

7. VOCAL MUSIC

THE ROMANTIC SOLO SONG

For later generations, the solo song is a well-established concert genre that reaches a zenith in the German *lieder* (Schubert, Schumann, Wolf), and that has parallels in other countries' music (Gounod, Fauré, Debussy, Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninov). But this genre did not exist around 1810, and only emerged as a fusion of the more intimate popular songs of the home and salon, and the larger-scale, grand-gestured songs of the dramatic stage. In terms of solo songs, the situation at the start of our period can be sketched roughly as follows.

The songs that were spread through broadsides had the broadest audience. The number of lyrics far outnumbered that of the tunes, since new ones would be written to known melodies. What we have here is a large, motley repertoire of songs, most of which were sung to simple often unaccompanied tunes.

From around 1790 a new repertoire of songs gradually blossomed, all published by Olof Åhlström's monopolistic music publishing house but also probably originating partly at Åhlström's own initiative. These include Bellman's songs as well as numerous songs in the series of *Skaldestycken satte i musik* begun in 1793. This repertoire differs from the former one in that the music was specially composed to the lyrics and had to be sung with accompaniment to achieve the full effect. While the songs were still largely strophic, there were some longer songs and solo cantatas. It is clear that the repertoire was intended for the musically trained family home.

A third song repertoire is the one derived from the comic and serious operas of the time and includes a wide flora of form, from simple songs to grand arias and ensembles. Although they required principally schooled voices, the repertoire was also popular in the salons, where there was access to accomplished singers, be they amateur or professional. The solo songs of the era are linked primarily to the above-mentioned "Åhlströmian repertoire" with its chiefly strophic morphologies.

The 18th century legacy was made manifest in larger-scale song forms too, in more or less loosely constructed cantatas in which song tune, aria, recitative, arioso and melodrama all rubbed shoulders with each other. Stage music was often the model, such as music to poetic genre portraits, like Atterbom's *Blommorna* – here Eric Jacob Arrhén von Kapfelman's compositions are very typical of their time. There is an endeavour to visualise – more than to create a mood and subjective expression – that also informs the pre-romantically morbid, like in Eduard Brendler's melodrama *Spastaras död* (1830) and in later works by Edmond Passy and Bernhard Crusell. The large format and the visualisatory means of representation lived on in ballads by the likes of Adolf Fredrik Lindblad (*Bröllopsfärden*), August Söderman and others throughout the 19th century.

The entire late-classicistic constellation of drawing-room ballads, spiritual songs, cantata forms, melodramas, vocal ornamentics, virtuosic coloratura, pathetic ariosos, musical paintings etc. found a personal condensation in songs by Crusell, who began with a couple of small Mozart-esque melodies printed in *Musikaliskt tidsfördrif* in 1809; however, the bulk of his songs can be found in three collections, *Sångstycken med accompagnement för fortepiano* (1822, 1824, 1838), plus the famous Tegnér compositions: *Fågelleken* (1820), songs from *Frithiof's saga* (1826), and *Sång till solen* (1832). *Frithiof's saga* earned particular popularity. The songs were published in German (1827) and Danish (1836) and with guitar

accompaniment by Wilhelm Hildebrand (1826–29). Many of the songs can be found in 19th century anthologies throughout Scandinavia, especially in Crusell’s Finnish homeland.

Frithiof’s saga is a highly heterogeneous work, comprising as it does a mix of the operatic melodic idiom, declamatory works, men’s choral music, and popular tunes that spanned from opera cavatinas to songs with an archaic or folk-tone feel. Noteworthy among the other Tegnér compositions are perhaps *Fågelleken*, a typical solo cantata comprising a sequence of free sections and a piece of programme music in full 18th century spirit, the vivid details of which appealed much to contemporary tastes.

However, Crusell was no died-in-the-wool post-classicist. Sometimes more emotional veins are opened, like in *Farväl* but especially in his three last songs (1838) to texts by Runeberg. Here the melodic line, notwithstanding the odd ornament, hugs the words in a way that calls to mind the late-romantic Swedish solo song as practised by the Geijer circle in Uppsala.

The Uppsala composers and the romantic solo song

It is not only Geijer’s own footing in Geatishism’s historical and nature-mythical subjects or his passion for old folk songs that hover in the background of the “romantic” song of the Uppsala circle but also the new poetry exemplified by Atterbom’s drama *Lycksalighetens ö*, with its tapestry of legend, dreamscape and florid poetry, all of it a beauty ideal that was not found in “Åhlström-Valerius’s prosaic geniality” (A.F. Lindblad 1875).

It started with a songbook published jointly by Geijer and Lindblad in 1824. Geijer’s songs in this collection have lyrics by Goethe and Atterbom, amongst others, while all the nine songbooks that Geijer published himself between 1836 and 1846 represented a personal amalgamation of his own words and music. The stylistic register is fairly wide: folk-song touches, opera phrases, comic opera tunes and so forth. And while his often bold harmonic language and fluid modulations can seem advanced in his Swedish setting, they have clear associations with the contemporary musical trends of continental Europe.

Gradually, the so characteristic Geijer-esque song form reached maturity, as vocal-lyrical commentaries on different life situations manifesting his own religiosity and the loneliness that slowly enveloped him in his later years, such as *På nyårsdagen 1838*, *Natthimmelen*. In such vocal-musical meditations (Hedwall 1987), with their simple phraseology and often single-versed structure, his vocal music was refined into a genuine, personal art that has kept itself alive in the Swedish repertoire.

It became almost praxis for composers linked to the Uppsala circle to be poet-musicians. Amongst them were Carl Jonas Love Almqvist with his famous *Songes* (Törnrosens bok 1833–51), written for “tableaux vivants” in Malla Silfverstolpe’s salon in Uppsala. In these short songs *the melody* was consolidated even more as a central element. While *Songes*, with their ardent tone, are often cousins of Geijer’s songs, they are an almost unique feature of the song repertoire as melodies without accompaniment, associatively free in their architecture and with very little of the conventional regularity that otherwise characterises the popular song tunes.

There were more than a few women amongst the song composers – unsurprisingly given that the genre gravitated around the home and the cultivated drawing rooms, where mainly female composers had their captive audience. This is not to say that many of them were not schooled musicians with ambitions of exchanging the privacy of the home for the publicness of the concert hall: Mathilda Montgomery, trained singer, wove displays of her own coloratura technique into her classicistic songs (1820s–1830s), while some of Pianist Emelie Holmberg’s songs contain piano passages that exceed what could be expected of the amateur domestic pianist. Worthy of mention alongside these are Caroline Ridderstolpe, who during “Frithiof fever” (Öhrström 1987) composed a series of Tegnér poems. Many songs by

these and other female composers were included in different song anthologies throughout the 19th century.

In their jointly published songbook from 1824, Geijer and Lindblad each presented his own setting of “Svanvits sång” from Atterbom’s *Lycksalighetens ö*. The difference between the two versions is symptomatic: beside Geijer’s classicistic ode-like melodic structure stands Lindblad’s harmonically fluid version with a tension-building fermata and wide octave leaps in the melody. Lindblad genuinely tries here to bring out the verbal articulation in his music, a *modus operandi* that he continued to develop in his subsequent works. Next was *Der Nordensaal* (1826), a collection of 12 Swedish folk songs with piano accompaniment dedicated to Mendelssohn, Lindblad’s friend and arguably the model for his continuing songwriting. Between 1837 and 1847, he published nine collections of songs, mostly with his own lyrics, and in the following years another seven.

About a third of Lindblad’s in excess of 200 songs are composed to his own lyrics. His creative period stretches from the early 1820s to the 1870s, and from the classicistically simple to Schumann-inspired Heine songs. The span is as multifaceted as it is large. Lindblad was a melodic genius, in simple strophic songs as much as in other, most complex forms of song (*En sommardag*) or varied strophic songs (*Nattviolen*). The often fluidly figured piano part can sometimes have an important morphological function. Whether it be depictions of nature like the beloved *En sommardag*, lively role songs (*Skjutgossen på hemvägen*) or personal confessions of the soul, like the cavatina-esque *Mitt liv*, his songs possess an unmistakably personal tone and an architectural noblesse that has all the appearance of a Swedish counterpart to Mendelssohn’s lieder and piano pieces in his *Lieder ohne Worte*. The fact that Abraham Hirsch was able to publish a large anthology of Lindblad’s songs (1879–80, several editions) is a good measure of their popularity.

The Uppsala tradition

Geijer and Lindblad’s Uppsala circle ended up creating a long-lived tradition based largely on poet-musicianship, the idea of melody as the heart of song, interest in folk motifs and personal genre portraits of domestic environments.

For Jacob Axel Josephson, the songs of the Geijer-Lindblad circle “redirected the composition of Swedish romantic song” (the 1879 Svea calendar). He himself adopted much of this tradition. Many of his songs were popular and frequently sung – from 1841 and into the 1860s about 150 solo songs were printed, 36 of which to his own lyrics and most with religious content. Some spiritual songs were included in the songbooks of the revivalist movement. Profane songs like *Stjärnklart* and *Sjung, sjung du underbara sång* were reprinted in several anthologies and sung by Jenny Lind in concerts overseas. At the same time, Josephson broadened the international perspective through his roots in the German lied; amongst his lyrics are poems by Heine, Geibel, Goethe, Eichendorff and Rückert. His close adherence to the stylistic forms of German lieder was observed even at the time by the contemporary German critic, who considered the hymnic *Stjärnklart* to be reminiscent of Beethoven. However, Mendelssohn was the main role-model for his songs, including his folk-tone imitations (*Tro ej glädjen*).

Josephson’s disciplined singing style, in which the melodies glide nobly forth supported by a generally diatonic and sparsely chromatic harmonic structure, are fairly remote from Geijer’s wilfully personal songs and Lindblad’s richly shifting registers. It is essentially reverberation – “the musical naivety is already disturbed, it has gained a dash of reflection” (Ödman 1885).

Josephson’s songs form part of a bourgeois standard repertoire during much of the 1800s, being well-formed, expressively temperate and self-restrained and thus suitable for performing in salons and educated homes. In Uppsala, this cultivated song style was carried

further by Ivar Hedenblad, Johannes Peter Carstensen and, not least, Carl Rupert Nyblom, professor of aesthetics, who extended the role of poet-musician to one of self-performance – a poetic-musical trinity that he anchored nationally with his references to old bardic singing.

As a music teacher, one of A. F. Lindblad's engagements was at the Royal Court as tutor to Prince Gustaf, who, apart from his more famous male quartets, penned several unassuming solo songs (e.g. *I rosens doft* and *Mina lefnadstimmar stupa*, printed in numerous anthologies). Another of his pupils and later his successor as music teacher and arranger for the Royal Court was Ivar Hallström, himself a very productive and popular song composer during the latter half of the 1800s.

Hallström's early production from around 1850 includes simple, passionate songs in the spirit of Lindblad and Almqvist; however, he soon gravitated towards the more sophisticated and artful with some Schumann-inspired songs (*Am Rhein*, 1853), while in a few "romances" to French lyrics he conjured up a provocative and coquettish levity and elegance. French music (Gounod, amongst others) came to play an especially important part in his own music. Hallström's songwriting covers some fifty years, during which time his compositorial dexterity grew assured, sometimes virtuosic. At the same time, his production, with its eclectically shifting stylistic impulses is something of a mirror to his day: here Mendelssohnian cantability meets folk tone moods like *Ensamhet* (Topelius, 1884), Norwegian genre portraits like *I dalen* (Paulsen, 1886) and vulgarised Wagner rhetoric in *Ob sie wohl kommen wird* (M.G. Saphir, 1884). As a singing teacher and concert accompanist he could follow the genre's development from close quarters, and helped solo song to gain a foothold on the concert stage. There is often an affected strain in his songs, something that even his contemporaries noted; his best he gives, perhaps, when reproducing something of the dense lyrical tone of his own early numbers from his Uppsala days in songs such as *Svarta svanor* (Snoilsky, 1882) and *Drömmar* (Topelius, 1884).

