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Ballet in Stockholm during the later 18th century and its relationship to contemporary trends on the Continent

By Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell

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Introduction

During the last third of the 18th century nearly every larger opera house and dramatic theater in Europe could boast a respectable dance troupe regularly putting on performances of ballet. From London to St. Petersburg and from Lisbon to Stockholm far more than half of all operas, vaudevilles and spoken plays were accompanied by ballets[1]. Although the combined expenses for dance were high – as much as 50 % of the annual outlay in some cases – they had to be weighed against the economic benefits accrued through the enormous drawing power of the ballets, a factor often decisive for a theater's survival[2].

One might well ask why ballet, a seemingly important phenomenon in 18th-century theater history, has attracted relatively little scholarly attention, particularly among musicologists. The conspicuous lack of musical source material with regard, for instance, to the ballet in Italy provides of course one explanation. In addition, even the limited number of surviving scores or orchestral parts among some larger collections of theatrical music have given rise to a notion that much ballet music of the time was merely lightweight entertainment stuff, not worth intensive investigation[3]. And yet the real problem seems to be that, unlike theater historians, a good many musicologists have simply not been aware of just what an important role staged dance played in later 18th-century musical theater. Thus, the preservation of an impressive body of evidence at Stockholm regarding ballet during the Gustavian era may be considered an especially happy circumstance. For these materials, and not least the musical sources, do more than elucidate the

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1. From the 1770's to 1800 the constitution of theatrical companies as well as details on all entertainments are supplied by the Milanese publishers Pietro and Giacomo Agnelli who annually put out *Indice de' spettacoli teatrali*, a list of theatrical productions covering all major European cities. For additional information one must turn to individual studies on the repertory of single theaters or to surveys of specific cities, such as *The London Stage 1660–1800* (Carbondale, Ill., 1960–68). The latter work notes that in London "ballets came to play an importance surpassing that of the opera itself"; Part 5, vol. I, p. lxxxi.

2. At the opera of Milan, for instance, from the mid 1770's the budget for dance even exceeded the entire cost for singers, composers and orchestra. See the present author's *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan, 1771–1776: a Musical and Social History* (Ph.D. diss., Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1979), pp. 653–657.

3. Referring to the largest body of Italian musical sources yet unearthed, Michael Robinson queries whether "the popularity of ballet over opera among late-century Italian audiences owed something to its relatively unsophisticated music"; *Naples and Neapolitan Opera* (Oxford, 1972), p. 165. The collection in question, preserved at I–Rc, contains the ballets performed with ten operas at Turin's Teatro Regio, 1747–1757.

function and significance of theatrical dance at the Swedish royal theaters: they also help to fill in some of the gaps in our general knowledge of the ballet's real emergence on the European scene.

Main currents in later 18th-century ballet

As was the case with purely musical manifestation of the period, 18th-century ballet likewise exhibited two principal tendencies, or rather, it drew upon two main sources of inspiration: the Italian and the French. These two manners left their mark in several different ways. They influenced the placing, weight and length permitted ballets within an entire theatrical presentation. They helped determine which of the principal types of ballets were to be used and how close their relationship would be to the other components in the theatrical spectacle. Naturally, they also affected choice of dance styles and performers as well as suitable music, scenery, costumes and shoes. In one significant respect, however, both the French and the Italian manner had a feature in common: during the entire 18th century ballets were almost never performed alone but were given together with other theatrical presentations. This was the case not only in France and Italy, but was true also in their spheres of influence, in Germany and Austria, in Russia and other eastern European countries, in Spain and Portugal, and in Scandinavia as well.

Simplified and briefly summarized, the French manner evinced the following characteristics from around 1750 onwards: a preference for dance movements or dance sequences directly within the larger spectacle, be it an opera, vaudeville or spoken play; for ballet numbers which provided variation without becoming too dominating; for ballets rather of the divertissement-type than of the pantomime sort, and furthermore for dance sequences that had at least a tangential relationship to the plot of the opera or play[4]. Its ballet music was typically suited to the series of entrées found in the divertissement; that is, like the ballet steps themselves, the music most often consisted of adaptations to theatrical use of normal ballroom dances and was therefore built up of regular, short, repeated sections in clearly recognizable dance rhythms. In a French opera the ballet music was frequently the work of the opera composer himself. Divertissement-ballets, woven together as they were with the action of the opera or play, did not necessarily require separate scenery, even though magical scene transformations occurred rather often. The most esteemed French dance style was the so-called serious genre in which the feet remained relatively close to the floor and where

[4] The wishes of the Paris Opéra in these regards emerge clearly in the contract offered the noted choreographer Jean-Georges Noverre in 1776. Since it was well known that Noverre preferred to stage long, independent pantomime ballets and that he tried to avoid becoming involved in opera ballets, the contract was careful to stipulate: "that although the Sieur Noverre will have. . . assistants, he will none the less be obliged to create the ordinary ballets attached to the works which will be given. . .; that the Sieur Noverre further undertakes to stage *ballets d'action* [i.e., pantomime ballets] whenever the Management consider it necessary in the interest of the Opéra, and this without [his] being entitled to fix either the number thereof or the time of their performance"; cited in Deryck Lynham, *The Chevalier Noverre : Father of Modern Ballet* (London, 1950), pp. 83–84.

leaps and other more acrobatic displays were managed discreetly[5]. Hence, a performer who had not mastered the serious style was seldom considered truly great[6]. Since they limited the body's freedom of movement, French dance costumes and shoes long fitted best the serious genre with its more discreet motions[7].

In nearly every respect Italian theatrical dance was the direct antithesis of the French. After about 1725 dance movements hardly ever occurred within opera acts, neither in *opera seria* nor *buffa*, and never in plays[8]. Instead, ballets were performed between acts and sometimes at the conclusion of the last act. Except for such concluding dances the ballets were normally completely independent of the opera they accompanied. Among the many comments that could be cited concerning this practice three may suffice, the first by "Président" Charles de Brosses in 1740, the second by Francesco Algarotti in 1755 and the third by Francesco Milizia in 1773:

> If they [the Italians] occasionally dance on the opera stage, it is not as though the ballets form a part of the drama; they are neither introduced through festivals nor linked with the plot. Each opera being in three acts, each of about an hour's duration, they extend the length by means of two entr'actes as ballets[9].

> If the action [of the opera] is laid in Rome, the ballet is set in [the ancient Inca city of] Cusco or in Peking; if the opera is serious, then the ballet is sure to be comic[10].

> Ordinarily the ballet has as much connection with the [opera's] plot as dreams do with winning a lottery[11].

The ballets themselves could be rather long, up to 45 minutes, or nearly as long as the opera acts themselves (as Leopold Mozart noted when he and Wolfgang visited Milan in 1770[12]). Italian audiences preferred pantomime ballets presenting an easily comprehended story, most often drawn from mythology or the *commedia dell'arte*. The ballet music consisted both of stylized dance movements (as in France) as well as of freer, occasionally recitative-like sections especially suitable for pantomime portrayals. In Italy rather than the opera composer it was usually the theater orchestra's concertmaster who provided or arranged scores for

[5] See, for instance, the renowned treatise on dance of the Italian choreographer Gennaro Magri who wrote: "The French. . . do not bother with much use of leaps, employing instead *terre-à-terre* dancing"; *Trattato teorico-prattico di ballo* (Naples, 1779), p. 82. As early as 1715 Jacopo Martello likened the typical French dancer to a swimmer, "whose arms, always raised and supple, break the waves graciously"; *Della tragedia antica a moderna* (Rome, 1715).

[6] Even Francesco Algarotti admitted that "in the serious or heroic dances one is forced to confess that the French surpass us as well as all other nations"; *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* (Venice, 1755), ed. Giovanni da Pozzo in *Saggi* (Bari, 1963), p. 175.

[7] Important changes in dancers' costuming and shoes during the 18th and early 19th centuries are discussed in Marian Hannah Winter's comprehensive survey *The Pre-Romantic Ballet* (London, 1974).

[8] This situation is verified by statistics in studies of such important Italian operatic centers as Venice, Naples and Milan; see Taddeo Wiel, *I teatri musicali veneziani del settecento* (Venice, 1897); Robinson, *op. cit.* and K. Hansell, *op. cit.*

[9] *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*, 5th ed. (Paris, n.d.).

[10] Algarotti, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[11] Milizia, *Il teatro* (Venice, 1773), p. 58.

[12] Letter of 29 Dec. 1770: "Die opera mit 3 balletten dauert seine 6 Starke stund: man wird aber itzt die Ballett abkürzen den sie dauern 2 Starke stund "; *Mozart : Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer & Otto Erich Deutsch (Kassel, 1962–1975).

the ballets[13]. With their separate plots, Italian pantomime ballets required their own stage settings, often in a style completely different from that of the opera. Larger ballets had two, three or more scene changes and, in striking contrast to settings for Italian operas of the period, they commonly exploited stage machines for fantastic effects and a scenographic style permitting performers use of the entire stage area[14]. The serious style of dancing was shown in Italy too, but spectators clearly preferred the so-called grotesque, or comic type. In the latter one was treated to difficult, very acrobatic steps, leaps and formations performed with greath rhythmic precision. Charles Burney, like other foreign travelers, painted a telling picture of the Italian dance scene, in this case at Naples' Teatro San Carlo:

> In the opera tonight there were three entertaining dances, but all in the lively way; the Italians are not pleased with any other. Indeed, as I have before observed, all their dances are more pantomime entertainments than any thing else, in which the scenes are usually pretty, and the stories well told[15].

Parenthetically one may note that the steps and dancing styles of today's ballet constitute an inheritance that has much more in common with 18th-century Italian than with the French art of dance. The same can also be said of dancers' costumes and shoes, since it was initially the grotesque dancers and thereafter famed Italian *danseurs nobles* who at the turn of the 19th century first introduced shorter, lighter, more close-fitting dress and soft, heelless shoes[16].

Of course, neither in France nor in Italy did a single style prevail exclusively, so that one might witness skilled presentations of all the different types of theatrical dancing in both countries. But as theater patrons of the day unanimously attested, differences in national preferences – one might well speak of schools – did exist and persisted. Outside France and Italy it was normally French or Italian ballet masters and dancers who trained and led the native ballet troupes. The obvious result was that various countries, cities and courts were marked more by the one than the other of the two styles. In Vienna, for instance, and for much of the century in London too it was the Italian tendency that dominated, while at the German courts the French manner held sway. In St. Petersburg and Copenhagen great changes occurred when dance troupes long established and led by Italians were taken over by French-trained ballet masters: in the first instance in 1786 when Noverre's protegé Charles Le Picq began his Russian career of many decades, following in the wake of Gasparo Angiolini and Giuseppe Canziani; and in the second around 1810 when Antoine Bournonville and thereafter his even more renowned son August replaced Vincenzo Galeotti, ballet master in the Danish capital since 1775[17]. It was only natural too that outside of France and Italy a tendency towards combining at least elements of the two principal traditions should occur. In Scandinavia, for example, it was not usually possible nor even desirable for a ballet troupe, apart from the local talents, to consist only of French or only of Italian dancers and ballet masters.

Dancers and choreographers in Stockholm

In many respects the situation in Gustavian Stockholm revealed just such an inclination towards stylistic amalgamation. Before the ascension of Gustav III to the throne in 1771 one could not really speak of any established theatrical tradition. Gustav III's mother, Queen Lovisa Ulrika, sister of King Frederick the Great of Prussia, had been a theater lover and on her initiative travelling French troupes visited Sweden and played at Stockholm's Bollhusteater from 1753 to 1771. Beginning in 1754 and for about ten years thereafter an Italian opera company also resided in Stockholm. It was Queen Lovisa Ulrika too who had the famous Drottningholm court theater built in 1766. But no permanent Swedish theatrical institution existed until Gustav III, full of determination, dismissed the French troupe, saw to it that suitable personnel was recruited and within less than a year established Kungliga teatern (the Royal Opera), which had its inauguration on 18 January 1773 at the Bollhusteater[18].

