he retired, no other dancer could be found sufficiently proficient to play the violin on the stage, and thereafter the music was provided by a distinguished soloist in the orchestra pit: first by Rudolph Kreutzer, to whom Beethoven dedicated a violin sonata, and after him, François Habeneck.

These two ballets, *La Fille Mal Gardée* and *La Dansomanie*, were the precursors of many other comedy ballets that have delighted audiences down the years to our own time. If they have now become period pieces, set in a rosy past, let us not forget that when the curtain first rose on them, they were essentially contemporary, and stirred thoughts which related directly to the issues and fashions of their day. Inevitably we see them through different eyes, but in a sense they are now timeless, and therein lies their claim to an honoured and permanent place in the history of ballet.

NOTES

1. Michel, A., "Two Great XVIII Century Ballet-Masters: Jean-Baptiste De Hesse and Franz Hilferding", in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. New York 1944, pp. 271-286.
2. For an analysis of the original score of 1789, the score which Ferdinand Herold arranged and composed for the Paris Opéra in 1828, and that arranged by John Lanchbery for the Royal Ballet production of 1960, see Lanchbery J., and Guest, I., "The Music of La Fille Mal Gardée", in *Theatre Research*. London, 1961, pp. 32-42, 121-134, 191-204.
3. Lecouvreur: *Etat des pièces jouées dans la troupe de comédie, etc., 1772-1798*, p. 281 v°.
4. *Journal de l'Empire*, August 23rd, 1805.
5. *Journal des Débats*, 27 prairial an VIII.
6. *Gazette Nationale*, 27 prairial an VIII.
7. *Journal de l'Empire*, May 24th, 1808.
8. *Journal de l'Empire*, August 23rd, 1805.
9. *Journal de l'Empire*, May 24th, 1808.