New directions

From the middle of the century, song composition started to take on new forms of expression as the international repertoire pushed its way in. The 1840s saw Swedish houses start to publish songs by Schubert, Mozart, Beethoven and other such "classics" with Swedish lyrics, and over the coming decades effectively the entire European song repertoire was made available for purchase, including not only German lieder (Schumann, Franz, Brahms, etc.) but also French romances, Italian canzonettas and others.

In this broad European field of change, the Leipzig Conservatory took on a central position for musicians, even those from Sweden who were studying there. The break between the Swedish song tradition and the rich designs of the highly developed German lied was stark. Violinist and composer Albert Rubenson had formerly composed simple genre portraits, role songs and comic opera songs, all in accordance with the prevalent Swedish song tradition; in Leipzig he wrote, amongst other songs, *Vi sutto, min älskling, tillsammans*, in the middle section of which he excels in timbral and rhythmic subtleties – a sensitive registration of new and unfamiliar stylistic stimuli. For Rubenson, the excursion into uncharted stylistic territory was short-lived, however. When young, Fredrika Stenhammar had written some decidedly talented songs; in Leipzig, after a few tentative attempts, she abandoned composition for the study of song. In his *Heidenröslein* songs (1856), August Söderman united his own song-like, sharp-profiled melodics with moods inspired by Schumann's *Dichterliebe* sphere – a vocal lyric that sometimes creates the impression of pubescent fragility. "It was with this enchanting songbook", gushed Adolf Lindgren, "that the salad days of Schumann-esque romanticism arrived in our literature" (*Svensk musiktidning* 1889, p. 35). Söderman himself did not stop at this heart-on-sleeve vocal poetry. What he

learnt from Schumann he developed more thoroughly in his ballads (both solo and the more choral), in *Der arme Peter* (Heine, 1857), in *Tannhäuser* (Geibel, 1856); and in *Die verlassene Mühle* (Schneidler, 1857), which also carries hints of the famous ballad composer Koewe. Söderman's last ballad *Der schwarze Ritter* (Uhland, 1874) is something of a condensation of his deep admiration of Wagner's music.

In Ludvig Norman's 25 or so songs from his studies in Leipzig between 1848 and 1851, Mendelssohn is perhaps more the figure of emulation than Schumann; Norman is also often more akin to lied composers like Robert Franz and Woldemar Bargiel. As a song composer, he probably gave his best in his *Waldlieder* (1867), the first and for many years only genuine composed song cycle in the Swedish repertoire, with its common topic and uniform musical theme. Here, Norman's instrumental creative activity, with its elaborate motif-development, bears fruit in his vocal music as well. In *Waldlieder* a visionary vocal-musical fantasy is also set free ("Was rauschet über mir in trüber Nacht?") along with a condensed dramatic, recitative melodic style ("Wieder grünen diese Tale") unmatched in the contemporary Swedish repertoire, where the well-balanced phrase so often precedes the expressive vocal gesture.

Söderman's sensitive lyricism in the *Heidenröslein* collection and Norman's efforts at a richer structuring of the song form in *Waldlieder* initially and effectively stopped there. Instead, this "Leipzig romanticism" (as it is sometimes called) became part of a temperate conservative repertoire well-suited to the modest music performances in the homes of the bourgeoisie. The well-balanced melodies showcase a Mendelssohn-esque ideal; one might even talk of a kind of "Auf Flügeln des Gesanges-manér", such as in certain songs by John Jacobsson or in Norman's so popular (in his day) *Månestrålar*. Many composers contributed to this repertoire: Carstensen, Wilhelm Theodor Söderberg, August Körling – all were fine representative of the refinedly sonorous music that Norman himself explicitly acknowledged as a pattern for the song composers to emulate.

The whole picture is, however, a rather kaleidoscopic and sharply contrasted one. In the 1860s, Söderman developed a concise song style, as evidenced in a few Runeberg compositions, and in his *Digte og sange* (1872–73) he simplified his form to the extreme in some songs that tend towards the choral – the blend of solo and choral song in this collection is otherwise one of many indications of just how close these two genres were to each other.

A group of songs that stands very much apart in the post-mid-century repertoire comprises works by Göran Möller, Carl Gottfried Reinhold Littmarch and others, many composed to lyrics by Wilhelm von Braun and Elias Sehlstedt, in which the middle-class domestic idylls are treated with ironic remove in music that borrows its rhythmic bite and parodising melodic sweetness from contemporary material of the vaudeville and comic opera scene.

CHORAL MUSIC

A string of large-scale international choral pieces that made their mark on music – notably Haydn’s *Creation* and *Seasons*, Handel’s *Messiah*, Mozart’s *Requiem*, Mendelssohn’s *Paulus* and *Elias* – naturally also made a more or less seminal impression on Swedish composers. The typical 19th century Swedish composer was organist, conductor (*kapellmästare*), music director – not to mention the multitude of amateurs – who mainly composed for special occasions and with a mind to the resources available. The bourgeois music societies supplied choirs around the country, as did the a cappella choirs that existed in various social milieus. Thus arose both choral songs and other choral pieces, with or without orchestra.

Sacred choral pieces

The most common forms of domestic choral compositions were sacred works and profane occasional cantatas, many of which were intended for the annual Passion music. Perhaps the most interesting works during this entire period appeared early on, such as Hæffner’s *Försonaren på Golgata* (1809; rev. 1829) and Pehr Frigel’s *Försonaren på Oljeberget* (c. 1814; rev. 1820), both of which were composed to different Passion lyrics by Samuel Ödmann, legendary professor of theology at Uppsala.

This, however, is where the similarity between these two oratorios ends. While Frigel writes in a conservative, antiquated style (and with figured bass), Hæffner achieves a passion work of extreme musical sublimity with a light hand and by small means, as is most clearly evident in the first, almost chamber-like version from 1809.

It would not be until many decades later that Sweden saw its own new, larger-scale works for Passiontide and Easter. Arguably the main reason for this was the ineptness of the Swedish composers in a field that more than any other demanded a fundamental schooling in counterpoint.

The sacred compositions that were produced in Sweden were normally of another kind, and mass compositions seem to have dominated. There was a *Requiem* composed by Jacob Bernhard Struve (president of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1805–11) and completed by counterpoint teacher Erik Drake. Jacob Edvard Gille, autodidact church musician in Stockholm wrote no fewer than nine masses (the first of which was performed in the Catholic church in Stockholm on Easter Sunday 1852) as well as the oratorio *Guds Lof, Stabat mater* (1844), *Requiem* (1851) and *Te Deum* (1864). His Mass No 7 was printed in 1863 and carries distinct echoes of Palestrina.

Hermann Berens wrote *Fader Vår* (Stagnelius), while pianist Jan van Boom composed a *Benedictus* and a *Halleluja*, the latter for the wedding of Prince Fredrik and Princess Louise of the Netherlands (performed 1850). The Gothenburg-based bohemian Joseph Czapek wrote, apart from three masses, a *Te Deum* (performed 1854), *Benedictus* and the cantata *Yttersta Dömen* (dedicated to King Oscar I). Alongside these works, Czapek composed several national cantatas, such as *Dubbel cantata* to celebrate 50 years of the Sweden-Norway union in 1864, a funeral cantata at Karl XV’s death in 1872 (Landtbom), and a cantata for the official opening of the building housing the Göta Par Bricole and Coldin Order (1880).

One of Söderman’s most substantial works is *Missa Solemnis* (his own title, but otherwise known as the Catholic Mass, completed in 1875). It can be said to be the crowning achievement of Söderman’s creative output. The epithet “Catholic” comes from his use of the original Latin, a language that many associated with Catholic practice at that time. However, the lyrics comprised the liturgical texts (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei), which are common to many different Christian churches and denominations.

Per-Ulrik Stenhammar was the typical amateur composer, an architect with no formal music qualifications. Despite this, many of his works are some of the best of their kind in Sweden at the time. Most prominent are his spiritual songs and choral works in a pietist spirit. His greatest work is the oratorio *Saul och David* (1869 orchestrated by his son Wilhelm Stenhammar in 1900).

The profile of P.-U. Stenhammar's production bears many similarities with Gunnar Wennerberg's after the marches and songs of his student years. His later compositions were almost exclusively religious. The pieces from *David's psalmer* for solo voice and choir (55 songs, printed 1861–69 and 1884–86) reached a wide public, especially in non-conformist circles. Then followed his *Stabat mater* (sketches from the 1840s, completed 1893) and the oratorio *Jesu födelse* (1850s, printed 1862). All of Wennerberg's oratorios carry the impression of the Handel mania that had started in Uppsala in the 1840s. But there were other influences too. After the performance of the Musical Society's orchestral version of *Jesu födelse* in 1888 Andreas Hallén wrote:

“The form adopted by Wennerberg is most akin to that which is familiar through Joh. Seb. Bach's St Matthew and St John passions. In formal terms, in other words, it seems as if Bach perhaps served as a model, and as regards the innovation, one traces most the influence of Haydn and Handel.” (Ny III. Tidning 10/3 1888)

Profane works

The occasional cantatas belonged to festive music in many public circumstances, both national/academic and religious – and they were composed for, amongst other institutions, the Stockholm Royal Court, and the country's universities, schools and churches.

Especially during the first half of the 19th century when patriotism and royalism were often combined in song compositions, it was the *hovkapellmästaren's* task to write music to lyrics that praised the king and nation at symbolically charged festivities. Thus did Joachim Nicolas Eggert write Karl XIII's coronation cantata on 29 June 1809 and a peace cantata later that same year to celebrate the treaty signed by Sweden and Russia on 17 September in Fredrikshamn. The musical work is a direct expression of the mood that prevailed when Finland was ceded to Russia. In the autumn of 1810, Eggert composed a new festive cantata, this time to welcome the new Crown Prince Karl Johan and Crown Princess, to lyrics pregnant with political expectation. Karl Johan is greeted by the “Svea people” and is urged to become acquainted with “Manhem's sons”, after which a four-voice men's choir with orchestral accompaniment sings “Hell denna Hjelte som Hoppet skall fylla” (Hail this hero who hope shall fulfil).

Grandest of all were the accession cantatas. Worthy of especial mention are du Puy's 1818 cantatas for the funeral of Karl XIII and the coronation of Karl Johan (H.A. Kullberg). The former can readily square up to the far more familiar funeral music for Gustav III by J.M. Kraus in 1792. Likewise, the funeral music for Karl Johan's death in 1844 (Böttiger) is one of the then *hovkapellmästare* Johan Fredrik Berwald's most important cantata compositions. Noteworthy amongst his other cantatas is a coronation cantata for Queen Desideria from 1829.

A composer such as Franz Berwald was also engaged to compose national cantatas, five of which he wrote between 1821 and 1866 alongside choral works – which he referred to as ‘tone paintings’ – like *Gustaf Adolph den stores seger och död vid Lützen* (C.G. Ingelmann, 1845), *Nordiska fantasiebilder* (1846, possibly to Berwald's own lyricism inspired by P.H. Ling's *Asarne* with its depictions of the Norse pantheon) and *Gustaf Wasas färd till Dalarne* (1849).

In towns and villages around the country, national events could resonate in cantata form. For the first decades of the century, this was particularly true at Uppsala University, where

Hæffner, besides the regular triennial graduation cantatas, composed, true to *hovkapellmästare* form, a number of cantatas with national motifs.

Examples of such cantatas include memorials to Crown Prince Carl August (1810), Chancellor Count Axel von Fersen (1811), Karl XIII (1818, S. Ödmann) and Princess Sophia Albertina (1829, von Zeipel) and for the orations for the coronation of Karl Johan (1818, Geijer) and the marriage of Crown Prince Oscar (1823). He also wrote cantatas for ecclesiastical ceremonies such as the feast days of Luther in 1817 and Ansgar in 1830. This academic cantata tradition was carried on by J.E. Nordblom and J.A. Josephson.