The very inaugural production already revealed a blending of styles. The opera, *Thetis och Pelée*, used a text taken from a French *tragédie lyrique*, but it had been revised by the king himself and translated into Swedish. The music, on the other hand, was not French but the work of the Italian Francesco Uttini. Previously director for the visiting Italian opera company, Uttini had remained in Sweden eventually to become the very first *kapellmästare* of the Royal Opera. French rather than Italian, however, were the work's choral movements and ballet sec-

13. Evidence for this practice does not often appear in programs or other printed material but can be gleaned from theater account books, for instance those of Turin's Teatro Regio, cited extensively in Marie-Thérèse Bouquet, *Il teatro di corte dalle origini al 1788*, vol. I of *Storia del Teatro Regio di Torino* (Turin, 1976). One of the better-known Italian concertmasters charged occasionally with furnishing ballet music for Milan was Giovanni Battista Sammartini; see K. Hansell, *op. cit.*, p. 566.

14. Changes in Italian stage design parallel to the ballet's increasing significance are discussed by the present author, *op. cit.*, pp. 675–688, and in a paper presented at Stockholm University's Department of Theater History in 1980: "Theatre Architecture in 18th-century Milan: a Reflection of Changing Production Requirements and Spectators' Needs".

15. *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1773), ed. Percy Scholes as *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours* (London, 1959), vol. I, p. 279.

16. Dancers like Salvatore and Maria Medina Viganò soon introduced the new style of dance costume in France, despite protests of those such as the elderly, once-revolutionary Noverre, who in retirement derided the filmy, sleeveles dresses of the ballerinas "revealing all" and the form-fitting, full-length hose of the male dancers who are "almost nudes" since they wear only a short tunic and the rest of the costume "imitates nudity"; *Lettres sur la danse, sur les ballets et les arts* (St. Petersburg, 1803–4), Letter XVII, pp. 173 and 182–83.

17. See Robert Aloys Mooser, *Opéras, Intermezzos, Ballets, Cantates, Oratorios joués en Russie durant le XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva, 1945) and Jørgen Jersild, "Le ballet d'action italien du 18e siècle au Danemark", *Acta musicologica*, XIV (1942), pp. 74–95.

18. The principal studies on the 18th-century Swedish theater are still available only in Swedish. One of the oldest, most used and still remarkably reliable is Fredrik August Dahlgren, *Förteckning öfver svenska skådespel uppförde på Stockholms theatrar 1737–1863* [=Index of productions given at Stockholm's theaters, 1737–1863] (Stockholm, 1866). Dahlgren even provides biographical data on the administrative and artistic personnel of the theaters and lists the members of the French troupes. The more recent listing, *Kungliga Teatern : repertoar 1773–1973 : opera, operett, sångspel, balett*, ed. K. G. Strömbeck and Sune Hofsten (Stockholm, 1974), does not supply much information above that found in Dahlgren concerning the Gustavian era. Theater historian Agne Beijer's *Drottningholms slottsteater på Lovisa Ulrikas och Gustaf III:s tid* (Stockholm, 1981), based on primary source material, is the most thorough presentation of the court theater's history. An extremely useful chronology is the unpublished thesis by Magnus Blomkvist, *Nöjeslivet i Stockholm 1773–1806 : en förteckning via dags- och veckopressen* [= Public entertainments in Stockholm, 1773–1806 : an index based on daily and weekly newspapers] (Stockholm University, Dept. of Theater and Film History, 1972); it provides day-by-day coverage of all the Stockholm theaters.

tions; neither would have found so prominent a place in an Italian *opera seria* of the same period, but especially not the dances.

Answering for the ballets was a troupe of about 30 dancers. The dance company came into being simultaneously with the Royal Opera, and its first ballet master was the Frenchman Louis Gallodier, previously a member of the visiting French theatrical troupe. Among the dozen *premiers* and *seconds danseurs* and *danseuses* in the 1773 dance troupe were eight Frenchmen, one Italian and three Swedes. All the "figurants", about sixteen in number (those who would today be termed the corps de ballet) were Swedish[19].

From its establishment until July 1806 when Kungliga teatern was shut down and the dancers dismissed by Gustav III's unfavorably disposed son and successor Gustav Adolf IV, the size of the ballet troupe varied considerably. The company's changing make-up can be traced with the help of the irregularly published theater almanacs[20], the surviving contracts at Kungliga teaterns arkiv (Archive of the Royal Opera)[21] and the comparatively rare ballet programs[22]. In addition, now and again names of principal dancers are noted in the so-called *repetitörpartier* (rehearsal violinist's parts) among the orchestral parts in Kungliga teaterns äldre notsamling (the Royal Opera's "older music collection"). But it should be noted that these rehearsal parts, to be discussed below, constitute a less certain and in part confusing source of information in regard to performers.

The sources disclose that during its first twelve years the ballet troupe grew steadily, from 30 dancers in 1773 to as many as 71 in 1786. The number remained at between 60 and 70 during the rest of Gustav III's reign, including those years when the Swedish state experienced strained financial circumstances. Even after the king's assassination in March 1792 the ballet troupe continued for a time at the same strength. During the first five years of Gustav Adolf IV's reign the royal theaters received an undiminished appropriation from the Crown[23], and more operas, plays and ballets were performed than ever. But after the turn of the century the king's interest and subsequently the theater's subsidy began to decline. The theater almanac for 1804/05, the last to be printed in the Gustavian period, reveals that the ballet troupe had decreased in size to 44 members, and that in the final year preceding the opera's closing the number was down nearly to the same as it had been at the inauguration 33 years earlier.

At its height the Gustavian ballet troupe compared favorably both in size and quality with the most renowned in Europe. In number of dancers the Swedish company equalled the great ballets of La Scala (Milan), San Carlo (Naples), the

[19] The troupe's constitution can be ascertained from the dancers' contracts preserved at Kungliga teaterns arkiv ("Kontrakt före 1832": F.8).

[20] The surviving almanacs, ten in number, are titled either *Kongl. Svenska Theaterns Almanach för året. . .* or *Theatre-Almanch för år. . .* and appeared for the seasons 1778/79, 1780/81 through 1786/87, 1788/89 and 1804/05. Copies are found at S-Sk (Olof Kexéll-samlingen) and S-Sdt.

[21] The archive, mentioned in fn. 19, is housed at Filmhuset in Stockholm, also the location of the Drottningholm Theater Museum.

[22] To judge from the small number as yet uncovered it would appear that, in contrast to practices elsewhere, at Stockholm separate ballet programs were only printed infrequently. A few uncatalogued examples are found at S-Sk in the collection "Svensk vitterhet" [=Swedish belles-lettres], Dram. pantomim.

[23] Dahlgren, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

Burgtheater (Vienna) and the court theater of St. Petersburg. Only the Paris Opéra surpassed the Swedish Royal Opera in the size of its ballet troupe[24].

During the entire Gustavian era foreign dancers dominated the Swedish company: at the time of Gustav III mostly French performers and thereafter a combination of Frenchmen and Italians. Only one of the ballet masters and choreographers who worked in Stockholm, Louis Deland, was born in Sweden; and Deland had studied in Paris for nine years, from 1782 to 1791. Like his predecessors and contemporaries at Stockholm, Deland represented one of the two leading choreographic traditions. Their principal exponents and the 18th century's two most famous choreograhers, Frenchman Jean-Georges Noverre and Italian Gasparo Angiolini, had both trained and collaborated with many younger dancers who later became choreographers in their own right. These former students and colleagues carried throughout the whole of Europe not only their masters' aesthetic principles but their actual ballets as well, more or less intact. As Noverre complained in his memoirs when describing the dispersal in 1767 of the company he had trained at Stuttgart:

> 30 dancers became all at once *maîtres de ballet;* rich with my musical scores, my scenorios and my costume designs, they spread out into Italy, Germany, England, Spain and Portugal and rendered only very imperfectly the products of my imagination[25].

Stockholm's first ballet master, Louis Gallodier, had worked for three years at Paris under the young Noverre before coming to Sweden in 1758. The majority of Gallodier's works follow the older French tradition of opera-ballets, a tradition to which Noverre himself adhered in his earlier years, before he had worked out the aesthetic ideals he described in 1760 in his revolutionary *Lettres sur la danse*[26]. Jean Marcadet, choreographer at Stockholm from 1786 to 1795, had been part of Noverre's famous Stuttgart troupe during the 1760's and then with Noverre's Parisian colleague Maximilien Gardel. Marcadet's choreographic debut in Stockholm was in fact nothing other than a production of Noverre's well-known ballet *La rosière de Salency*[27]. In Stockholm at the same time as Marcadet was the noted Antoine Bournonville, who came to Sweden in 1782 at the age of 22 directly after several years' training under Noverre and Vienna, Paris and latest at London. As a choreographer Antoine Bournonville was not especially productive during his ten years at Stockholm; but as *premiär dansör* he helped immeasurably in raising the quality of dance performances at the Swedish theaters. After Gustav III's death Bournonville left Sweden for good, and three years later Marcadet returned to Paris. Their places were assumed by Deland, named earlier, and by the Italian Federico Nadi Terrade. Terrade's father, Antoine Terrades (as the name was originally spelled), had long been choreographer in Italy, while his mother was

[24] These comparisons are based on listings in *Indice de' spettacoli teatrali*, cited in fn. 1.

[25] Noverre, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Letter XXI, p. 116.

[26] Noverre's career and aesthetic ideas are described in the present author's "Noverre, Jean-Georges", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), vol. 13, pp. 441–444.

[27] Noverre had created the ballet for Milan's Regio Ducal Teatro (première 12 August 1775), with music by Luigi de Baillou. Some of the later revivals include: Paolo Franchi's at Venice, 26 Dec. 1775; Noverre's own at Vienna, spring 1776 and London, 19 Mar. 1782; and Gardel's at Paris, 2 July 1783.

the Italian *prima ballerina* Anna Conti Nadi – whereby Federico's surname Nadi Terrade. Federico had first studied with his father and had then danced under both Angiolini and Noverre. Along with Terrade, *primo ballerino* Giovanni Ambrosiani of La Scala, Milan, came to Stockholm in 1795, later he too choreographer to the Swedish royal theaters.

Terrade and Ambrosiani were two of a number of Italian dancers to find employment in Gustavian Stockholm. Among their better-known compatriots may be named *prima ballerina* Giovanna Bassi and the dancer Carlo Uttini (the composer's son), Luigi Casagli and Filippo Taglioni. But during the whole period the majority of principal dancers were French. Perhaps the most noted of all was Antoine Bournonville's sister Julie, who arrived in Stockholm in the same year as her brother, 1782. A year later she married the Stockholm dentist Alix de la Fay and was thereafter always listed as "Mme Alix". Hired from the outset as a *premiär dansös* she, unlike her brother, continued to dance at Stockholm until retirement age in 1798. Among her female colleagues Julie Bournonville-Alix had several compatriots. But of the best-liked principal female dancers four were in fact Swedish: Gustava Slottsberg, Ulrika Åberg, Hedvig Hjortsberg and Margaretha Åbergsson née Hallongren. Obviously, the foreign ballet masters succeeded considerably better in training the Swedish women to reach a high level of artistry than they did with their male counterparts.

The ballet's position within the theatrical spectacles at Stockholm

The yearly outlay for the ballet at Stockholm was substantial, especially during the theater's heyday, approximately 1785 to 1800. In 1786, for example, the royal theaters had 261 employees[28]. Among them were 28 actors/singers and 87 chorus singers with two chorus masters (choristers, however, were not very well paid); in addition there were a "direktör af musiken", two *kapellmästare*, two concertmasters and 59 orchestral musicians; further, four scene painters and two machinists; and finally, two *repetitörer* and 71 dancers. The dancers' share of the total costs takes on greater significance when one scrutinizes the theater's contracts and determines what sorts of salaries were paid the different categories of personnel. On the average the eleven first and second dancers received 400 *riksdaler* per year, or as much as the foremost actors and only the most important of the orchestral musicians. The ballet's 60 figurants were paid annually between 100 and 175 *riksdaler*, comparable with the wages of the majority of the musicians. Among the highest fees were the ballet master's 600 to 800 *riksdaler* yearly. On the whole, sustaining the ballet troupe required about one-third of the entire sum paid out annually by the royal theaters in the form of salaries.

By contrast, the lighter working requirements for the dancers were not at all comparable to the daily demands made upon the actors, singers and orchestral musicians, even towards the end of the 1790's when the theater seasons were at their liveliest[29]. From the inauguration of the Royal Opera in 1773 until 1780 opera performances were given at the Bollhusteater twice weekly between November and July; summers during the first years spoken plays without music were put on at a smaller theater, and thereafter an occasional comic opera. But only Kungliga teatern had the use of the ballet troupe, and then chiefly for danced movements within operas. During this eight-year period, in addition to the opera-ballets, a total of five pantomime ballets and four divertissement-ballets were mounted[30]; these, however, played only three or four times each. In 1780 a new smaller theater called the Eriksbergsteater opened for year-round performances thrice weekly of spoken plays and comic operas, but these without dance.

Gustav III's long-planned new opera house for Stockholm was formally inaugurated in November 1782. Curiously enough, though, during the theater's first six years of operation there was *at most* one weekly performance during the season, November to June. What perhaps eventually came to mean most for the ballet in Stockholm was the establishment in May 1783 of a permanent French troupe at the old Bollhusteater. They played about twice a week and comprised not only actors and singers but some fine dancers as well. It was then that the Bournonvilles, Marcadet and several other first-class performers came to Stockholm to expand the existing ballet company. The French troupe put on spoken plays and *opéras comiques* in French, these rather often with ballet movements and now and then with a concluding dance-divertissement or a pantomime ballet. In summertime the troupe moved out with the royal family to the palace at Drottningholm and continued giving performances there. During the principal season in town the dancers worked both at Kungliga teatern (Mondays) and at the Bollhusteater (Wednesdays and Fridays). The orchestra by contrast not infrequently played six days a week, since the same musicians were responsible for instrumental accompaniment at the new opera theater, at the small Eriksbergsteater (later at the Munkbroteater) and at the old Bollhusteater.

Swedish theatrical life was substantially enriched when Gustav III founded Kungliga Dramatiska teatern (the Royal Drama Theater) in 1788. Sharing the Bollhusteater with the French troupe, the Swedish drama company undoubtedly patterned their productions after French models. Their repertory comprised spoken plays, both tragedies and comedies, and comic operas, all performed in Swedish. The largest number of plays and operas were translations from the French, and particularly in the case of the comic operas the theater attempted to put on those pieces which had recently met with greatest success in Paris. The annual theater almanacs often included lists of the "newest and best operas" in Paris as well as the latest pantomime ballets. Within a few years the Swedish versions were sure to appear. In addition to these adaptations from the French

[28] Dahlgren, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–66.

[29] The summary of the number of performance days per theater and year is put together from the information recorded in Blomkvist, *op. cit.*

[30] The pantomime ballets were: *Isabelle och Gertrud* (25 April 1776), Gallodier's *En comique ballet* (7 April 1777) and *Diane och Endymion* (6 May 1779) and the anonymous *Pantomime Ballet* (29 Jan. 1779) and *Ny ballet* (3 June 1779).

the drama theater presented original Swedish plays, translations of German and English pieces and Italian comic operas sung in Swedish. Now for the first time Swedish-language plays too and *sångspel* (vaudevilles) as well were shown with ballet-divertissements and occasionally with pantomime ballets. Nonetheless, the dancers' working schedules were still relatively light. Ballets were given at most three times a week. One lively week in May 1789, for instance, had the following calendar of productions: a Swedish serious opera with ballet movements (J. C. F. Haeffner's *Elektra*) at Kungliga teatern on Monday; Tuesday at the Bollhusteater a Swedish translation of a three-act English comedy (*Michel Wingler* = Garrick's *The Lying Valet*) and a *sångspel* to a text by King Gustav III (*Den bedragne baschan* [The Pasha Deceived]) with dance movements, played by the Royal Drama Theater; on Wednesday both a five-act French tragedy (*Rodogune*) at the Bollhusteater as well as a Swedish vaudeville in two acts (Envallson's *Njugg spar och fan tar* [The niggard saves but the devil takes]) followed by a French comic opera (Piis and Barré's *Colin et Babet*) sung in Swedish – none of these with dance – at the Munkbroteater; Thursday, Ascension Day, a church holiday with no theatrical performances; Friday and Sunday at the Munkbroteater Swedish comedies plus *sångspel* – without dance[31]; and finally on Saturday at the Bollhusteater a Swedish drama with song, *Gustaf Adolphs ädelmod* [The Magnanimity of King Gustavus Adolphus] by Gustav III and a well-liked pantomime ballet in two acts by Louis Gallodier. The latter was entitled *Tillfälle gör tjufven* [Opportunity makes the thief] and was based on a vaudeville of the same name written in 1783 by C. A. Hallman and announced then as the first of its type in Swedish[32].

Among important changes affecting Stockholm's theatrical life that occurred after Gustav III's death in 1792 were the immediate dismissal of the French troupe and the closing of the Bollhusteater, followed in November 1793 by the inauguration of the Arsenalsteater as Kungliga Mindre dramatiska teatern (the Lesser Royal Drama Theater). While a number of dancers left Stockholm along with the French troupe, others soon came to fill their places. Up until 1797 the Royal Opera continued the practice of playing on Mondays only. But at the Arsenal and Munkbro theaters three weekly performances each were the rule. Pantomime ballets appeared much more regularly than before, both at the opera and at the Arsenal and sometimes even at the Munkbroteater. Most often they were to be found as the concluding item in a performance, following upon a play, opera or *sångspel*, which might itself have contained interwoven sections of dance and/or, as closing numbers, dance-divertissements in several movements. As an

[31] On Friday: F. B. Hoffman's play *Oförnuftiga försöket (= La folle épreuve)* and Piis and Barrés vaudeville *Kronfogdarne, eller Slotterölet (= Les vendangeurs, ou Les deux baillis)* and on Sunday: the *sångspel Lisette* by N. B. Sparrschöld and J. D. Zander and the comedy *Tvungna giftermålet (= Le mariage forcé)* by Molière.

[32] "This is the first drama in this style to have been written in Sweden; the aim has been to exclude both dialogue and recitatives between the vaudevilles and to put together in one sequence gay, silly and agreeable music in order to dispel the severe impression that a tragedy or drama may leave upon the spirit." (Denne är den första Piece, som i Sverige blifvit skrefven i denna smaken; ändamålet har varit at utesluta tal och Recitativer emellan Vaudevillerne och at på et ställe ihopsamla glättig, narraktig och behaglig Musique, för at skingra de alfvarsamma intryck, som en Tragedie eller Drama ofta gör på siälen"): TILLFÄLLE GÖR TIUFVEN / Divertissement / I En Act med Vaudeviller /. . ./ STOCKHOLM /. . . 1783 /, p. [3].

example of such combinations one can mention programs such as that given at the Arsenalsteater on 13 March 1794. It included three main items: (1) Gustav III's drama *Helmfelt, eller Den återfundne sonen* [Helmfelt, or The prodigal son returned], followed by (2) his comedy *Alexis Michaelowitz och Natalia Nariskin, eller Den fördolde älskaren* [Alexis Michaelowitz and Natalia Nariskin, or The concealed lover] with a concluding divertissement-ballet by Marcadet, *Natalias kröningsfest* [The coronation of Natalia], and finally (3) Marcadet's two-act pantomime ballet *Arlequin magicien par amour*. While on such occasions one made greater use of the dancers during the course of a single evening, still they hardly ever performed more than three days a week, even including the period after 1798 when Kungliga teatern began playing on Thursdays as well as Mondays.

During the 1790's and early 1800's two complete pantomime ballets would sometimes form part of an evening's program. One might, for instance, open with a first ballet, then present a play or comic opera and conclude thereafter with a second ballet – as occurred at Kungliga teatern on 26 March 1795 with the showing of (1) *Le tuteur dupé* (one-act pantomime ballet by Marcadet), (2) *Savoyardgossarna* (the Swedish version of Dalayrac's one-act comic opera *Les deux petits savoyards*) and (3) *Tillfälle gör tjufven* (the pantomime ballet mentioned above). Another possible combination would have been: play, ballet, *sångspel*, ballet or variation thereof. In any case, in Stockholm one never permitted the Italian (and English) custom of showing pantomime ballets between the acts of a single opera or play.

A category of theatrical presentation given on special occasions, one which also included much dancing, was the prologue. On the king's birthday, for instance, a prologue might form the introduction to the main spectacle which, for such an event, nearly always meant a serious opera. A prologue was not performed more than two or three times, although the opera itself continued to play for several weeks. The 18th-century prologues preserved in the Royal Opera's "older music collection" consist of around fifteen to twenty movements, approximately half of which were danced. In contrast to the more usual ballet music, the prologues were always the work of the first *kapellmästare* of the opera orchestra, that is, of Uttini, Abbé Georg Vogler or J. G. Naumann.

General characteristics of the late 18th-century ballet music preserved in Stockholm

In turning now to the ballets themselves one should first point out that while dance historians on the one hand have had a tendency to concentrate mostly on pantomime ballets, since it was there that choreographers made their most significant contributions, musicologists have on the other hand turned their attention particularly to operas with internal dance movements and/or concluding divertissements, since the music for these was usually the work of well-known, competent opera composers. All too often it has not proved possible to combine the insights of the dance historian and the musicologist on the subject of ballet

because important evidence of one or the other sort has been lacking. Among large libretto collections, for instance, there are hundreds of ballet programs containing detailed plot descriptions for pantomimes and specified scene changes, information on performers and choreographers, data on performances, and so forth – but not a word on the composer of the music and no clue as to the actual score involved. Furthermore, dance historians, even with knowledge of such details, have not always been capable of searching out the pertinent music. With a few notable exceptions music historians have, on the contrary, paid little attention to the great majority of pantomime ballets. The presence in Stockholm of a large collection of music – scores and/or orchestral parts – for all the representative types of 18th-century ballets hence offers an unusual opportunity for coming to grips with a long neglected aspect of the history of theatrical music.

Kungliga teaterns äldre notsamling (the "older music collection" of the Royal Opera), now housed at the library of the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm, comprises scores and often also orchestral parts for a large percentage of all the operas, *sångspel*, opera-ballets and prologues performed at the great opera house, at the Drottningholm court theater, and at the Bollhusteater, Munkbroteater and Arsenalsteater from 1773 to the later 19th century. Ballet music is to be found among the above-named categories if dance constituted an important and unified portion of specific works. But not infrequently ballet movements and divertissements to plays and operas appear in another section of the collection, one designated "divertissements and the like" by the Royal Opera's early librarians in charge of managing the music collection and making the first registers of its contents[33]. This latter category of ballet music has come down almost exclusively in the form of orchestral parts. And the same is true of the approximately 40 surviving pantomime ballets[34].