The profane choral works also reflect the activities of the music and choral societies and their unquenchable thirst for new pieces. More or less solid workmanship typifies the music that was produced. For example, Abraham Julius Grundén, amateur composer and member of the Aurora Order, composed the oratorio *Sveriges enighet* (G. von Schantz, 1823). For his activities in Linköping, Bernhard Crusell composed such works as *Den siste kämpen* (Geijer), a declamatory work with choir, and *Vid Göta kanals invigning* (1823). Israel Sandström, who was active in Gothenburg, composed the cantata *Östersjön* (Prince Oscar Fredrik, perf. 1858).

The 19th century Swedish choral works that have survived to the present day include A.F. Lindblad's much loved idyllic choral cycles for mixed choir and piano *Om vinterkväll* (performed by the Harmonic Society in 1845) and *Drömmarne* (Thekla Knös, perf. 1851, orchestrated 1861).

Ivar Hallström's greatest cantata production occurred during the last decade of the century. One of his early-period cantatas was *Blommornas undran* (Oskar Fredrik, printed 1860), an uncommon instance of romantic irony. The four elegantly composed parts first depict a spring morning in the countryside, then a noisily intrusive pair of lovers and in the third and longest part, the flowers' wonderment ("blommornas undran") at the disturbers of the peace. The flowers melt with sentimentality over the couple, but the butterfly *Papilio* mocks such "puerile mush, bourgeois, pitiful slush". Later there was *Herr Hjalmar och skön Ingrid* (Oskar Fredrik, printed 1865), which despite being marked as a ballad is an opera-like work with its 14 varied and often fanciful musical numbers. Here we find folk elements associated with the plot from an indeterminate time of chivalry and a mundane world juxtaposed with a supernatural realm populated by Neck, elves and forest sprites. The final scenes with Neck's lament and Ägir's daughters (female trio) is like an illustration for Johan Peter Molin's contemporaneous fountain in Stockholm's Kungsträdgården. We should also mention here Hallström's *Uppsala minne* (1878) for Orphei Drängar's 25th anniversary, an event that was also celebrated by Vilhelm Svedbom with his *Fyris* (1878).

Josephson and Söderman were the most productive composers in this field during the period. Jacob Axel Josephson – one of the key figures in the Uppsala circle – following a number of overseas trips, during which he encountered, in Rome, the "strict" sacred compositional technique, and studies in Leipzig (for Gade and Hauptmann), was made *director musices* in Uppsala in 1849. That same year he founded the Philharmonic Society, out of which grew the chamber choir *Lilla sällskapet* (6 males, 6 females). In 1854 he became the leader of the newly formed choral society *Orphei Drängar*. He also lectured on music history at the university and in 1864 was made the city's cathedral organist. As we can see, Josephson mastered exceptionally broad skills and experiences, and much of his choral music demonstrates a familiarity with the grand oratorios by Mendelssohn, Cherubini, Mozart, Haydn and Handel. On his return home from his studies in 1849 Josephson brought with him *Islossningen*, a "fantasy" on the arrival of spring, for soloists, men's choir and orchestra (printed 1851), which was subsequently performed numerous times. Other cantatas are *Korsriddarne utanför Jerusalem* (Thekla Knös, performed 1851), *Sorgkantat* for Karl XV (1873), a cantata to mark the 400th anniversary of Uppsala University (with Viktor Rydberg's famous lyrics, 1877), as well as *Arion – Sångens makt* (C.R. Nyblom, for the Orphei Drängar

jubilee in 1878) and his probably most oft-performed choral work, the sacred *Quando corpus morietur* (performed 1851, dedicated to Gade).

Like many other young composers from other countries, August Söderman studied in Leipzig, but it was significant that it was not so much the “academic” Mendelssohn who interested him as the “modernistic” Schumann. More so than Norman, Josephson and Wennerberg, Söderman developed a style related to his occupation in the theatrical world, where choral pieces were a given component of the dramatic repertoire. In scenes featuring Swedish peasantry or with folk-song associations, Söderman created his special variant of a Swedish “art music folk tone” (Helmer 1972). In actual fact, much of what we take to be a Swedish folk tone harks back to Söderman’s music.

Söderman’s early choral ballads evince more distinct references to both Schumann and the “new German” style, with their chromatic and tense harmonic ambiguity developed by Wagner and Liszt. *Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar* for baritone, mixed choir and orchestra (Heine, 1859–66) can be considered one of Söderman’s most important works in this genre. Other similar works are *An die Freude* (Schiller, for the centenary of the poet’s birth in 1859), *Tempelsalen* (E. Wallmark, 1863) and *Hjertesorg* (K. Wetterhoff, 1870, orchestrated by Norman in 1883). Of note amongst his occasional cantatas are the one commissioned by the student union to mark the 200th anniversary of the founding of Lund University (E.W. Lindblad, 1868), and *Skalden* for the unveiling of the bust of burlesque poet Johan Anders Wadman in Gothenburg in 1869.

Men’s a cappella choral songs

During this period, a cappella choral songs were almost wholly synonymous with the student choral societies in Uppsala and Lund. What for a hundred years henceforth was to form the backbone of male a cappella choruses was found here during the relatively short period from the early 1800s to the 1850s. For a long time subsequently it was only Söderman and to some extent Norman who produced inspired and personal choral works – much else having, however, the character of a vapid echo. The men’s choral suite *Ett böndbröllop* (R. Gustafsson, 1868) – with its famous “öl och brännvin” fugue – and *Sex visor i folkton* for mixed a cappella choir (1873), which opened with the frequently sung “Jungfrun gick åt lunden den sköna”, has established itself as Söderman’s most popular choral songs.

The student song repertoire proper extended from the heroic-patriotic to the idyllic-lyrical spring song and from romantic nature-mysticism to bacchanalian-humoristic drinking songs. Altogether, the range corresponds with the songs’ functions: patriotic marching, extolling spring, serenades and festivities. All of this can be said to derive from a student-romantic wave from the 1840s that expressed itself in a systematic thematising of student singing, which embraced the expectations of students young and old for student life, the sentimental memories of academics’ pre-bourgeois youth. Initially, the patriotic song and Bellman song, later also the “Glunt” dialogue song, the snaps song, spring song and serenade acquired a ceremonial function that bonded the different student generations.

One can identify a number of non-musical reasons for the huge impact that student song had on society. The student singers were animated by a musical idealism based on the academic cultivational ideal. This was coupled towards the end of the century with a notion of superiority so characteristic of fin-de-siècle Swedish nationalism. According to Rudolf Kjellén – conservative politician and chief ideologist and himself a student singer – it was a case of an unbeatable “triad” of students, singers and Swedes. The “twin temple” that they served was the “holiest next to God’s own: that of the fatherland and of song”. At the same time, he identified the student cap, the discipline, the language and the national repertoire as the special “confederates” of student song (Kjellén 1900).

Since the 1770s, the public had become familiar with the operas of Gluck and their abundant choruses, and with works by Naumann, including his opera *Gustaf Wasa* with its “Ädla skuggor, vördade fader”, a number for solo voice and choir that, in various arrangements, would reach far and wide and well into modern times. However, choral works in the form of a four-voice patriotic poem did not emerge until around 1808. “Gubben” – or at times “farbror” (roughly “old man”) – Hæffner would have a strong influence here as the promoter of choral song, this former opera chief conductor in Stockholm who became the Uppsala students’ corypheus and musical expert for the new Swedish chorale book, whose rhythmically equalising accompaniment also corresponded to the homophonic style that very much characterised the men’s choir repertoire.

Student marches by Hæffner such as *Samloms bröder* (1813) and *Lejonriddarne* (1814), both to Atterbom’s lyrics, date from the early days. Hæffner’s choral style also embodied a striving for simplicity with pure triads as the ideal. This also influenced the musical views of the Uppsala romanticists and led to the elevation of the “nature song”, to some degree at least, to an “academic” art form. This choral style was carried onward by, amongst others, Johan Erik Nordblom – Hæffner’s foremost pupil and his successor as Uppsala’s *director musices* – whose *Fäderneslandet*, “Härliga land”, would live a long life. This chordal, stomping style of men’s chorus was also transferred to the nascent mixed choir scene and came to distinguish countless Swedish choral compositions throughout the 1800s.

Starting with the Karl XIII and Oscar festivities of 1818–19, and later the Gustav Vasa and Gustav II Adolf festivities, the students created a new kind of national celebration, with special choruses that very much set the pattern for later Swedish national festivities.

The span of the heroic-patriotic student marches can be illustrated by the compositions of two poems from 1818 to the centenary of Karl XII’s death. Rarely have so disparate songs been written for one and the same purpose – from the tragic tones of *Viken tidens flyktiga minnen* (arr. Hæffner–Geijer) in Uppsala to the jublations of Tegnér’s *Kung Karl den unga hjälte* in Lund.

Kung Karl also became the more popular song of the two, and was sung throughout the land chorally or in unison (to which many broadsides bear testimony). The likely reason for this popularity lies in the combination of lyric and O. Westermarck’s composition, as well as in the 1820s choral arrangement by Arrhén von Kapfelman.

Perhaps the best examples of 19th century patriotic song that come to mind are the King’s Song and the National Anthem, the crystallisation of which are a visible illustration of the ability of student song to create a national song corpus.

The so-called “Folk Song” was meant to be an expression of the people’s loyalty to the monarch, and in Sweden, *Bevare Gud vår kung* was the official such song from 1805 to the 1860s (lyrics by A.N. Edelcrantz to the melody of *God save the King*). Attempts to replace it were particularly evident at times of accession. *Ur svenska hjärtans djup* (O. Lindblad–Standberg, 1844) was the hymn that eventually made it. It was performed for the first time by Lund University Male Voice Choir to honour the person of Oscar I and was immediately adopted as a royal hymn by both Lund and Uppsala male choirs, who took it on their singing tours and made it nationally famous. In the 1860s it finally became the official “Folk Song”; the designation “King’s Song” did not appear until the 1890s.

The term “national songs” initially referred to provincial folk songs, but with time it came to denote patriotic songs that praised the *entire* fatherland. In the 1850s two student hymns appeared that would dominate patriotic choruses for the remainder of the century – J.A. Josephson’s *Vårt land* (Runeberg, 1852) and Wennerberg’s *Hör oss, Svea* (1853).

Wennerberg’s “marseillaise” was effectively the given national anthem in men’s choral contexts – as was still the case at the Swedish Choral Society’s Paris tour of 1914. But it was

Vårt land which effectively became the official Swedish national anthem in the 1800s. Here was a poem that both fulfilled the requirements of a national anthem and was familiar to the public through the Tales of Ensign Stål (*Fänrik Ståls sägner*). But there was one problem with Josephson's composition: it was not suited to unison song. *Sången till Norden* – “Du gamla, du friska” – was, however. Written by Richard Dybeck to a folk song tune, it was first performed at an “Evening entertainment” by Dybeck in Stockholm on 18 November 1844. This song – which is thus of an age with the King's Song – was made nationally famous through both Dybeck's concerts and the student concerts, from the 1870s with the popular Carl Fredrik “Lunkan” Lundqvist as soloist.

Dybeck's opening attribute “*Friska*” (Jaunty) was rather apt for the Scandinavia of Geatish climate theory. But during the 1850s, with the Crimean War and the stirring Russian bear dominating the headlines (as well as some of Wennerberg's men's choir hymns), Dybeck substituted this adjective for “*fria*” (Free). Nevertheless, the “*Friska*” version was kept in all choral contexts until into the first five years of the new century (in some cases even longer). However, as it started to gain acceptance as a national anthem, various dissenting voices were heard, pointing out, for example, its feeble and geographically general character. In itself, its lyrical folk-song tone was a poor basis for a national anthem, but in “Lunkan's” hands it adopted the character of a hymn. One symptom of this displeasure was the competition announced in Stockholm in 1899 to find a new Swedish national anthem “in a simple, populist style, preferably with a marching tempo”. It was also later stipulated that it was to be set for four-part men's choir while also being suitable for unison singing. The contest was, however, fruitless, and with the dissolution of the Sweden-Norway union in 1905 the only conceivable candidate for a national song was *Du gamla*.