[33] The first index, *Cathalogue öfver all Kongl. Musique 1773–1829*, now preserved at Kungliga teaterns arkiv, was compiled by the double bass player and opera librarian Gottlieb Fredrik Ficker (1752–1840) between 1807 and 1816. Particularly in the section on ballet music it does not make any pretense at being complete. Listing 225 items of dance, occasionally with dates, it is arranged more or less chronologically and, in some instances, is the only surviving clue to works of which all other traces have disappeared. Among just the first five entries are three ballets apparently no longer found in the collection, all three with titles strongly suggesting that works of Noverre formed an even more important component in production schedules of the 1780's than existing scores indicate: no. 2, "Ballet Chinois"; no. 3, "Medée et Jason"; and no. 5, "Ballet des Horaces". Not a few titles are hopelessly enigmatic, such as no. 14, "Ballet uti Stämmor 1757" [Ballet in orchestral parts of 1757] or no. 17, "En gammal Pant:" [An old pantomime]. Nevertheless, with some ingenuity a good number of the titles can be matched up with existing music.

The later register, still the basis for the entire collection's physical disposition, was begun by violinist and opera librarian Adolf Fredrik Schwartz in 1841. Titled *Cathalogue öfver Kongl. Theaterns Musikalier* and preserved in two copies, one in the collection itself and one at the archive of the Royal Opera, it lists only 15 pantomime ballets from the Gustavian era.

For a description and listing of the collection's earlier operas, see Martin Tegen, *Kungliga Teaterns äldre notsamling (operor före 1810)* (Stockholm University, 1965 [typescript]).

[34] A thematic index put together by Magnus Blomkvist provides musical incipits to all movements and other information for 39 ballets in the collection: *Balettmusik vid Kungliga Teatern i Stockholm 1773–1806: förteckning över numren och inledningstakterna i den bevarade musiken* (Stockholm University, 1973 [typescript]). A surviving ballet omitted by Blomkvist is Marcadet's arrangement of Gardel's pantomime ballet *Mirza et Lindor* (28 Jan. 1793), which is shelved as item B.122 among miscellaneous ballets. It should also be pointed out that the ballet listed as a separate pantomime by Blomkvist and others under the title *Roxelanes kröning* [The coronation of Roxelane], but with no indication of surviving music, is actually a divertissement concluding Joseph Martin Kraus' comic opera *Soliman II, eller De tre sultaninnorna* (22 Sept. 1789); its music has been preserved both in the full score and the orchestral parts for the opera itself. In addition to the collection's self-contained pantomime ballets there is surviving music for dance movements and divertissements for about 35 operas, *sångspel* or plays from the Gustavian era (1771–1806).

The orchestral parts rather often bear the names of the musicians who played them, several names per part if the ballet had been performed over a longer period. Unfortunately, these signatures have sometimes been taken to indicate the composer of the music. Among the ballet parts the most well-worn is usually that of the *repetitör*, the rehearsal accompanist, if his part mercifully has survived. Always one of the orchestra's first violinists, the *repetitör* had among his duties the following:

> As first rehearsal violinist [I am] to direct all ballet and dance music at the Royal Opera, both dress rehearsals as well as performances, during which time authority over and obedience of the orchestra devolve upon me as First Concertmaster. It is also incumbent upon me to see to the accuracy of the score and to be present at the ballet's three final rehearsals in order to become fully apprised of all the proper tempos[35].

A *repetitör* often wrote in reminders in the margins of his part, first and foremost names of dancers, but also such indications as to how long a movement should be played or how often a section be repeated in order to fit the action, if a reprise would be performed at a different tempo from the first statement, if a series of movements were to be played without intervening pauses, if one or several movements were to be omitted during a particular performance, at what points scene changes would occur, and so forth. These remarks are usually in Swedish, but sometimes in German and now and again in French, probably depending on the player's nationality. In all cases the term "ballet" in these commentaries always signified corps de ballet. If a work were staged only a few times over a period of two to three consecutive seasons, then the *repetitör* part with its comments usually corresponds well with a single production. But in the case of popular ballets – those performed over a long period, say at least three or four times a year for fifteen to twenty or more years – then both the music itself as well as the added commentary can show numerous alterations. Movements are re-ordered, omitted, pasted over, replaced by those from other works, etc. Names of the original performers stand side by side with those of dancers from twenty or more years later and perhaps with still other names in between. Nevertheless, it is these rehearsal violinists' parts which often supply the best and most colorful picture of a ballet's checkered performance history.

The pantomime ballets varied significantly in size. The shortest of them were just a few movements; many consisted of one or perhaps two acts with around a dozen movements each; but the longest ballets had three acts, related a complicated story and required 45 minutes to one hour or more for performance[36].

[35] "Såsom Förste Repetitör anföra all Ballet- och Dansmusik på Kongl. Teatren så väl vid General Repetitioner som Representationer, hvarunder mig tillkommer rättighet till lika hörsamhet af Orchestern, som Förste Concert Mästaren. Mig åligger derjemte, att ansvara för partiturets ricktighet och att vid Ballettens 3ne sista repetitioner vara närvarande, för att göra mig fullkomligen underrättad om all dithörande Tempo"; from the contract renewal with Paul Chievitz, orchestral violinist from 1782, signed 16 March 1812; Kungliga teaterns arkiv ("Kontrakt före 1832").

[36] The five very longest pantomime ballets in the collection are: Gardel/Marcadet's *Alexis eller Desertören (= Le déserteur)* (26 Nov. 1794, one performance: 3 acts, 2,705 measures); Noverre/Gardel/Marcadet's *La rosière de Salency* (4 Dec. 1786, one performance: 3 acts, 2,570 measures); Gardel/Marcadet's *Mirza et Lindor* (28 Jan. 1793, 6 performances: 3 acts, 2,488 measures); Angiolini/Marcadet's *Ninette à la cour* (12 Mar. 1793, 3 performances: 3 acts, 2,338 measures) and Gardel/Deland's *Dansvurmen = La dansomanie* (20 Feb. 1804, 17 performances: 2 acts, 2,277 measures).

Length or complication were no assurance for success. On the contrary, many of the best-liked ballets lasted half an hour or less and presented easily grasped comic plots. The tabular summary below of the Gustavian era's ten most popular pantomime ballets reveals that only one, *Dansvurmen* (= *La dansomanie*), numbered among the very longest works. In modern unabridged revivals at the Drottningholm court theater *Dansvurmen* takes about one hour to perform, and this duration has been used as the basis for calculating the lengths in minutes of the other works in the present table. While not completely accurate, these determinations provide at least approximate indications, near enough to make clear the considerable differences in performing times.

Most often performed pantomime ballets
at Stockholm, 1771–1806

Choreographer	Ballet	No. of perfs.	No. of acts	Length in meas.	Approx. duration in min.
Deland	*En komisk ballet*	42	1	1,118	29
Deland	*Stråtrövarna, eller Den ädelmodiga soldaten* [The brigands, or The magnanimous soldier]	30	1	1,197	32
Marcadet	*Arlequin magicien par amour (= Arlequin trollkarl)*	25	2	2,018	53
Galeotti/ Marcadet	*Les marchandes des modes*	25	1	961	25
Gallodier	*Tillfälle gör tjuven* [Opportunity makes the thief]	23	2	1,718	45
Gardel/ Deland	*Dansvurmen (=La dansomanie)*	17	2	2,277	60
Deland	*Rövarekulan, eller Det fördolda giftermålet* [The robber's den, or The secret marriage]	16	3	?	?
Terrade	*Arlequins död (=La mort d'Arlequin)*	16	2	1,888	50
Deland	*Kärlekens bedrägeri (=Les ruses de l'Amour)*	12	1	1,365	36
Deland	*Enleveringen, eller Rövarebandet* [The abduction, or The robber band]	10	3	1,495	39

A considerable number of the larger ballets staged in Gustavian Stockholm derived from somewhat earlier works of well-known continental choreographers, in particular those at the Paris Opéra, and most especially the ballets of Jean-Georges Noverre. Indeed, Jean Marcadet appears nearly to have specialized in mounting works of his former mentor Noverre for Stockholm audiences, but he also showed some choreographic examples by Noverre's principal competitor, Angiolini[37]. Yet until better registers of ballet performances in 18th-century Europe become more widely available, it will not be possible to trace the origins of all the imported pantomimes mounted in Stockholm. Nonetheless, it is safe to estimate that between 50 and 75 percent of the choreographies were not new creations but simply re-elaborations.

Tracing the history of a ballet's accompanying music presents even greater challenges. One should be aware in the first place that among a choreograher's duties an important one had always been that of supplying suitable music for his ballets. Thus Filippo Taglioni's contract with Kungliga Teatern specified:

> M.r Taglioni should be supplied with everything that he needs. He will furnish the music for the ballets and divertissements which he will turn over to the Management[38].

Much ballet music heard in 18th-century Stockholm came in just this way from other quarters, particularly from Paris. In the second place the choreographer, after consultation with the directors of the opera, turned his music over to the concertmaster. At turn-of-the-19th-century Stockholm one of the most important concertmasters with respect to ballet music was Pierre Joseph Lambert, violinist at Kungliga Teatern from 1785 to 1807. Lambert's French contract of 1785 includes the following clause:

> I pledge. . . as orchestra leader to direct all the ballets, both at the opera as well as for any other productions which the Management may wish to put on, *to adjust the music* [italics added] and to be responsible to the musical director for providing the rehearsal violinists with the dance movements at first rehearsals and for conducting them at dress rehearsals[39].

A later colleague of Lambert, Edouard DuPuy, violinist at Stockholm from 1793, took on similar obligations when he became concertmaster in 1812, as specified in his Swedish contract. Note the financial arrangements!

[37] In addition to the revivals noted in fn. 36 Marcadet also staged: Onorato Viganò's *Persée et Andromède* (18 Dec. 1790), Noverre's *Le mariage double* (16 Jan. 1791, as *Det dubbla giftermålet*), Noverre's *Les petits riens* (16 Mar. 1791) and Vincenzo Galeotti's *Les marchandes des modes* (6 Feb. 1793).

[38] Contract of 2 July 1817, Kungliga teaterns arkiv, *op. cit.*: "M.r Taglioni s'entretiendra de tout ce qui lui est nécessaire. Il fournirà la Musique des Ballets et Divertissements qu'il presenterà à la Direction." Noverre's contract with the Paris Opéra 40 years earlier had included a similar but even more exacting stipulation: "The Sieur Noverre will be bound to supply all the music necessary to the said ballets as well as all orchestral parts, and he will submit the score to the General Manager so that he may study it and give an account of it to the Management who will be empowered not to accept such music if they consider it as unsuited to the subject of the ballet or as likely to fail to please the public, in which case the Sieur Noverre will be bound to submit fresh music, without thereby having any claim to be indemnified in any way"; cited in Lynham, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[39] Kungliga teaterns arkiv, *op. cit.*, contract of 1 Feb. 1785: "Je m'oblige. . . de conduire en chef tous les Ballets tout à l'Opera, que tout spectacle que la Direction voudra faire executer, de regler la Musique et d'en être responsable au Maitre de Chapelle de donner aux Repetiteurs les mouvements des Airs aux premieres repetitions et aux generales les Conduire."

I agree to arrange such music as prologues, epilogues and ballets or divertissements may require without any special remuneration, and even to compose such music; but for larger musical compositions which may be entrusted me I will enjoy a fee according to a special agreement with the Management[40].

Both Lambert and DuPuy, like *kapellmästare* Joseph Martin Kraus, Francesco Uttini and Georg Vogler, clarinettist Johan Friedrich Grenser and violinist Christian Friedrich Müller, composed new ballet music for the royal theaters, both to dance movements within operas and to divertissements as well as to some independent pantomime ballets. But of all the pantomimes staged in Gustavian Stockholm over half at least had music taken from other sources. Sometimes it was simply a case of using a score from an earlier production of the same work staged in another city. Not infrequently airs from favorite operas served as the basis for pantomime ballets, particularly when the action of a ballet stemmed from the same text as the opera. In cases where a French comic opera provides much of the musical material for a ballet the adaptations for dance may already have been made in Paris and subsequently carried abroad. It is possible on the other hand that such arrangements had nothing to do with any French dance production but were worked out elsewhere using the common European coin of airs from *opéras comiques*. The practice of "adjusting" ballet scores to suit the needs of particular theaters and dance companies means too that innumerable combinations of new and borrowed material may exist and that the sources of the borrowing may be equally diverse. Thus a specific ballet score such as one from the Stockholm collection may well represent several layers of composition and arrangement.

A closer look at two representative ballet scores

The pantomime ballet *Alexis, eller Desertören* staged by Jean Marcadet at the Arsenalsteater in Stockholm on 26 November 1794 is a good example of a derivative work. According to announcements the ballet was only "imitated" by Marcadet, that is, he relied mainly on the choreography from Maximilien Gardel's Paris version (Fontainebleau, 21 Oct. 1786 and Paris Opéra, 16 Jan. 1788), which in turn used the same plot as Monsigny's comic opera *Le déserteur*, first performed at Paris in 1769. The opera was staged at Stockholm for the first time in 1777 (in Swedish) and thereafter returned at regular intervals to the calendar of productions. A comparison of the opera score with the surviving orchestral parts for the ballet in the Stockholm collection reveals many similarities: the opera's substantial *ouverture* is present unaltered and nine movements in the ballet's first two acts are derived from among the fifteen numbers in Acts I and II of the opera. Whether these derivative numbers as well as the intervening dance movements go back to the score put together for Gardel by Ernest Louis Müller, or were arranged partly or wholly in Stockholm or have yet another source cannot be determined without at least tracking down the first Paris version. Even though the orchestral parts in Stockholm do not provide any clues in this regard, they do disclose a good deal about ways in which current vocal music was adapted for theatrical dance and what sorts of additions or deletions were found necessary.

The opera scores used for the following comparison are the printed version of Paris, 1769, and the manuscript score used for the Swedish productions from 1777 onward[41]. Apart from the Swedish text, which is a direct translation with no omissions whatsoever, the latter score appears to have been copied from the published version, since the page format and distribution are exactly parallel. As to the orchestral parts for the ballet (no score survives), only the string parts remain in the 18th-century cardboard binder, the oboe and horn parts having disappeared – meaning that a few movements are either lacking entirely (the middle section of no. 14 in Act I and all of nos. 17 and 18 in Act III) or are present only as a bass or acompanying line (no. 2 in Act I and no. 5 in Act III)[42]. These lacunae do not much affect Act II, in which the winds mostly played only an accompanying role. And since it is also the second act which displays the heaviest borrowing from the opera it is appropriate to concentrate our attention there.

The general method used in arranging the music for the ballet *Desertören* was to replace the spoken dialogue scenes in the opera by series of short, regular dance movements to new music, but to retain a good many of the opera's principal airs as the foundation for dramatic pantomime scenes. Thus in Act II in place of the opera's initial dialogue the ballet present two short, regular dances as nos. 1 and 2. The dramatic opening second-act air for Alexis (no. 8, "Mourir n'est rien" [=Att dö är lätt]), abbreviated, becomes no. 3 in the ballet, and the entire first section of the succeeding drinking song for Montauciel (no. 9, "Je ne déserterai jamais que pour aller boire" [=Jag aldrig n'ånsin rymma vill om ej för att flaskan tömma]) is taken over for no. 4. But now rather than the following scene in dialogue the ballet composer inserts a simple two-strain instrumental *air en rondeau* (no. 5). Suggestions of the beginning of the following duet for Alexis and Louise (no. 10, "O ciel! puis-je ici te voir" [=Ack himmel! skal jag Dig här se]) then animate the opening of the agitated, through-composed Presto movement, no. 6, while the A-section of Louise's touching triple-time air (no. 11, "Dans quel trouble te plonge" [I hvad oro Dig sänker]) is present complete in no. 7 of the ballet. The greatest deviations from the operatic model in the ballet's second act embrace the section from nos. 8 through 13. At this point the opera not only has scenes in dialogue but also a long, fugal trio (no. 12a, "O ciel! quoi tu vas mourir"), a second trio (no. 12b, "Console-toi, ma tendre amie") and a short air

[40] *Ibid.*, contract of 25 Sept. 1812: "Jag förbinder mig att utan särskilt arfwode arrangera sådan musik som till Prologuer, Epiloguer och Balletter eller Divertissementer kan fordrar, och äfwen att sådan Musik Componera, men för större Musikaliske Compositioner som mig ålägger, njuter jag Arfwode efter särskild öfwerenskommelse med Kongl. Direktionen."

[41] LE DESERTEUR / DRAME EN TROIS ACTES / Representé par les Comediens Italiens / ordinaries du Roi le 6 Mars 1769. / Gravé par M.lle Vendome et le S.r Moria / A PARIS . . . chez Claude Hérissant / : copy at S-Skma. The MS score of the Swedish version in Kungliga teaterns äldre notsamling is shelved according to Schwartz' system under "Operetter" as no. F.12.

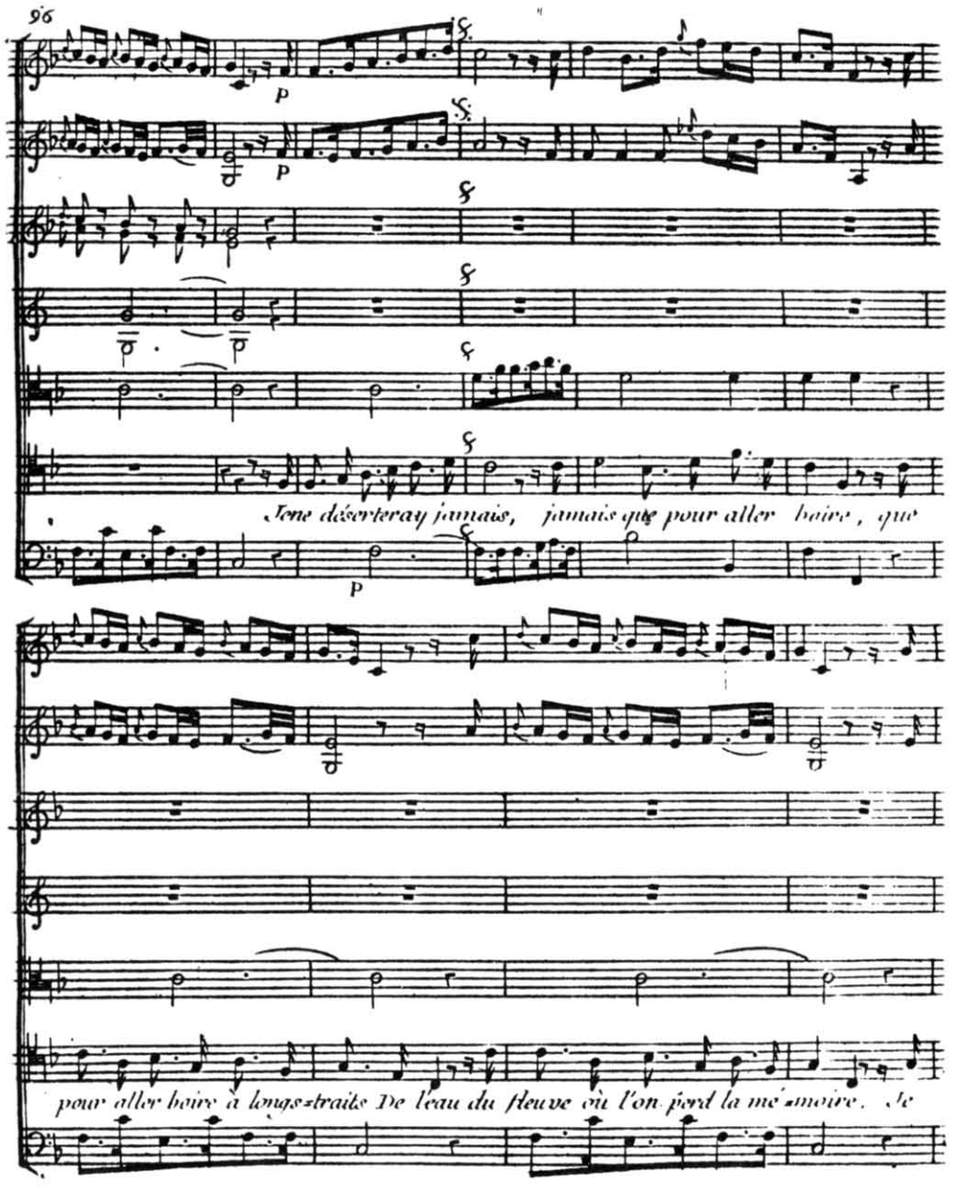
[42] The existing parts at Kungliga teaterns äldre notsamling for *Le Deserteur, Ballet en trois actes* (2 violin I, 2 violin II, 1 viola and 2 basso) are shelved under "Pantomime Balletter" as item D.1 (Corresponding to Ficker's catalogue no. 197). Unfortunately no *repetitör* part seems to have survived.