At student festivities, choral singing would enhance the collective spirit, and here in the singing practices of the student movements were portents of what later emerged in, amongst others, the labour movement. A student march that gave particular emphasis to the role of *song* – and therefore, perhaps, achieved popularity outside the campuses – was *Dåne liksom åskan, bröder* (Stuntz–Jolin). This was actually a direct translation of a German men's chorus and served as a “student song” in Johan Jolin's play *Världens dom* (1849). The Choral Society's motto from the early 1900s, “Hjärtats nyckel heter sång” (lit. Song is the key to the heart) derives from this very march.

Up until the 1840s, the public standing of student singing was strengthened in both Uppsala and Lund, its zenith coinciding with the students' Scandinavian meetings of the 1840s, championed by the Lund students through a series of meetings with their colleagues from Copenhagen and compositions by Otto Lindblad. Also from this period is the Uppsala “Trappmarsch” (Steps march), it becoming a tradition for the choir to end all public concerts in the Carolina Hall with a slow procession down the echoing steps to Hæffner's *Lejonriddarne*. (The ritual was transferred to the new university building in 1887, where the Allmänna Sången choir concludes its spring concerts to this day).

Student radicalism culminated in 1848. The naively cheerful declarations of the students' enlightening mission were underlined especially through the works of Johan Nybom, who that year supplied the lyrics to Gunnar Wennerberg's *Så säga Sveriges studenter*, *Trummarsch* and *Stå stark du ljusets riddarvakt*. In the first half of the 19th century a number of student songs were also written that painted the student life in rosy hues, the true high-point of this genre being marked by Prince Gustaf's *Sjung om studentens lyckliga dag* (Sätherberg, 1852), expressing the bright and blithe student worldview that dominated the mid-century.

It was within the student nations' coteries and with the princes Karl and Gustaf in Bävernsgränd that Wennerberg came into his own as an inspirator and singer. He became the same self-evident centre of gravity of the Juvenals, a student society that devoted itself to

music, merrymaking and general tomfoolery. Starting with Wennerberg's entrance onto the scene in 1843 and for the next three years, there was a choir for which he wrote several of his pieces. One by one, the singers left university however, so that by 1847 only three remained: Daniel Hwasser, Otto Beronius and Wennerberg himself, which gave rise to the ten *buffa* trios that make up the collection *De tre*. Given these practical circumstances, it heralded a revival of the outdated trio genre popular at the turn of the century; this also applied, in a sense, to the ensuing duet collection *Gluntarne*, which emerged when Hwasser also left Uppsala and was substituted by a piano part.

Nothing has meant so much to student romanticism as *Gluntarne* (pub. 1849–51), a collection that portrays a cross-section of a student's life and musical environment in the middle of the 1800s with everything from the simple student song to echoes of the musical world of the drawing room, opera and comic opera. Here we find Spohr's *Jessonda* and Weber's *Preciosa*, Bernhard Crusell's compositions of Tegnér's *Frithiof's saga* and August Blanche's 1840s comic operas, such as *Läkaren* (1845), with its couplets to music by J.N. Ahlström. Wennerberg is not to be accused of plagiarism, however. The parody technique – the re-contextualisation of already familiar music – was common practice and its master, Bellman, was considered by Wennerberg's contemporaries as his model. Writing in her diary in 1848, Malla Silfverstolpe, one of the first to hear these "Glunt" dialogue songs, called them "refined Bellmaniana."

According to Geatism there was another side to the old Nordic life than just masculine virility. It manifested itself in the spring's melancholy sweetness, the folk song's simple pleasures and in the Nordic woman's heart. This can be said to form the basis of the idyllic-lyrical vein in student singing. A repertoire with such content was cultivated – effectively as a counterweight to the heroic-patriotic men's choirs – by the students' *quartet singing* back in the 1820s, especially since they started to become familiar with songs from the German *Liedertafel*.

A cardinal belief in the romantic-idyllic tradition was that nature was personified by Woman – the Spring – which explains the folk song/woman nexus found in the serenade song. At the same time, much was made of the Swedish folk song as a particularly national wellspring, rather like a counterbalance to the German repertoire. By this time, the term "folk song" in large part meant "love song", which also explains its role in serenade singing. During the 1800s, the "folk song" sections of the folk and student songbooks mainly comprised these short lyrical songs. Hæffner's pioneering collection *Svenska folk-visor satta för fyra mansröster* (1832) acquired a degree of status, with a series of quartet songs, such as *Näckens polska* (O. Lindblad), *Glädjens blomster* (Rinman), *Kristallen den fina* (Tullberg) and *Till Österland* (L.G. Hedin) following in its wake.

This type of folk song became a model for the century's many newly composed "folk" serenades, like *Silla skuggor* (Geijer–Böttiger), *Till skogs en liten fågel flög* (O. Lindblad–Atterbom), *Stjärnorna tindra re'n* (Josephson) and *Shumra hulda* (Myrberg).

The Walpurgis Night celebrations in Uppsala and the First of May ditto in Lund were the very departure point for the flora of songs produced in exultation at the arrival of spring. These festivities, a synthesis of student farce and folkish dithyrambic intoxication, were created during the first half of the 19th century, mostly in the individual student nations, and have changed little since then.

The first spring song classic was Arrhén von Kapfelman's *Våren är kommen* (1823), from which projects a straight line of development to Prince Gustaf, O. Lindblad and J.A. Josephson: *Vintern rasat ut* (O. Lindblad–Sätherberg, 1839), *Glad såsom fågeln* (Prince Gustaf–Sätherberg, 1846) and *Vårliga vindar draga* (Josephson–Grafström, 1850s). The most popular songs in the genre also included contributions from elsewhere: the reappropriated Danish *O, hur härligt majsol ler* (Kuhlau) with Swedish lyrics by Böttiger (1831) and *Sköna*

maj välkommen (Runeberg) by cantor Lars Magnus Béen, who from the 1850s onwards was active in the Scanian countryside.

Bacchus has always played an important part, as regards either fatherland, war and love or revelry and youthful delights. In 1896, professor of literature Henrik Schück claimed that the drinking song was even a product of the Swedish folk character. During the first half of the century, a steaming bowl of arrack punch often graced the table at student parties, although the drink's real heyday did not arrive until Cederlund began bottling the concoction. This weaker drink, which was consumed cold, became the students' new elixir. So, for instance, when the regular refreshment breaks during the Uppsala students' *studentbevärning* ceremonies were transferred to the Allmänna Sångens "singing drills" during Oscar Arpi's days, it was the new punch that was drunk. It literally became indispensable, largely for – as they put it – soothing the throat. Something of this still remains – the singers are served punch, for instance, in the intervals during the Allmänna Sångens spring concerts.

The drinking song, including the Bellman song and snaps song, was particularly at home in private (and male) contexts. And Bellman was sung in the 1800s with a predilection for four men's voices as the ballad (*vissång*) lost ground. Of note amongst the most popular quartet Bellman songs from the first phase are *Hör I Orphei dränger* and *Vila vid denna källa* (both arranged by Cronhamn; printed 1832). From another, Scandinavian, phase comes the oft-sung Norwegian setting of *Joachim uti Babylon* (Kjerulf, printed 1868).

The snaps songs also have their primary origins in 19th century student life. The now well-known plethora of snaps songs are largely from our own century, only a handful from the 1800s, including the absolute classic in this genre *Helan går*. Eventually *Helan* became the official snaps song during the student meeting in 1875 and at the breakfasts along the way through Sweden on the Uppsala students' trip to Paris in 1878, which no doubt contributed greatly to the speed at which snap singing conquered the nation to become a general middle-class custom.

Drinking songs won greater legitimacy, however, by being performed four-part. In Uppsala, the students of the 1850s–60s had already started to accompany their second snaps ("halvan", as opposed to first snaps, "helan") with a chorus of *Hur länge skall på bordet, den lilla halvan stå* (How long on the table will the little "halvan" last), both a travesty and a parody of Wennerberg's hyper-patriotic *Hur länge skall i Norden den döda frid bestå* (How long in Scandinavia will this dead peace last), which was fairly quickly usurped.

During the 1860s, Allmänna Sångens (constituted 1842) was, under the direction of Oscar Arpi, the main student and men's choir in the Nordic countries. This new development was marked by a series of events in the spirit of industrialisation, such as that grand concert in Stockholm's Kungsträdgården in aid of Molin's fountain in 1866, the notorious singing trip to the Paris World Exhibition in 1867 and the unveiling of the statue of Karl XII, again in Kungsträdgården, in 1868.

The singing trip to Paris in 1867 was taken by train on the newly opened trunk line and through Germany into Paris, setting the standard for all successive singing trips. A hangover from the "old" means of transport was the way the trains continued to depart to the strains of Otto Lindblad's *Ångbåtssång* (Steamboat song), which according to the student tradition derived from one of the earliest meetings between students from Lund and Copenhagen (1842).

In the 1870s, Ivar Hedenblad introduced a rule in Uppsala insisting that the songs were to be sung by heart, something that had a significant bearing on nuancing and cohesion within the choir – which back then meant "discipline". But what was gained in precision was lost in "freshness", while the repertoire, decimated down to what could be retained in the memory, consisted in large part of the 100 songs that Hedenblad published in his influential collection *Studentsången* from 1883. Towards the end of Hedenblad's time, there was increasing talk of

a slow, sentimental and “sugar-sweet” execution – both by the Allmänna Sångern and Orphei Drängar.

The choral society Orphei Drängar (OD) had been founded in 1853 and during J.A. Josephson’s time resembled more a musical society, performing as they did larger choral works for soloists, choir and orchestra. But with Hedenblad (1880) they started to cultivate their public profile as an “elite choir” a cappella – not least with its singing trips. When Hugo Alfvén took over in 1910, a time of artistic renewal began. His manifesto advocated bridging the gap between the men’s choir and modern music; this did not mean that there was any radical change to the repertoire, but it did mean that the student choirs, especially OD, shed their – in an art music sense – dilettantish image.

Already after the 1875 student meeting (at which the Uppsala singers “won”), Henrik Möller in Lund had embarked on a similarly quality-focused singing venture amongst his student singers, much to the disgruntlement, however, of the more conservative Lundites. Under Alfred Berg’s direction from 1891, the Lund choir became more Uppsala-like and around the turn of the century, “Father Berg’s” choir was considered the best in the country. The proudest memory in the history of the choral society was the America trip in 1904, when for the first time since Lindblad’s days they were able to manifestly outshine their arch-rivals in Uppsala.

With the dissolution of the Sweden-Norway union in 1905, student choirs became more nationalistic. In line with tradition, the following decade produced the most Swedish and national of all our men’s choruses: Alfvén’s *Sverges flagga* (aka *Sveriges flagga*, “Flamma stolt”; Ossiannilsson), written in celebration of the first Swedish Flag Day at Stockholm Stadion in 1916.

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THEATRE MUSIC

The theatre was the foremost “mass media” of the time and an important medium for music. The scale of music is very rich and varied and to understand the genre as a whole, we must differentiate between the different categories.

Much of the music heard in the theatre was surely of foreign origin, but a by no means paltry amount also came from Swedish composers. While the primary purpose of most of the plays was to amuse and entertain, we might also observe in the Swedish playwrights certain trends and schools of thought. These are the ones to which we will be paying special attention here, particularly if they also concern music. The most important zeitgeist back then was the need to create a national identity after the “loss” of Finland and the union with Norway, an endeavour that manifested itself in a spirit of royalism, Geatism and folklorism, which in turn went hand in hand with the romantic currents of the time.