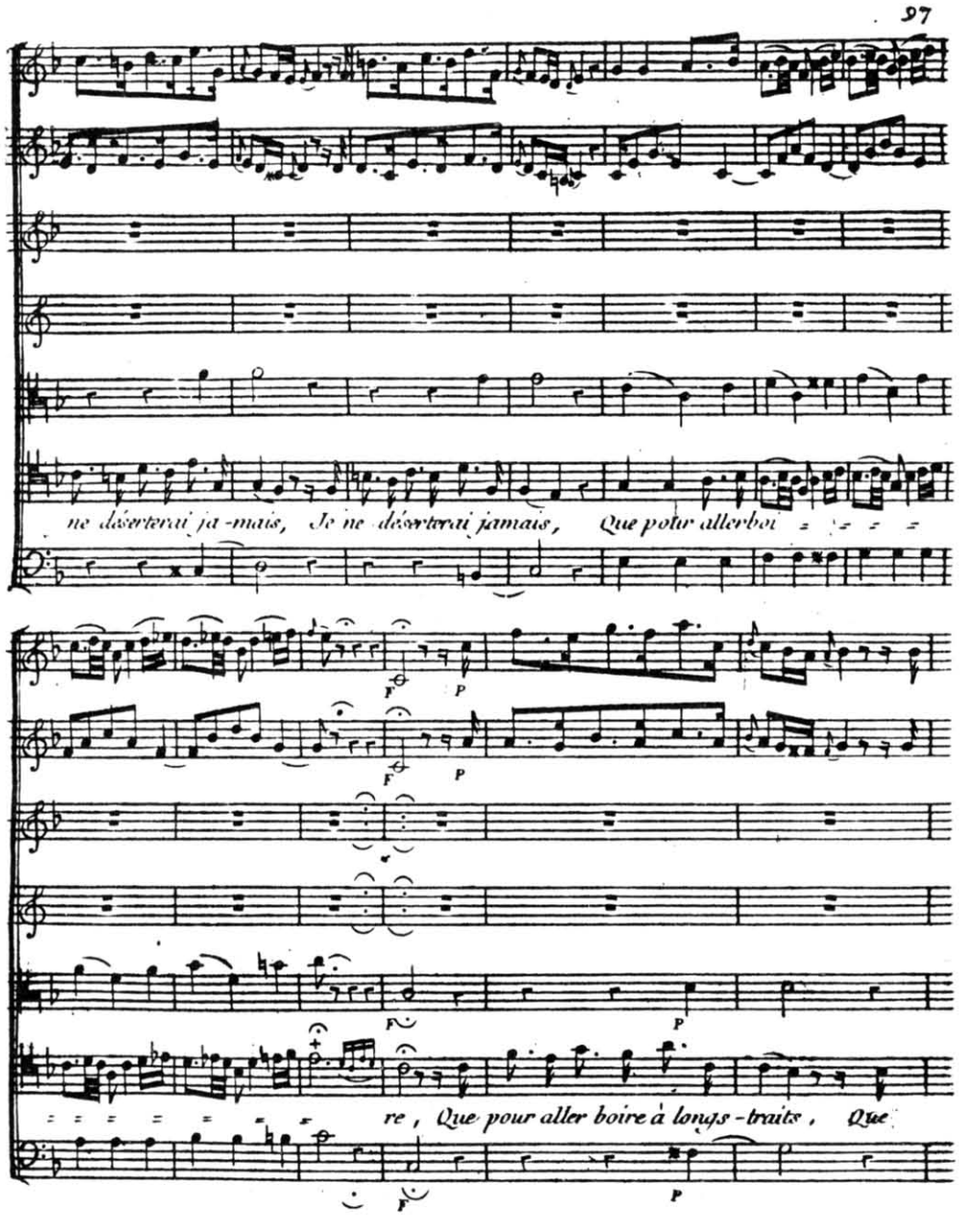
for the jailer Bertrand (no. 13, "Tous les hommes sont bons"). The two trios especially were ill-suited to dance and hence were replaced by five short, somewhat rhythmically irregular numbers to accompany a considerable amount of pantomime (nos. 8–12)[43], followed by a gay, more regular dance movement (no. 13). The opera act's second drinking song (no. 14, "Vive le vin, vive l'amour" [Hurra för kärlek och för vin]) is the basis for the final derived number (no. 14) in Act II of the ballet; for in place of the opera's closing duet (no. 15), combining the tunes and text to both airs nos. 13 and 14 in an amusing counterpoint, the ballet's second act instead ends with a brief dance movement comprising two repeated eight-measure strains.

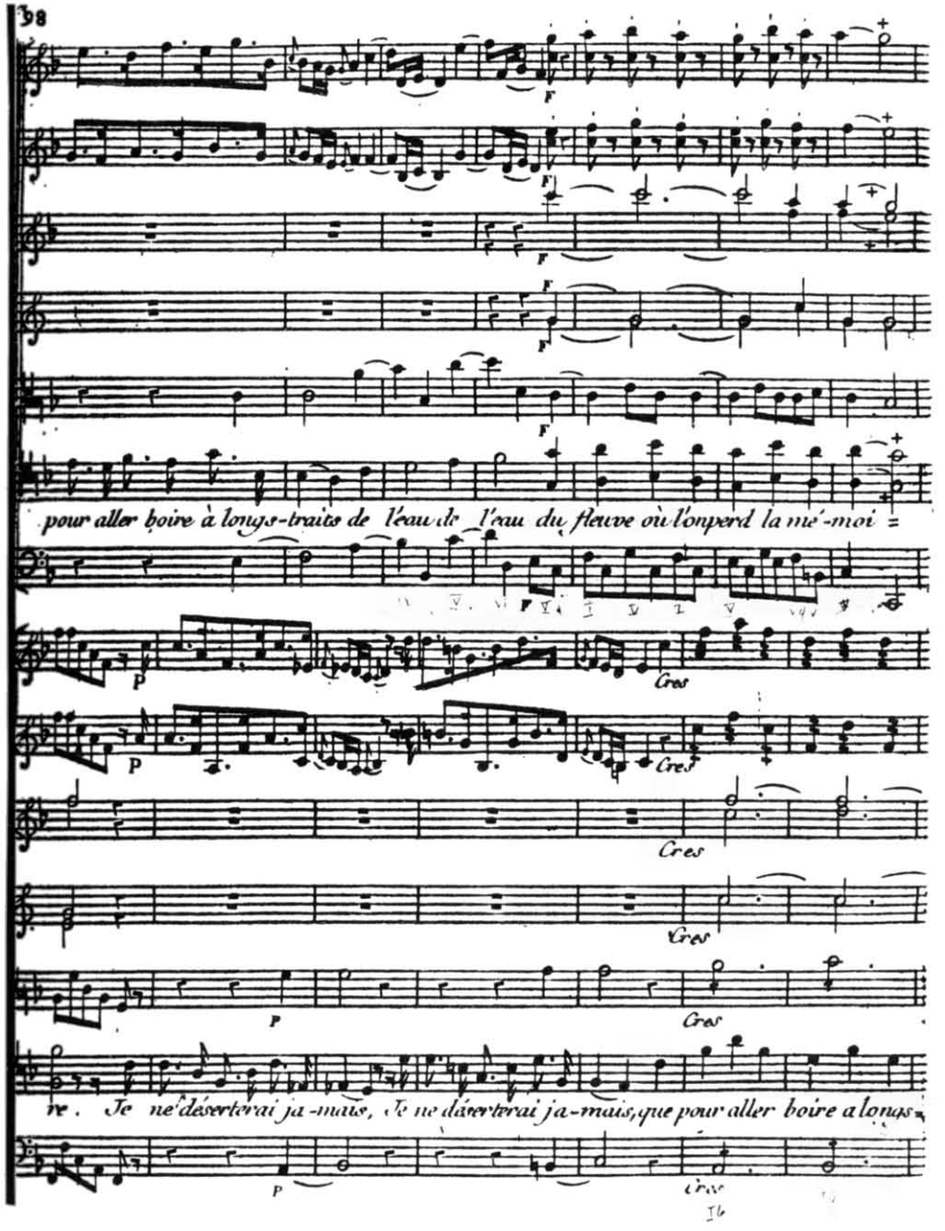
A closer look at two of the derivative numbers in Act II of the ballet *Desertören* sheds light on the arranger's working methods and on what were understood to be the needs of theatrical dance as opposed to the opera scene. In reworking the drinking song "Je ne déserterai jamais" for Act II, no. 4 in the ballet, a chief concern semmes to have been to supply a steady, rhythmic undercurrent in place of the opera air's "breathing spaces". Thus either the dotted-sixteenth opening rhythm or running sixteenth-note accompanimental figures fill all but four of the 36 measures in the movement's main section (see the musical examples below showing the first measures of the air and the whole of the corresponding ballet movement).

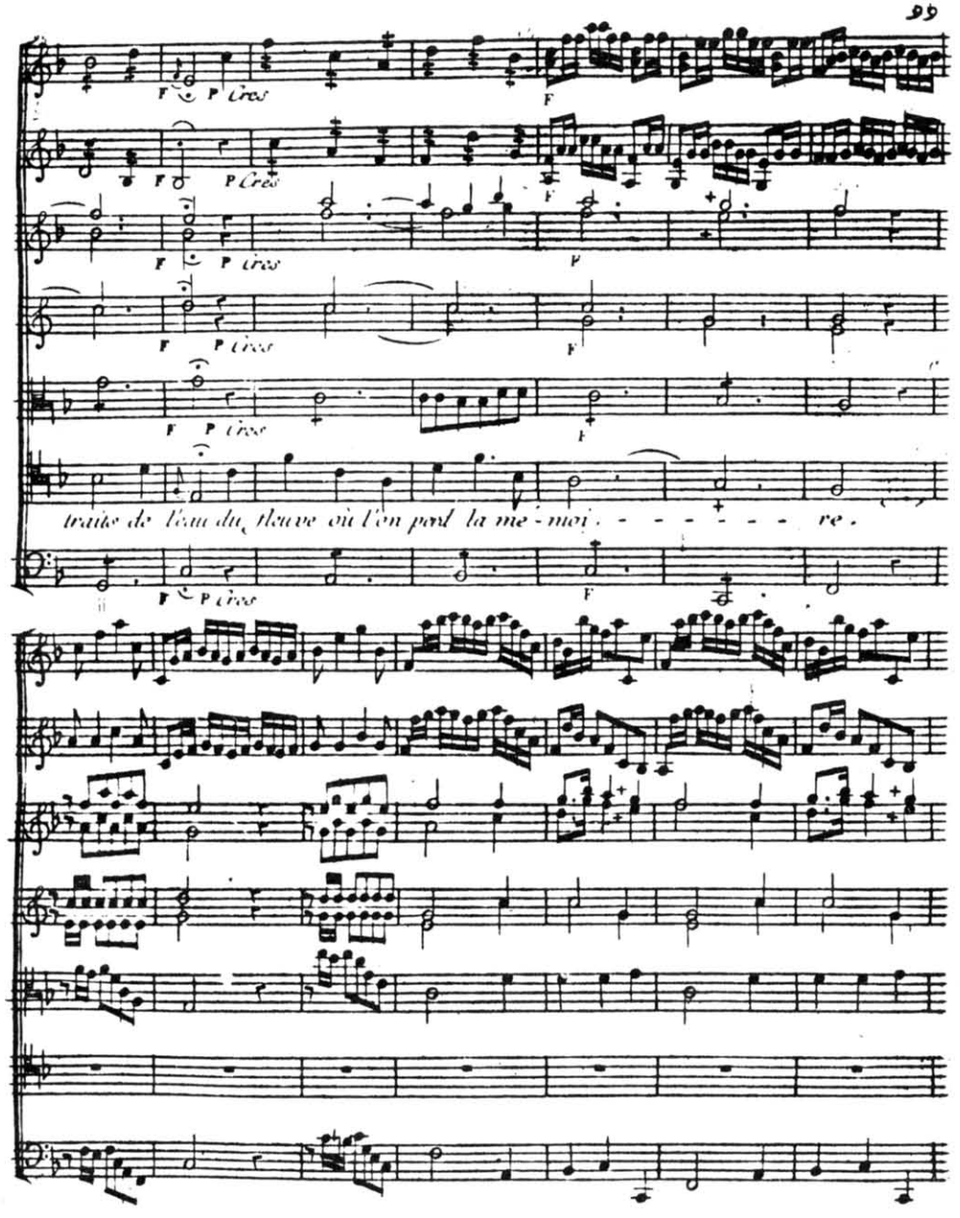
[43] Although no program as yet has come to light from the Stockholm production, Gardel's scenario for the Paris version, a copy of which is preserved at S-Sdt, supplies the details concerning the ballet's action.