Early romantic visions – Livijn and Eggert

A chronicle of Swedish romantic opera must begin with Clas Livijn, although none of his librettos made it as far as a performance. *Havsfrun* (1806, but not printed until 1850) is arguably the most romantic libretto ever written in the country, replete as it is with elves, undines, water sprites, banshees, goblins, gnomes, mountain trolls and ghosts. The plot centres on Count Magnus, who is infatuated with lake Vättern’s eponymous mermaid. The same story – albeit in a more sober telling – was then adopted by Frans Hedberg in the *sångspel* (comic opera) *Hertig Magnus och sjöjungfrun* (1867) with music by Ivar Hallström. In the hands of Hedberg–Hallström, the mermaid is, however, a mere figment of the count’s imagination, while Livijn portrays her as a real, flesh-and-blood being. That same year (1806), Livijn also planned an opera on the death of Balder in unrhymed Nordic metre (a Swedish parallel to Ewald–Hartmann’s Danish opera *Balders Død*, 1778).

Joachim Nikolas Eggert, chief conductor at the Royal Opera during the first years of the romantic era, was in close contact with the romantic-Geatish circle around Livijn, Leonard Rääf and Erik Drake. Livijn immediately drafted for Eggert operas such as *Strömkarlen* (1810–11), *Visbur* (1813), a work of Geatish-romantic character about a heathen Uppsala king, and *Hobergsgubben* (1813). Eggert’s death in April 1813 put a stop to all his opera plans, however. The only one that reached completion on Eggert’s part was the music for the historical play *Svante Sture and Märta Lejonhuvud* (P.A. Granberg, 1812). This includes a war song that harangued the Geatish virtue, the “revival of the old Geatish spirit of freedom, manly courage and probity”, which constituted the act of faith in the Geatish Society, founded in Stockholm in 1811.

Allegorical royalism – Valerius and Du Puy

Edouard Du Puy was an assiduous composer during his *hovkapellmästare* years (1812–1822). From his Danish period he imported to Sweden *Ungdom och dårskap* (1814), a comic opera by Bouilly (previously set to music by Méhul). For the ambitious ballet troupe, led by Louis Deland, Du Puy composed the successful narrative ballet *Jenny* (1815), which is set against an English incursion into Scotland. But a great many of Du Puy’s works were royalist in spirit. Drottningholm Slottsteater staged an *Epilog* in seven scenes on 26 January 1814 to mark the 50th birthday of king-to-be Karl Johan. The pantomimes were arranged by Louis Deland, and the allegorical lyrics by the theatre’s deputy director Karl Gustav Nordforss told of how the war god Mars, symbolising the King, freed Europa from the clutches of Treachery, Dissention and Oppression.

At the signing of the treaty in Kiel, Karl Johan had pushed for Denmark to cede Norway to Sweden, an act that was celebrated at the Royal Opera with a play called *Föreningen* (1815) by the directors Gustaf Löwenhielm and Nordforss, and with music by Du Puy. Its folkloric elements make this an interesting work. The first part takes place on the Norwegian border, its lead characters being a Swedish and a Norwegian peasant family, complete with regional dialect (“men då ä dä värsta med språke” (“Men det är det värsta med språket” – that’s the worst thing about the language)). The second part is a song-and-dance divertissement in tribute to monarch and union. The play was a huge success and was performed over 40 times; it was revived fifty years later, somewhat revised, for the half-century commemoration of the union in 1864. (This time to little success, perhaps due to the collapse that year of the dream of a Scandinavian union occasioned by the Danish-Prussian war).

A larger initiative was taken in 1818 for the coronation of Karl XIV Johan with *Björn Järnsida*, a three-act opera libretto by skald Johan David Valerius. The work seized upon some of Karl Johan’s interests insofar as it had an Old Norse theme and dealt with relations between France and Sweden. The Opera House archives still house drawings for some seventy costumes and Du Puy’s score for the first two acts. The music is interesting, since it demonstrates an attempt to compose a seamless flow of numbers. The arias are few and the men’s choruses important. However, for some reason the project was shelved, perhaps because this Viking opera, in which the Norsemen defeat the wily Frenchmen, waxed a little too heathen.

Instead, Valerius was commissioned to write a shorter piece, the allegorical divertissement *Balder* (performed 1819). Here, the royalism is more evident. Balder and his son Forsete symbolise – without this ever being made explicit – the newly crowned king and his son Oscar. In design it was a powerful, epoch-making piece containing a through-composed plot infused with Geatish, romantic and folk idiom. The first part is allegorical. A choir of elves and water sprites sing at the Font of Wisdom, guarded by the slumbering giant Mimer. They flee when Mimer wakes and asks the Norns to conjure up the shades of former Swedish kings, Yngve Frey and his daughters, Ragnar Lodbrok and his warriors, Magnus Ladulås and his knights and Gustav Vasa and his Dalecarlians. The illuminating vision comes when the clouds part and Norn Skuld invokes Balder – with an explicit allusion:

När sista Vasa-kungen är bjuden
till Odens sal, att lönas för sin dygd, –
då stiger Balder, den älskade guden,
neder till Skandiens suckande bygd.

When the last Vasa king is called
to Oden’s hall his virtue to requite, –
then will Balder, god loved by all,
on Skandien’s sighing lands alight.

After the allegory, the picture shifts to a Swedish landscape, where peasants dance the polska and other dances. At intermittent intervals, Karl Johan and Oscar have their praises sung by, amongst others, a farmer, a mariner, a mountain man and a “Lapp”. It was a proper national divertissement, albeit lacking any real plot, with music that transitioned from the dramatic opera style of allegory to folkloric pastiche. One of the songs can also be found in later songbooks:

Jag, liten fattig lapp
spänner för mina renar,
far med vinden snällt i kapp
över berg och stenar.

A poor little Lapp am I
harnessing my reindeer flock
with the wind behind me watch me fly
over mountain, fjeld and rock.

The folk parts of *Föreningen* and *Balder* would acquire a certain significance for the development of the “national” tone. Three of the dances in *Balder* returned as national dances

in Eduard Brendler's *sångspel Ryno* (1834) and three of the melodies from *Föreningen in Ett National-Divertissement* of the same year.

Gradually, public sympathies shifted onto Crown Prince Oscar. Unlike Karl Johan, he could speak Swedish, had broad artistic interests and was himself a competent composer. When Oscar had his first child, Prince Karl (XV), a production of *Födelsedagen* (1826) was staged, a short epilogue play by the Crown Prince's private secretary Bernhard von Beskow. It takes place in a peasant environment somewhere on the border between Skåne and Blekinge counties, where preparations are underway for soldier Carl Fast's birthday celebrations. This happens to coincide with the announcement of Prince Karl's birthday and both are celebrated with song and dance – endowing royalism with a pleasant patina of folkishness.

Chivalry and exoticism – Crusell and Brendler

Sångspel on national or Geatish motifs were rather scarce during the first decades of the 1800s. In fact, because of the small number of theatres and of the unreadiness of most composers to handle such large tasks, few such works were written at all in Sweden before the 1840s. Many of the attempts that were made followed the European mainstream, without the slightest indication of Nordic or patriotic ambition. Models were works by Dalayrac, Méhul, Boieldieu, Auber, Weber, Rossini and others. The genre that seems to have been most attractive is the horror or chivalrous costume drama. One such was Kotzebue's *Korsfararna*, which was performed already in 1804 in Stockholm with some musical numbers by singing master Carl August Stieler. It proved a rare success (141 performances between 1804 and 1845), much more so than the next attempt in the genre, Pixérécourt's *Mohrerne i Spanien* (1809), with its musical numbers by Eggert.

Another work of this kind was *Herman von Unna*, a horror-cum-chivalry romantic drama by A.F. Skjöldebrand (1795) with music by Abbé Vogler (performed in Copenhagen in 1800, to where Vogler had recently moved from Sweden). The work, which was performed in Stockholm from 1817 to 1842, became famous largely for the spookiness of the fourth act conjured up by Vogler's melodramatic music and the moonlit abandoned tomb that serves as the backdrop for Herman's mystical ceremonies and the court's freemasonic denouement.

There were no doubt countless other attempts of which we know nothing. We have already mentioned Livijn's and Eggert's unrealised plans. Another librettist was Carl Fredrik Dahlgren, whose burlesque *Rosenfesten* (printed 1822) was, however, nothing any composer dared touch. It was a "fantasy play" that alternated between drastic peasant scenes, singing magpies and dogs ("Voff, vofferi, voff, voff!"), Neck with his harp, and other such nature sprites. It begins with an "overture" and onomatopoeic words ("Ratsch, kratsch, bulleri, bulleribas").

Erik Johan Stagnelius wrote two theatre plays – both in a classical Greek setting – intended for music. *Cydippe* is an opera in three acts with a closing divertissement, while *Narcissus* (printed 1825) is a one-act sung pastoral ballet composed in about 1849 by Olof Wilhelm Uddén. It is said to have been picked up by the Royal Opera but was never performed (Höijer, 1864).

There are also dramatic scenes in *Den lilla slavinnan* (1824), after Pixérécourt's French costume drama *Ali-baba*. The play is set in and around Baghdad and features hidden treasure discovered by woodman Ali. Bernhard Crusell started to write the music and "the number of musical numbers increased", upon which "many changes and additions [were] necessary" to the libretto, as explained in the preface, the primary purpose of which was to defend the dramatic form, where "music, dance and scenic grandeur are to some degree unified, yet without claim to the perfection and polish of the loftier kinds". Crusell's music is catchy but far from exotic, even in the bacchanalia and bayadere song of the final act.

One might have expected *sångspel* on national themes, but despite the efforts of the Geats from 1811, it was only after the premiere of *Agne* (J.N. Ahlström–P.H. Ling, 1842) and the ascension of Oscar (1844) that authors and composers started to get to serious grips with the Geatish-national subjects. Amongst the few exceptions we find *Oden i Svithiod* by G.A. Brakel, which received a rather extravagant staging in 1826. But its language was more learned than lyrical, and Johan Fredrik Berwald's musical prowess was confined to a few choruses. Another is Skjöldebrand's tragedy *Hjalmar* (printed 1827), to which the author himself composed the music, marches and melodramas (performed by the Harmonic Society in 1830). The theme was borrowed from *Hervararsagan*, which A.A. Afzelius had published in Swedish translation in 1812 and which told the saga of Hjalmar and Ingeborg, and of the magic sword Tyrfing, conjured out of the family barrow by the magically endowed Hervor. There are violent battles and a tragic end (see W. Stenhammar's opera on the same theme).

There is really only one Swedish play from this time that attempts to depict a folk theme through folk means – including musical – namely the comedy-vaudeville *Hobergsgubben* (L.A. Weser, 1836) set in rural Gotland. Arguably the most original aspects of the play lie in its being through-sung and containing no fewer than 55 melodies in its two acts – known polskas, songs, folk tunes and Bellman songs, a veritable sample card of the popular music of the time. The play had little success, possibly due to the absence of spoken dialogue, but that does not make it any less an interesting predecessor of the folk vaudevilles of the 1840s.

The leading Swedish scenic musical work of the era is *Ryno*, a chivalric *sångspel* by Eduard Brendler, whose entire production for the stage stems from his last two years. In 1829 he wrote *Ulla Winblads födelsedag*, an extensive arrangement of Bellman songs for the stage, and in 1830 the declamatory works *Spastaras död* and *Edmund och Clara* for recitation and orchestra, and at his death in 1831 (aged 31) he was busy on the opera *Ryno* (Bernhard von Beskow), which was intended to be staged in the autumn of 1831 following a substantial renovation of the opera house. But since only eight of the planned fourteen numbers had been completed by Brendler, the opera was completed by the Crown Prince with the help of Adolf Fredrik Lindblad, after which *hovkapellmästaren* J.F. Berwald orchestrated Oscar's numbers (performed 1834).