Ex. 1. Excerpt from Montauciel's air "Je ne déserterai jamais" in Act II, scene 3 of Monsigny's Le déserteur (Paris, 1769)

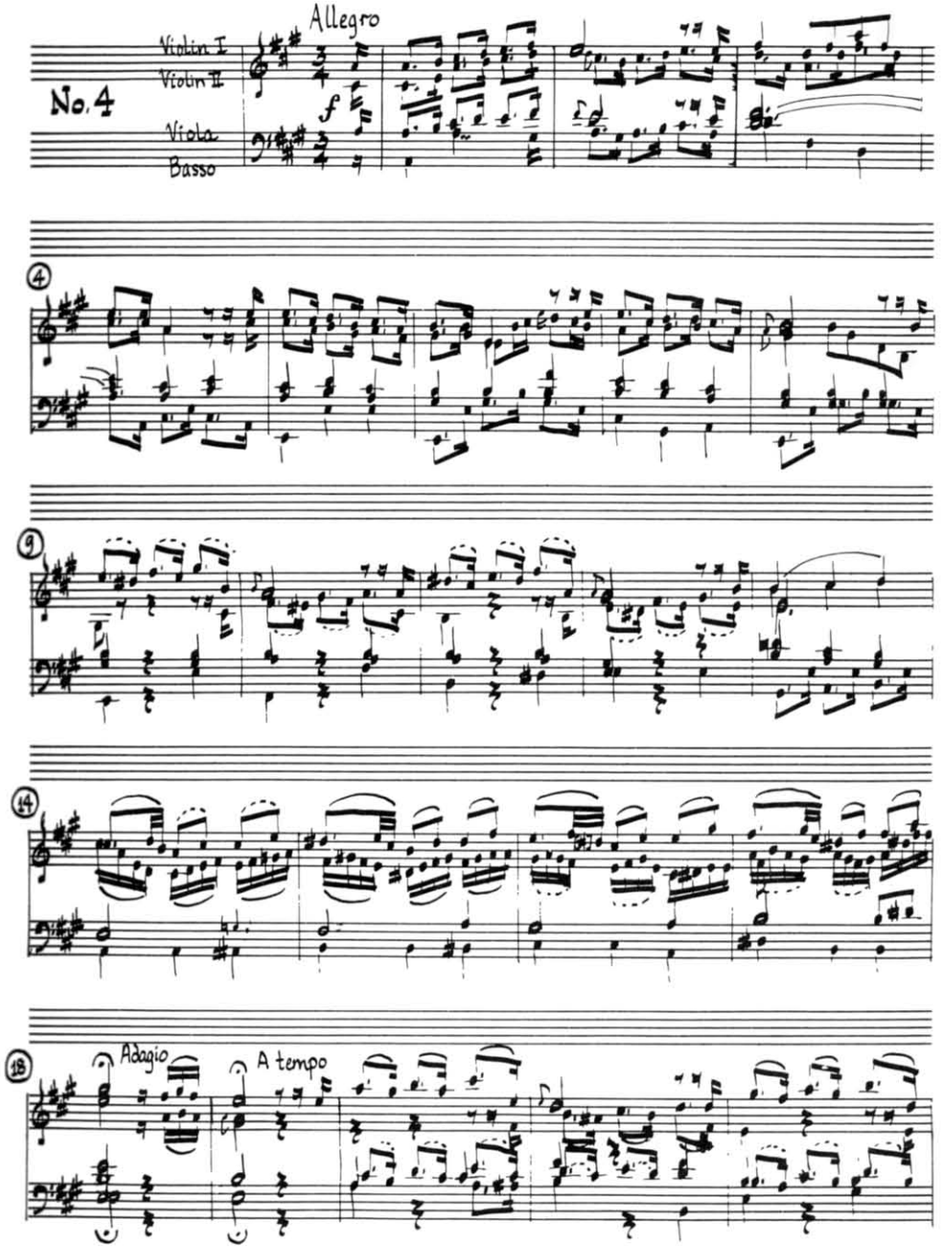


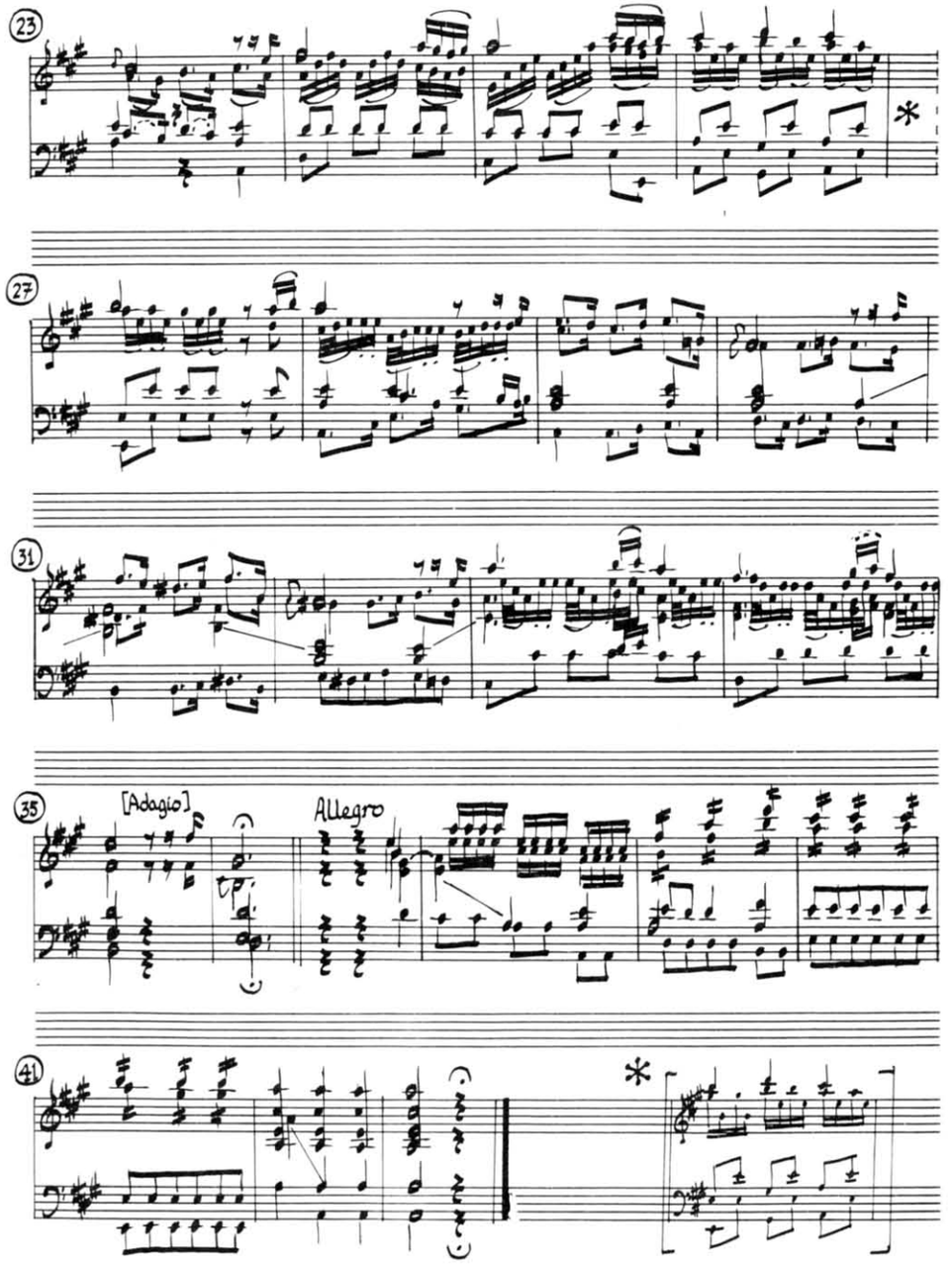

97
ne déserterai ja-mais, Je ne déserterai jamais, Que pour aller boi
re, Que pour aller boire à longs-traits, Que


98
pour aller boire à longs-traits de l'eau de l'eau du fleuve où l'on perd la mé-moi
Cres
Cres
Cres
Cres
re. Je ne déserterai ja-mais, Je ne déserterai ja-mais, que pour aller boire a longs



Ex. 2. Act II, no. 4 from the ballet Alexis, eller Desertören (Stockholm, 1794)





The four bars with fermatas (18–19 and 35–36) correspond to the air's half-cadences with indications for ornamentation; in the ballet movement the pauses are retained but with only a stylized decorative upbeat figure. Additional rhythmic vitality in this triple-time dance movement comes from the swinging alternation between pairs of voices, measure for measure, of one-measure long rhythmic patterns. In the first eight bars the violas and basses alternate marching quarter-notes with the dotted rhythm, in measures 9–12 the two violins toss their entries back and forth (in measures 20–23 with violin I seconded by the viola), and so forth. The effect is one of a more polyphonic setting. None of these features is found in the air, which is more stolid and unassuming and, of course, better suited as a vocal piece. Harmonically the ballet movement is substantially fuller than the opera air with four and five-voice chords throughout and considerably more use of secondary dominants. A bothersome point in the dance movement occurs at measures 26–28. Although it ought to correspond to the vocal phrase "du fleuve où l'on perd la mémoire" (cf. p. 98 in the opera score) the instrumental version is lacking a measure (between 26 and 27). Such an unwanted and unbalanced interruption of the rhythm in a piece for dance is difficult to understand, especially since the air serving as a model does not show this irregularity. Hence a suggestion for adding a measure to correspond to the same phrase in the vocal air is provided. How the situation was managed in performance remains a mystery.

A different kind of triple-meter air taken over in the ballet is Louise's "Dans quel trouble te plonge ce que je te dis là?" (see the musical examples below).

Ex. 3. Excerpt from Louise's air "Dans quel trouble te plonge" in Act II, scene 8 of Monsigny's Le déserteur

Louise.

C'est elle qui a ordonné ceci.

Alexis.

Quoi ?

Louise.

Elle a ordonné à mon pere de te faire croire que j'étois la mariée.

Alexis

Que veux tu dire !

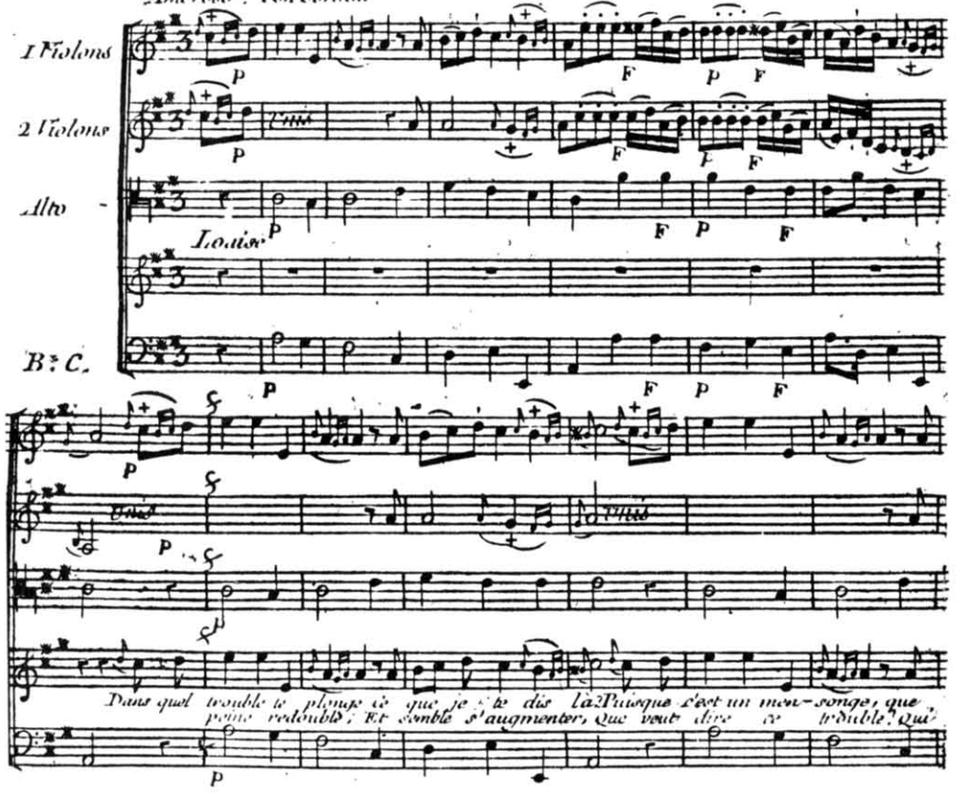
Louise.