Given all these writers and composers involved, one might have expected a Swedish "national opera", but the plot is more chivalric than Swedish, despite its taking place in Sweden around 1500 and the Swedish names of the characters. The opera also has an international feel in purely musical terms too. The first act is largely taken up by choral and dance scenes in the torchlit evening, when peasants sing of the coming wedding between Arnold, lord of the castle, and Agnes, daughter of the deceased knight Thure Stenson. After the party is over, the wandering knight Ryno appears with his manservant, the clownish Snap. The second act reveals Agnes's ambivalence towards her impending wedlock in a large scene modelled on Agathe's in Weber's *Der Freischütz*. Then follows a wild and glorious gypsy dance with choir. Ryno, dressed as a gypsy, tells Agnes's gloomy fortune and exposes Arnold as the murderer of her father and is duly imprisoned in the castle tower. In the finale Agnes and Snap conspire to give Arnold a sleeping potion (ballad and scene). The third act begins with Ryno's monologue in prison and a thrilling rescue scene, not unlike its counterpart in *Fidelio*. Finally a ghost-like entrance – to Arnold's horror – is made by the knight Thure, who is not dead after all (quintet). The opera concludes with a large duel scene between Ryno and Arnold. Arnold dies and Ryno is united with Agnes.

Brendler's music was of the de rigueur style of contemporary German romantic opera, especially that of Spohr and Weber, whose operas were on the Royal Opera repertoire during his time. The dissolution of Classical harmonics towards a more refined and emotionally governed soundscape greatly inspired the young Swede, whose music subsequently took on a lyrical, tranquil melancholy that tended towards the introverted (Wiklund 1991:1 p. 164).

Perhaps Brendler's most interesting music can be found in the sketches, the largest being a long recitative (33 measures) to Ryno's aria in the first act. The words were printed in the libretto but were never set to music by the Prince, who apparently realised that he would never be able to match Brendler's refined and densified sound palette, which characterises the person of Ryno in a way that verges on the ingenious. Brendler is also consistent in his musical portrayal of the main character. In Ryno's second major aria (act 3) the sound likewise plays a significant role with its frequent diminished intervals, evidence of the typical "spohrsche Manier" that according to A.F. Lindblad (in a letter to Mendelssohn from 1834) characterises Brendler (Wiklund 1991:1 p. 27).

Just how important harmonic schemes are for Brendler's music-dramatic expression can be inferred from the sketches for the act one finale (see Wiklund 1991:1 p. 61). With the help of a gestural, free form and a genuine folk-song tone (in the Dorian mode) a folk-mythical person is invoked to whom the good of this world is tied. Brendler's portrait of Ryno thus has a strong harmonic rather than thematic association, ensuring too that the Ryno figure is perceived as authentically romantic with his blend of emotional melancholy, folk myth, yearning and virility.

To Oscar's lot fell all the act finales, the fortune-telling scene, a duet, a quartet and Agnes's main aria. The main influences we can trace in his music are Cherubini, Beethoven and Rossini, and even if his musical craft is sometimes lacking and he easily resorts to repetition despite Lindblad's salutary tightening of the form, Oscar impresses as a music dramatist in the balance he strikes between music and action, in his well-constructed climaxes and in his effective theming. Of all of Oscar's contributions, the final act finale stands out as a successful imitation of Rossini's opera seria.

Ryno was performed twenty times in the following four years, lavishly staged in terms of sets, costumes and cast: Agnes – Henriette Widerberg; Ryno – Per Sällström; and Arnold – Nils Almlöf. It also showcased the Royal Opera's ballet troupe, for which choreographer Anders Selinder had created three national dances with music sourced from the divertissement in Du Puy's *Balder* from 1819.

Historical romanticism – Lindblad and Berwald

A.F. Lindblad also presented a larger-scale *sångspel* in an elegant but rather conventional French style, *Fronödörerna, eller En dag under partistriderna i Paris 1649* (1835) after a French play. The plot centres on a love story baked into a political intrigue during the time of Cardinal Mazarin. The *sångspel* was only a modest hit, despite the material added in February 1836, the insertion of ballets and the small role given to Jenny Lind. (The work reaped greater success at its revival in Stockholm in 1975). Lindblad was himself displeased with it and when in the latter half of the 1830s he developed as a composer, he sought a future in Nordic-nationalism. Both C.J.L. Almqvist and Fredrika Bremer drafted operas for him, which Lindblad never completed. All that remains of *Blenda*, an opera about the provincial heroine from Småland, is the libretto (see Berg 1925) and fragments of the music (c 1840).

One noteworthy royalist historical romance is P.A. Huldberg's play *Birger Jarl, eller Stockholms grundläggning* (1835), for which J.F. Berwald provided incidental music for some of the melodramas – one with Birger Jarl's visions of the future at the sight of the famous Stockholm statues of Gustav Vasa and Gustav II Adolf – and choruses, including the first hymn to the capital city: "Hell Stockholm, Sveriges nya hufvudstad".

Franz Berwald also tried his hand at *sångspel* during this time, although was stymied by poor librettos. *Jag går i kloster* (1843) was performed half a dozen times and *Modehandlerskan* (1845) just once. He enjoyed greater success with the "grand romantic opera" *Estrella di Soria* (Prechtler, 1862), which is set in 15th century Spain. Berwald's

powerful symphonic abilities are much more apparent here than any Spanish colour. Something similar – albeit in an Indo-French setting – can be said about *Drottningen av Golconda* (composed for Christina Nilsson, completed 1865 and premiered a hundred years after the composer's death). The plot differs little from many earlier operas on the same theme, including Henri Berton's *Aline, drottning av Golconda* (performed in Stockholm during Berwald's youth in the 1810s). None of these works had any connection to Swedish environments. (See also p. 341 f.)

Scholar and theologian Karl Gustav Rollin made a noteworthy attempt to breathe life into Swedish opera production with three librettos published in 1855: *Abraham, Lamech eller Svärdet* and *Louis de Geer och wallonerne*. The first two were biblical dramas set to music by Jacob Edvard Gille – the latter only a mere sketch, however. The third is an intriguing attempt to depict the advent of the Swedish iron industry in the 1600s. The story is set partly in Wallonia during the religious persecutions, and partly in Dannemora mine and Österby ironworks, but its atmosphere of realism is dispelled when will-o-the-wisps and hulder forest spirits appear in the mine scene, which, incidentally, bears a passing resemblance to a scene from Jolin-Norman's *Framåt!*

National music's breakthrough

In 1812, Geatish Society member Per Henrik Ling published his Norse-themed five-act play *Agne*, in which the eponymous Viking chieftain has just returned from a raid in Finland to Stocksundet in lake Mälaren. In the Greek manner Ling endows the play with a great many commenting or acting choruses, intended to be sung. The play was not performed, however, until 1842, when Anders Lindeborg was brave enough to choose *Agne* as the main attraction for the opening of Nya teatern with its overture and incidental music composed by Jakob Niclas Ahlström, the theatre's newly employed chief conductor and former music teacher at Västerås secondary grammar school.

This was not Ahlström's first foray into musical Viking territory. In Västerås he had already composed *Alfred den store* (1840) before embarking on a frantic theatre career in Stockholm as the most industrious theatre conductor of his time. This is a *sångspel* with a libretto taken from German Theodor Körner, who places the drama in 9th century England. King Alfred is defeating the Danes and sings – according to the libretto – his final lines to the completely anachronistic tune of “Rule Britannia”. The opera was never performed, but Ahlström had much more success with his theatre music at the Nya (Mindre) teatern instead, music that was often just arrangements of vaudeville tunes with the possible addition of a handful of new compositions. In some cases, however, he wrote all the music. One such case was *Positivhataren* (1843), with which August Blanche began his career as a playwright as well as his collaboration with Ahlström. In true comedic form, it presents some contemporary caricatures: the wife listening to organ grinders on the street and musical boxes in the bedchamber; and the lieutenant who is “a member of most orders and societies, suchlike Par Brikoll and the Mariners' Society” and “a subscriber to soirées for dancing, goes to the theatre eight times a month, sings second tenor in the Harmonic Society”. The play also gives us a glimpse of what it was like to attend one of C.A. Stieler's singing classes.

A decisive step towards the ingress of national music into the theatre repertoire was taken in 1843 with the silver jubilee of Karl XIV Johan's reign. The prelude was the performance of *Ett National-Divertissement* at the Royal Opera. A plotless creation, the piece was an out-and-out royal tribute penned by skald C.W. Böttiger with music by J.F. Berwald (part-arranged, part-composed). Essentially it was a reworking of the final part of *Föreningen*, from which three melodies had been borrowed. The “national” of the title, in accordance with the word's contemporary usage, referred to the peasants in the performance – a Scanian farmer, a Lapp, a Norwegian, a girl from Vingåker, and so forth – while “divertissement”

announced that the piece contained songs and dances. Böttiger, Blanche and Fredrik August Dahlgren would later turn “nationaldivertissement” to an out and out de-royalised folkloric genre.

Three “nationaldivertissements” in the spring of 1843 led to a renewal of the uniquely Swedish form of vaudeville. *Ett National-Divertissement* was included as part of a gala performance in February for Karl Johan. In April there followed *Silverbröllopet* (Blanche) at Nya teatern, this too designated a “nationaldivertissement” and made up exclusively of songs to known folk tunes and a closing polska. In paying homage to a rural dean and his wife who are celebrating their silver wedding anniversary, the play is a good-natured parody of Böttiger’s royal tribute. In May, finally, came *En majdag i Väre* (J.F. Berwald–Böttiger). The play’s simple plot centres on Märta–Jenny Lind who chooses a Swedish peasant boy over an Italian merchant with a promising singing career. Märta’s song “I Sverige ligger en skogig trakt” and the bell-ringer’s “Klockarfar, han skall nu allting bestyra” were popular hits in their day.

The next step was taken on the ascension of Oscar in 1844. With a liberal’s hopes pinned on the new king, the otherwise barely royalist Blanche wrote the royal tribute *Kröningsdagen*, which was performed at Nya teatern on the day of the actual coronation, 28 September. The viewing platform for the play was the terrace surrounding the church tower, where people from all walks of life had gathered to view the coronation. With the coronation procession and ringing in the background, people talk, bicker and sing songs, including *Hönsgummans visa* and works by Bellman and Wadman. They gather in the Folksong since the Squire had noted “the people’s prosperity and progression on the path of enlightenment – behold the loveliest ornaments, which will remain long after the cannons have rusted and the victory banners have mouldered in dust.”

Blanche steered vaudeville in a new direction. The typical French vaudeville, which as we have seen had existed in Stockholm since the start of the century, excelled in comic intrigues and quick-witted dialogue. But when Blanche entered the scene, the Swedish authors also started to turn their hand to a special type of vaudeville that adopted scenes from peasant or urban life. The plot would be occasionally interrupted by songs with tunes chosen to in some way characterise the different personages. The practice of borrowing songs was, of course, partly convenient, especially as the theatres’ conductors had little time to devote to composition; but it was also a means of establishing character and creating associations, something that Dane J.L. Heiberg already remarked upon in his tract “Vaudevillen som dramatisk Digtart” (1826).

Over the years up to 1850, Blanche wrote a number of plays, or rather vaudevilles, since they all contained songs. *Läkaren* (1845) straddles the borderline between vaudeville and *sångspel* in that in places its music (by Ahlström) is integrated more than was usual into the text. The first act contains long sung scene with students in an inn. The third act shows drawing rooms outside a ballroom, where dance music plays a part in the plot. Mentioned – and partly heard – here are three waltzes, two françaises, a cotillion and an “inclination dance” (the dancers’ free choice). In the fourth act follows what is effectively a national divertissement in the form of a peasant wedding with 22 dances and songs.

Engelbrekt och hans dalkarlar (Ahlström–Blanche, 1846) also adopts a middling position, in this case between historical drama and social-realist tableau. In the first act, Engelbrekt’s daughter introduces a new folk melody (*lek*) that she claims to have made up: “Fria vill Simon i Sälle”. In the third act, the mood is elevated by a provincial song, an off-stage march, provincial mountain lurs, a folk hymn and, finally, a patriotic choir with “drums and trumpets sounding from all sides”. The closing scene of the fifth act is a melodrama in which the dying Engelbrekt bids farewell to his people against the background music before a hymn brings the

whole spectacle to an end. That same year saw other historical dramas, such as *Dackefejden* (G.O. Hyltén-Cavallius, 1846), but they were economical in their use of singing and music.

Most of Blanche's plays had contemporary settings, and it was mainly through these that he breathed new life into vaudeville in introducing a greater measure of quotidian realism than before by portraying, as in his other works, types, characters and situations from the local context – even if his plots were often modelled on foreign sources. The song melodies were selected from a broad register and encompassed both *sångspel* tunes and opera cavatinas, as well as romances, songs, folk songs, folk dances and melodies from popular waltzes and gallops. Most arrangements were done by Nya (Mindre) teatern's chief conductors, besides J.N. Ahlström also Johan Wilhelm Söderman, sometimes with newly composed introductions, bridging music, melodramas or other musical illustrations.

Blanche's plays are generally musically generous. In *En trappa upp och på nedre botten* (1843) songs are sung to 19 different melodies in the three acts, and to 12 in the one-act *En födelsedag på gäldstugan* (1846). Often a deliberate allusion technique can be discerned in his choice of melodies. One example amongst many: In *Rika morbror* (1845), the sailors sing in Kastellholmen inn: "Fritt är sjömannens liv och med trotsande kraft / går han fram på det stormande hav" (Free is the sailor's life and with defiant vigour / he sails forth upon the raging sea). This was to be sung to "Vikingabalk", a melody from Crusell–Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* ("Nu han svävade kring op det ödsliga hav"). With this borrowing, audiences were expected to draw a spontaneous parallel with the intrepid Vikings.

Another example from the same play shows how the situation comedy is enhanced though the borrowing of tune and, to a certain extent, lyric. Major Krumellund has lost his golden snus tin and sings to a melody from Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*, in which Prince Robert has lost his fortune at the dicing table. The lyrics read:

(Rika morbror)
 Vad ångest och kval!
 Vad lyckan är fal!
 Jag har inget val,
 jag måste cedera.

(Robert)
 Vad anger, vad kval! (O misfortune unheard of!)
 För lyckan så fal! (O fatal destruction!)
 Jag har intet val, (By power infernal,)
 jag endast kan falla (that crushes me down)

The national folk environments and melodies thus first appear – to a larger extent – in vaudevilles and part-sung comedies during the 1840s. The first romantic-national opera – or more correctly *sångspel* – was *Näcken, eller Älvspelet* from 1844 (Jan van Boom–J.H. Meijersson), in which Näcken–Giovanni Belletti tries to have his way with Thyra–Jenny Lind. She is rescued at the last moment, while the fiddler Rolf–Isidor Dannström dies. The music lives more on choruses and ballet numbers than on solo numbers and is, despite the national theme, cast in a supernatural mould, even in the brilliant presentation of "Näckens polska".

The same internationalism prevails in the *sångspel Vita frun på Drottningholm* (Sätherberg, 1847), with music by Prince Gustaf and Ivar Hallström. The work was premiered at the court, after which it enjoyed a modicum of success on the stage. One of the songs, "I rosens doft", was an immediate hit in the salons.

More nationally flavoured was *Tegnér's minne*, which was performed at the Royal Theatre in 1847 in memory of the deceased "national poet". As Tegnér did not write for the theatre, August Blanche compiled extracts mainly from *Axel* and *Frithiofs saga* into a full-length production complete with prologue, five acts and an apothotic epilogue (Tegnér's image on the backdrop "illuminated by coloured flames"). The musical elements were a series of choruses by J.F. Berwald, including in a dramatic scene in which the Balder temple burns down, plus several instrumental passages with familiar Tegnér melodies – not least by Crusell

– to support the events on stage. Admittedly, the melodies were not folk tunes in the true sense, but they were well-known and oft-sung (as is evident from the songbooks of the time) and had, through their connections with the Tegnér texts, a strong national colour.

The model for the popular folk play in a rustic setting was provided above all by *Värmlänningarna* (1846) by Fredrik August Dahlgren (“Fredrik på Ransätt”, not to be confused with C.F. Dahlgren), who developed a line from Blanche and J.N. Ahlström. Formally, it is a vaudeville since almost all the twenty-plus melodies were borrowed. Four were taken from Anders Fryxell’s *sångspel Värmlandsflickan*, which was performed by the Östgöta student nation in Uppsala in 1822 (printed with music that same year). One of these songs was “Ack, Värmeland du sköna”, which featured in *Värmlänningarna* with the words “I Värmland är lustigt att leva”. Other melodies were borrowed from Bellman as well as polskas and folk songs. One melody in a polska rhythm, related to the folk song “Och gossen gick sej ut i morgonstund”, is said to come from the pen of F.A. Dahlgren himself. The music was arranged by Andreas Randel, who also composed a long overture. The plot is a Romeo and Juliet drama transferred to rural Värmland. Juryman Sven Ersson tries to prevent his son Erik’s marriage to crofter’s daughter Anna, but it all comes to a happy end with a general dance and the chorus’s praises, sung to a polska rhythm: “Ja, er önska vi de bästa öden / allt intill blekaste döden!”

At the Stockholm opera alone, over 800 performances of *Värmlänningarna* have been given since the premiere. By virtue of its winning structure and its catchy music, this folk vaudeville has come to be almost regarded as the only one of its kind from the 19th century. But it had countless successors.

Vaudeville as social realism

Swedish vaudeville emerged under the influence of both French and Danish models (including J.L. Heiberg and Erik Bögh). However, it was above all August Blanche who made his mark on the genre in Sweden through his sense of humour, his realism and his interest in musical ingredients. One of his vaudevilles at Nya teatern was also the first Swedish New Year review, a one-act piece called *1844–1845*, performed on 1 January 1845 as a review of the past year. All the couplets were sung to known melodies. In emulation of Blanche, Mauritz Cramær produced his *Års-revyen* a couple of years later, an “occasional jest in one act, with melodrama, choruses and couplets” performed at Mindre teatern on New Year’s Day 1847 with music arranged by Ahlström. Another of Cramær’s vaudevilles was *Symamsellerna* (1848), the second act of which was set in a Stockholm dance salon and alludes to the popular dance conductor Schnötzingen.

What makes this vaudeville interesting is that – like Blanche’s plays – it is not just a piece of entertainment with inserted couplets but also a social-realist tableau, albeit of the good-natured, audience-wooing sort. While the grand dramas borrowed their subjects from antiquity or history, vaudeville, as it was conceived at the time, was perfectly suited to scenic depictions of types and characters from contemporary everyday life. The vaudevilles took their subjects from both town and country. *Symamsellerna* depicted Stockholm environments, while a number of plays took up motifs from diverse provinces. The Royal Opera staged *En folkfest i Dalarne* (1851) by the theatre director Sven Gustaf Schyberg, with music arranged by *hovkapellmästaren* Jacopo Foroni and dances choreographed by Selinder (as in *Värmlänningarna*). Mindre teatern contributed *I bohusslänska skärgården* (Birgitte Nielsen, arranged by J. Philipsson, 1852), Humlegårdsteatern *Blekingsfickan* (Axel Krook, 1854) and Södra teatern’s *Tiggarflickan, eller en julafton i Blekinge* (A. Krook, 1855).

None of these plays had the same vibrancy and freshness as *Värmlänningarna*, but towards the end of the 1850s the authors had better mastery of folk subjects and several plays enjoyed tremendous success. These include *Valborgsmässoaftonen* (Frans Hedberg, 1855),

marked “everyday tableaux from common lives”. The music was arranged and partly composed by J.W. Söderman, Södra teatern’s chief conductor. There was also the “folk play” *Sven och liten Anna* (H. Martinsson, 1858) performed in dialect in an Östgöta rural environment. The music was by Gustaf Stolpe, conductor at Ladugårdslandsteatern (nine arranged and ten composed songs). The same year, Wendela Hebbe wrote *Dalkullen* for Djurgårdsteatern, actually for her daughter Signe Hebbe, who did not appear in the play until its tour to Gothenburg. One of the scenes depicts a break-in at a sacristy, which the newspapers did not find appropriate for a vaudeville (Lewenhaupt 1988, p. 148, 286).

August Säfström’s debut play was *Fiskarstugan* (1844), to which he also supplied the music. The folk song “Och jungfrun hon skulle sig till ottesången gå” was used romantically there “now as a leading thread, now in its original form, now interwoven with something else” (Aftonbladet 8/1 1844).

Normally, however, Säfström borrowed melodies vaudeville-wise for his plays, which were generally translations and arrangements of German, French and Danish vaudevilles. Most successful was *Flickorna på Söder* (1849). The story is set in Stockholm in the autumn of 1848 and depicts some typical Stockholmers – besides the girls (“flickorna”), singing teacher Drillén, who sings and plays guitar, the royal secretary Polkander, who never misses a masquerade, and a lamplighter, who sings a folk song. The music was arranged by the above-mentioned J.W. Söderman, then at Djurgårdsteatern, and the melodies were borrowed, as was typical, from such operas as *Norma* (Bellini) and *Robert* (Meyerbeer), from known dance tunes (including by Lumbye), and from songs like “Vore jag blomma” (Dannström) or “Das Alpenhorn” (Proch) or the folk song “Och Riddaren han sade”.

Music often plays a major part in the plays by Johan Jolin. Of note here is *Veteranerna* (1857), which takes place on the Hälsingland coast in the 1850s carrying echoes of the Finnish War of 1808–09. It uses some of A.F. Lindblad’s Runeberg-melodies (from *Fänrik Ståls sägner*) as well as a hambopolska danced on stage, a folk song, an instrumental folk melody, and broadsides presented through the character of Vis-Pelle (including the Sinclair song and “Konung Bomba i Mesopotamien”).

An even greater hit was *Löjen och tårar* (1862), which had 288 performances up until 1906. The twelve songs were arranged by Oscar de Wahl, Södra teatern’s conductor from 1858. The “popular folk play” was based on a German original that Jolin had done his best to localise with the subheading “Phantasms of Stockholm life”.

One of the most assiduous theatre writers of the time was Frans Hedberg. He wrote many vaudevilles, both arrangements and originals, as well as vaudeville-like New Year reviews such as *Slutbalen* (1860), a commentary upon the policies of various nations sung to typical national melodies arranged by Oscar de Wahl. It is not irrelevant that in 1859 “the railways and electric telegraph were in operation”.

At Nya teatern, now operating under the name Mindre teatern, the coronation of Karl XV in 1860 was celebrated with an “occasional piece” *May-kungen* by Hedberg with music arranged by August Söderman and scenery by Marcus Larsson. The play is interesting in its almost programmatic folklorism. It depicts a rustic feast at the baron’s estate in Vingåker and the local custom of raising the maypole and dancing to the tailor’s fiddle in celebration of May. At the end, the baron reminds them that at the same time as the peasants crown their own May king (*Maj-kung*), the nation’s new King is being crowned in Stockholm – thus turning the play into a social-realist tableau seasoned with royalist allegory.

When it comes to the music, the folkloric element is clearer than in any similar play, including *Värmlänningarna*. Hedberg had chosen ten melodies from J.N. Ahlström’s collection *300 Nordic folk songs* (1855), two from a collection by Dybeck, probably *Svenska folkmelodier* (1853–56) and, amongst other songs, “Du gamla, du friska” (also after Dybeck) and Prince Gustaf’s *Studentsång* (1852), a Bernadotte allusion.

A fine example of a comedy-vaudeville that integrated music into the plot is Jolin's *En komedi på Djurgården* (later *Friaren från Värmland*) composed for the opening of Djurgårdsteatern in 1864. Some of the music is plot-determined: in the first act, for instance, a German brass quartet is enticed into a party by a couple of jokers who borrow their bugle and trombone. One of the pieces played is the inexhaustible *Das Alpenhorn*. Jolin prescribes at the end of the act: "The curtain falls while the orchestra takes over the role of the German buglers and continues *The Marseillaise* to the entr'acte music."

One of the vaudevilles that moved away from urban environments during the 1860s was *Ur lotsarnas liv* (A.G. Dalin, 1863) with music composed and arranged by Mindre teatern's conductor Hermann Berens, who had immigrated from Germany in 1847 at the age of 21. Another was the "Dala-adventure" *Korp-Kirsti* (1863), which Hedberg wrote for the recently autonomous Royal Dramatic Theatre. Here too the music – a number of provincial melodies from Dalarna – was arranged by Berens. (Berens transferred as conductor from Mindre teatern to the Royal Dramatic Theatre in the same building.) *Korp-Kirsti* is a shepherdess on a hill farm near Orsa, who as the play opens, is heard in the distance playing a tune on her horn. An answering call comes from the other direction, after which the orchestra joins in with a shepherd's song "first faintly, then more loudly as Korp-Kirsti enters". The characters include Back-Olle, who at the end "gni'r te" (scrapes out) a polska with "much shouting and stamping of feet". The play was a hit and was still being performed at Skansen by 1902. Another was *Närkingarna* (A. Anrep, 1871), which had music composed and arranged by Södra teatern's conductor Carl Gottfried Reinhold Littmarck. It was performed 315 times in Stockholm until 1911.

In some plays, the stylised social-realism segued into an imaginative popular folk play, like in Frans Hodell's localisation of a Nestroy play (*Lumpazivagabundus*), here called *Andersson, Pettersson and Lundström*. It had its premiere at Södra teatern in 1865 and was staged 722 times in Stockholm up until 1912. The play combined folk scenes with fairy-tale-like whimsy. Hodell tried his hand at something similar with greater independence in the "fantasy folk-play" *Himmel och underjord* (1866), in which Prince Lucifer and his underworld ministers interfere with the eminently worldly doings of the common folk, such as in a scene in a public square on Ladugårdsland that is replete with familiar folk tunes – songs from *sångspel*, choruses by Otto Lindblad, *Björneborgarnas marsch* and so forth.

National historical drama (1850s–60s)

The international style held its own for a long time in national drama and opera. Folk melodies and new folk-melodic creations were only included when the story involved peasants or mythical beings, turning the folk tone into what was effectively a form of national exoticism that contrasted with the international musical language of the gentry.

After this model Ahlström wrote music for *Urdur, eller Näckens dotter* (1851), a Danish play (*Capriciosa* by Overskou) reworked by Jeannette Granberg. The story is localised to different folk environments in Stockholm, but the play has elements of the supernatural in the shape of naiads that rise up out of Brunnsviken waters to cause mischief. August Söderman composed music for this play during his time in Helsinki in 1852. A similar treatment was given by Petter Conrad Boman to *Ljungby horn och pipa* (G.L. Silverstolpe, 1858), a play containing elements both natural and supernatural. Incidentally, the same story was set by composer Frans Frieberg in *Skogsfrun* (Norrköping, 1852).

Further impetus to Swedish composers in the development of national *sångspel* came in the form of a couple of Nordic works performed in Stockholm between 1856 and 1857: *Kung Carls jakt* (Pacius–Topelius, 1852) and *Älvjungfrun* (the Swedish version of *Elverhøj*, Kuhlau–Heiberg, 1828), the former having a Swedish connection, with a plot centred on King Karl XI's visit to Åland. Both works contained a number of folk inclusions, generally not

folk melody quotations but the “folk tone” that emerges like an art-music reflection of the folk-melodic world.

It was under a certain influence from these works that August Söderman composed his theatre music during his time at the Royal Opera. This was particularly so in the 1860s, when theatre director Eugène von Stedingk was promoting the national and historical repertoire. The collaboration between Söderman and Hedberg began in 1860 with the historical drama *Kung Märta* and continued with *Dagen gryr* (1863), *Bröllopet på Ulvåsa* (1865), *Lejonet vaknar* (1868) and the one-act *Vid riksgränsen* (1873). Other authors were Ludvig Josephson with *Folkungalek* (1864) and *Marsk Stigs döttrar* (1866). While there were not that many musical numbers in these plays, Söderman lent a hugely accurate musical atmosphere to the different scenes, whether they featured a Catholic mass, a processional fanfare, a ballad or a rustic wedding.

Similar incidental music was written by other composers. Hermann Berens arranged and composed the music for *Amarantherorden* (O. Wijkander, 1864) and *Väringarna* (Oehlschläger, 1865). Andreas Randel assisted in the creation of *Ung-Hanses dotter* (Jolin, 1860) and contributed a couple of numbers in the largest of the scores that while still considered incidental music is as close as one can come to full *sångspel*, namely *Brödraskulden* (Johan Börjeson, 1861). Most of the music was composed by court musician Conrad af Uhr. While the Drama is about Erik XIV, a key side-theme relates to his brother Duke Magnus, who, in the final scene, leaps out of the window into lake Vättern in vain pursuit of his chimerical mermaid. The colourful plot includes a feast with a song by the Spanish Zuleima and the girls’ fandango, choruses, a Scottish dance, melodramas, funeral marches, drum rolls during an executions scene and so on.

In some of these national-historical dramas, the author worked a folk song into the plot. A model for such a practice was Heiberg–Kuhlau’s *Älvjungfrun*, for which the song about the Elf King provides the basic motif. In *Kung Märta*, the two lovers sing the song about Axel and Valborg and compare their own fates with theirs. In *Ung-Hanses dotter*, which takes place on Gotland at the time of King Valdemar’s conquest, the folk song “Valdemar medh warum Luff” is sung several times. A folk song is also given prominence in *Marsk Stigs döttrar* and *Bröllopet på Ulvåsa*.

Hovkapellmästaren Ludvig Norman devoted surprisingly little of his time and energy to composing theatre music, making one of his exceptions therefore all the more interesting. This work was a commission he received for the opening of the main railway between Stockholm and Gothenburg, a major event that was celebrated in both cities: Gothenburg staged Mauritz Rubenson’s divertissement *Den 4 november 1862*, while the Royal Opera in Stockholm played *Framåt!*, a “national divertissement” by Jolin with 14 lively musical numbers by Norman. The staging for the four tableaux was done by the experienced choreographer August Bournonville. The plot was packed with mythological characters, such as Svea, Göta, the Dwarf King and Barden, who sings a folk-tone ballad. In the last tableau the locomotive is likened to the Midgard Serpent of Nordic mythology, and the Ljusalfer (Light Elves) endorse technological progress. The fantasy-allegory concluded as “the brethren pour in wearing national costume, rejoicing and singing the folk song”.

The royalist theme changed towards the end of the 1800s as the Riksdag and the government grew more powerful and the king paled into a state of mere representation. At times, royal tributes took on more pompous forms, lauding the old “hero kings” of old. The Karl XII cult, which grew particularly strong after the middle of the century, had a background in the incendiary political issue of national defence, its sting directed at Russia, in which the liberals were also embroiled. On 30 November 1868, on the 150th anniversary of the hero-king’s death, Karl XII’s statue was unveiled in Kungsträdgården in Stockholm under much revelry, student singing and sharpshooter music. The sudden death of August Blanche

– liberal and sharpshooter fanatic – after having received the Uppsala student choir only elevated the drama.

Three plays had their premieres that evening, all with Karl XII as their theme. The Royal Opera gave Hedberg's three-act drama *Lejonet Vaknar*, with the story relocated to the year 1700 and a conclusion featuring the apotheosis of Karl XII, all to music by August Söderman. Södra teatern staged two works by Hodell, the three-act *Kungens dom* and the one-act "phantasm" *Folkets dom* – the former set in 1718 and the latter in contemporary times. All the plays contained songs, such as Karl XII's so-called battlefield march "Marsch, bussar! gån på" which appears both in *Kungens dom* as a solo song and in *Lejonet vaknar* as a concluding chorus. The more farce-like *Folkets dom* combined Offenbachian melodies with "Kung Karl den unga hjälte".

The most successful national romantic opera composer was Ivar Hallström, who had prepared methodically for his career by composing songs and choruses, such as *Herr Hjalmar och skön Ingrid*. He and Hedberg collaborated on a *sångspel* titled *Hertig Magnus och sjöjungfrun* (1867), in which a folk melody features as part of the plot. The music drew a clear line between provincial and court folk, the latter being clothed in a music that referred to the international higher-class style of the likes of Auber, the former's lot being confined to the folk repertoire. This musical conceit was developed in the continent in such works as Rossini's *William Tell*, which switches between grand opera and music of a national or folk colour.

Operetta

Whereas "operetta" is often said to be a form of theatre that was born in Paris in 1855 through the works of Offenbach (e.g. Haslum 1971), the term existed long before to denote, quite simply, a "small opera" or comic opera. The phenomenon of "operetta" – i.e. a farce containing song and dance numbers – existed before Offenbach. One example is *Les femmes soldats* (Théaulon & Dartois), which was performed from 1831 at the Royal Opera under the title *Nya garnisonen* (translated by B. von Beskow) and at the provincial theatres in E.W. Djurström's 1832 version titled *Sju flickor i uniform*. Offenbach himself claimed to have had his roots in French comic opera (Tegen 1986, p. 63 f.). Swedish composers had similar musical backgrounds albeit without access to such experienced librettists as Offenbach and the other legendary masters of the form, Hervé and Suppé.

In the 1850s, the young August Söderman was chief conductor and composer for E. Stjernström's excellent theatre troupe. They performed in Finland from 1851 to 1853 and then from 1854 at Stockholm's Mindre teatern, where Söderman's greatest contribution as a composer was the one-act *sångspel* *Hin Ondes första lärospån* (Scribe, 1856). The music for this, his last *sångspel*, had "the daintiness and racy amiability of French operetta" (Jeanson 1926, p. 244). Babybas – the shrewd lead character and an incarnation of the Evil One himself – was sung by the young and multitalented baritone Fritz Arlberg, who also provided the translation. During the two decades that Söderman served as conductor at Mindre teatern and the Royal Opera he wrote a great deal of incidental music but never any completed opera, comic or otherwise. There are, however, a couple of fragments from Söderman's Leipzig years (1856–57): *Zigenaren*, which takes place in mediaeval Germany, and *Harald och Anna* (Jetta Ling), which has an old Norse setting.

Hermann Berens debuted as an opera composer to little success with his romantic *Violetta* (1855). He had better luck with his music for the "operetta" *En sommarnattsdröm* (1856), a play in which Queen Elizabeth plays a joke on Shakespeare–Arlberg by moving him (while asleep) from an inn to her castle. Both of these, like Berens's *sångspel* *Lulli och Quinault* (1859) are based on French plays.

The most interesting Swedish attempt to emulate Offenbach was made with *Bacchi giftermål* (Hodell, 1867), a “burlesque *sångspel*” for Södra teatern with music by Gothenburg musician Jan van Eysden. Like its model *Orfeus in the Underworld*, the piece experimented with the entire Olympic arsenal in irreverent situations (including Bacchus as a sharpshooter), alternating with more earthly beings like King Minos of Crete and his daughter Ariadne. While the songs, couplets and ensembles mimicked the playfulness of its original, the struggle against Offenbach was an uneven one and it took time for contenders to appear. Subsequently, the operetta repertoire continued to be largely tapped from Offenbach’s horn of plenty.

In mid-century student circles, parodic dramas with music were cultivated into what eventually came to be called *spex*, which mined known operas, *sångspel* and other sources for material and music. One of the oldest is the Uppsalian *Trollflaskan* (L.A. Hedin, 1851) with motifs from Mozart’s Magic Flute (*Trollflöjten*) and featuring, amongst other characters, a surveyor called Tamin and a Miss Mina. The piece was directed by “Glunt” accompanist and future opera director Eugène von Stedingk and counted amongst its cast Knut Almlöf, then a student, who arranged the work for Djurgårdsteatern in 1856. Later *spex* opera parodies include *Dumben* (Isidor Lundström, pseudonym Isidoro y Pomposo, 1866) and, above all *Kärlek och död, eller Mohrens sista suck* (p.a. Elfvik, 1865), which unusually contained exclusively newly composed music by Petrus Blomberg, later church musician, and to-be music publisher Julius Bagge. Two years after the premiere at Södermanland-Närke Nation in Uppsala, the comical “opera seria” was performed at a public soirée by Göta Par Bricole in Gothenburg in an orchestral arrangement by Joseph Czapek. It remains popular to this day.

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