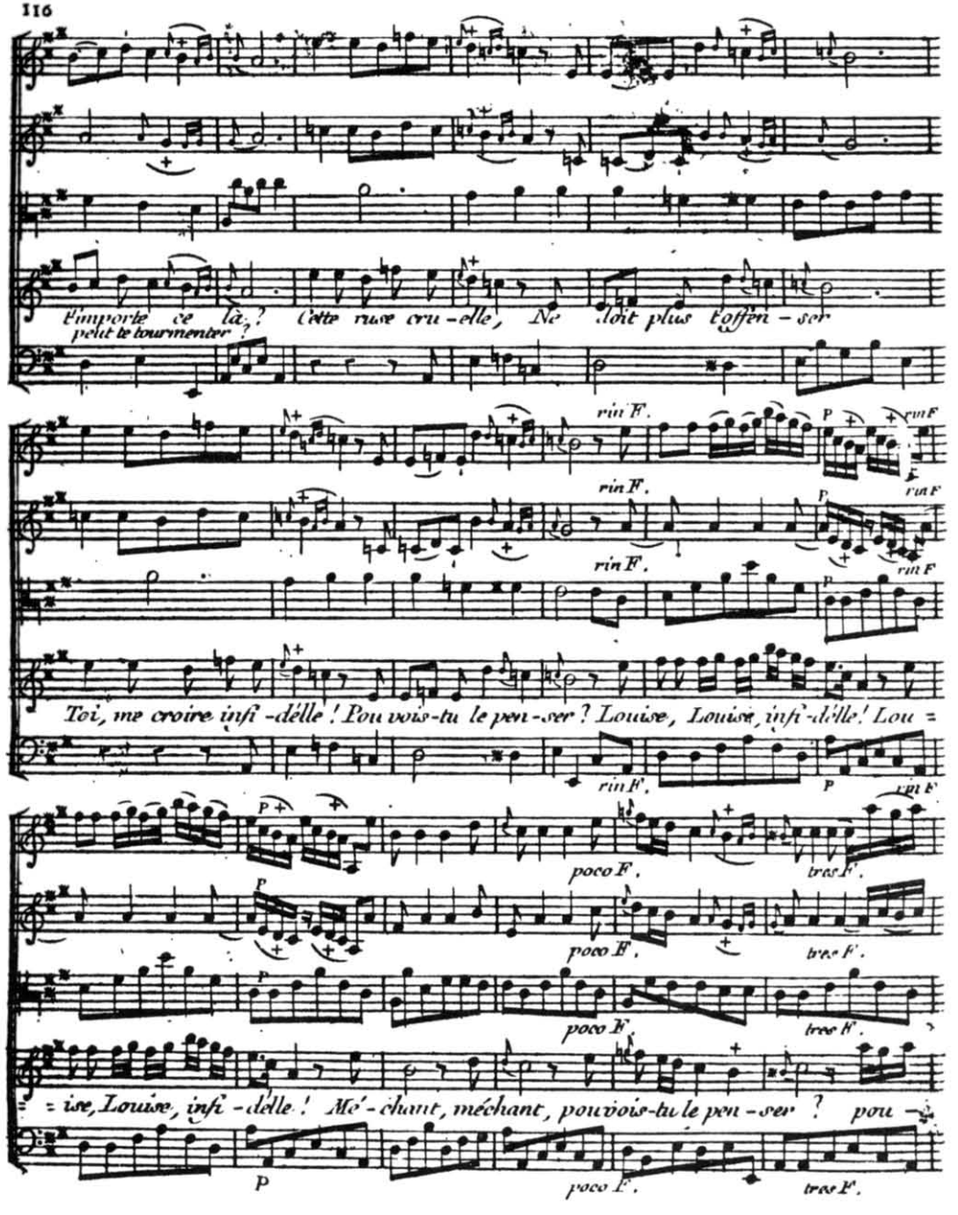
Oui, elle a ordonné cette noce,

ces instrumens, cette fête, ces apprêts.
On avoit aposté cette petite fille,
qui t'a parlé, pour te tromper,
et tout cela n'étoit qu'un jeu.

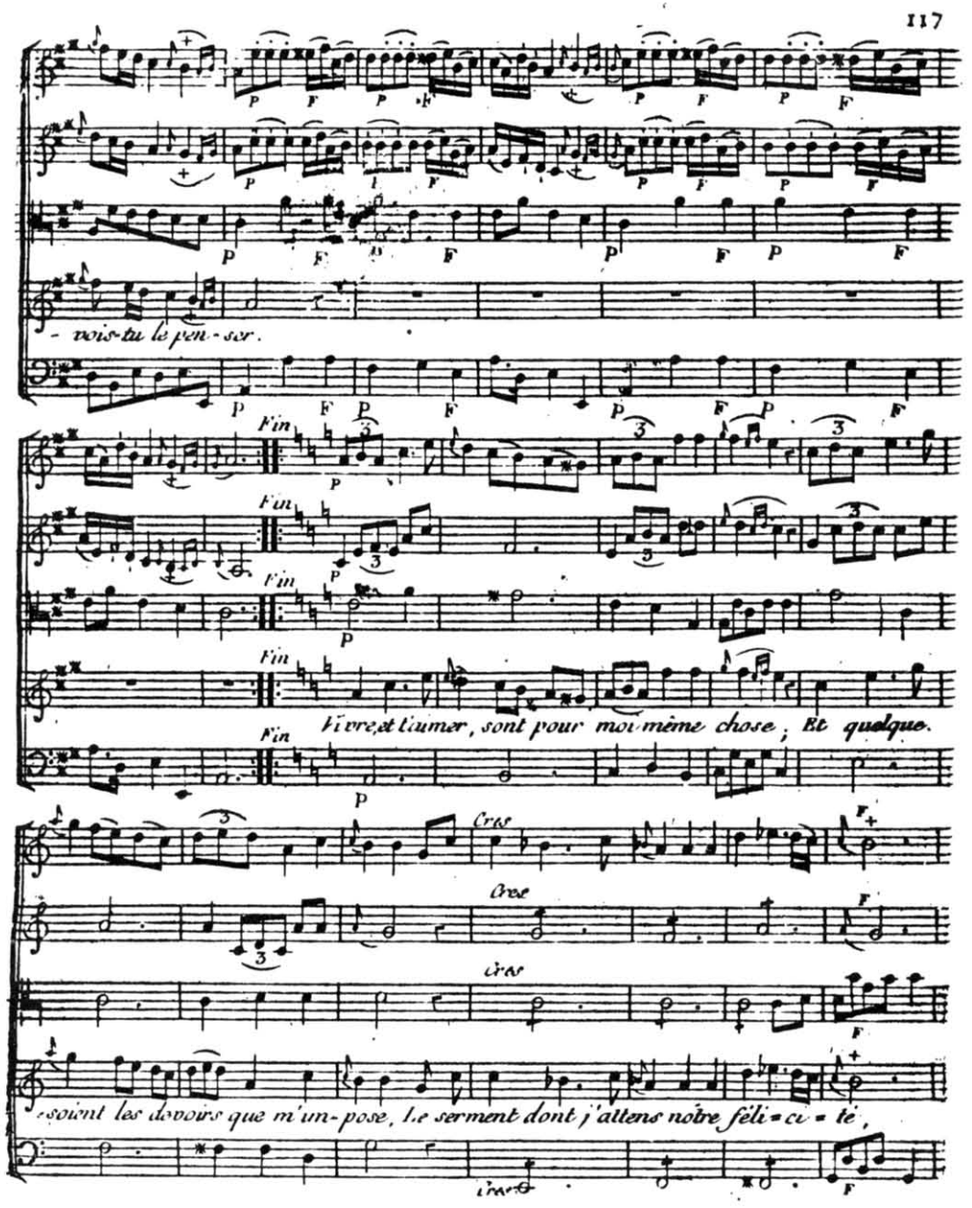
Alexis (tombe sur un escabeau, les mains étendues sur la table.)

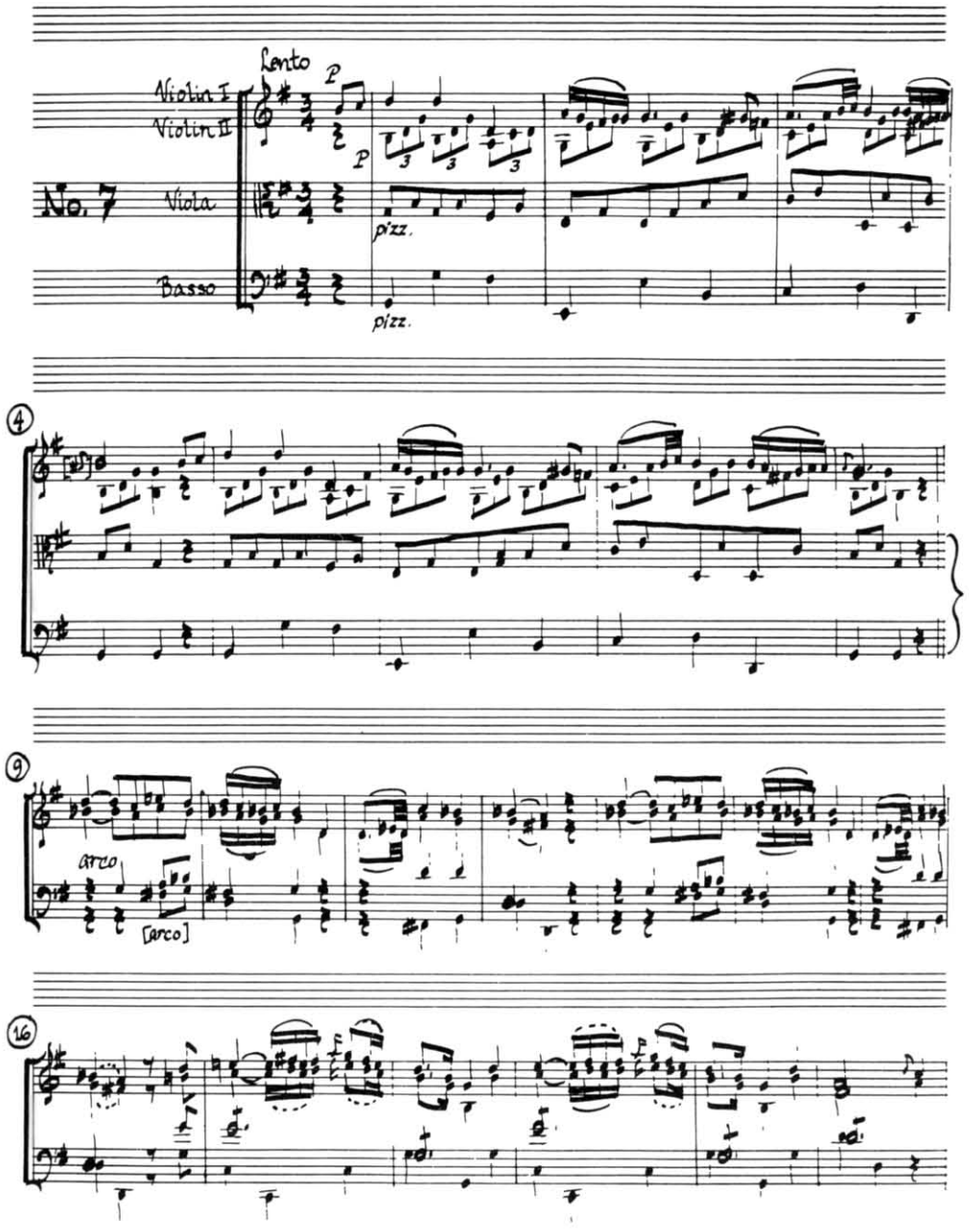
Qu'un jeu !

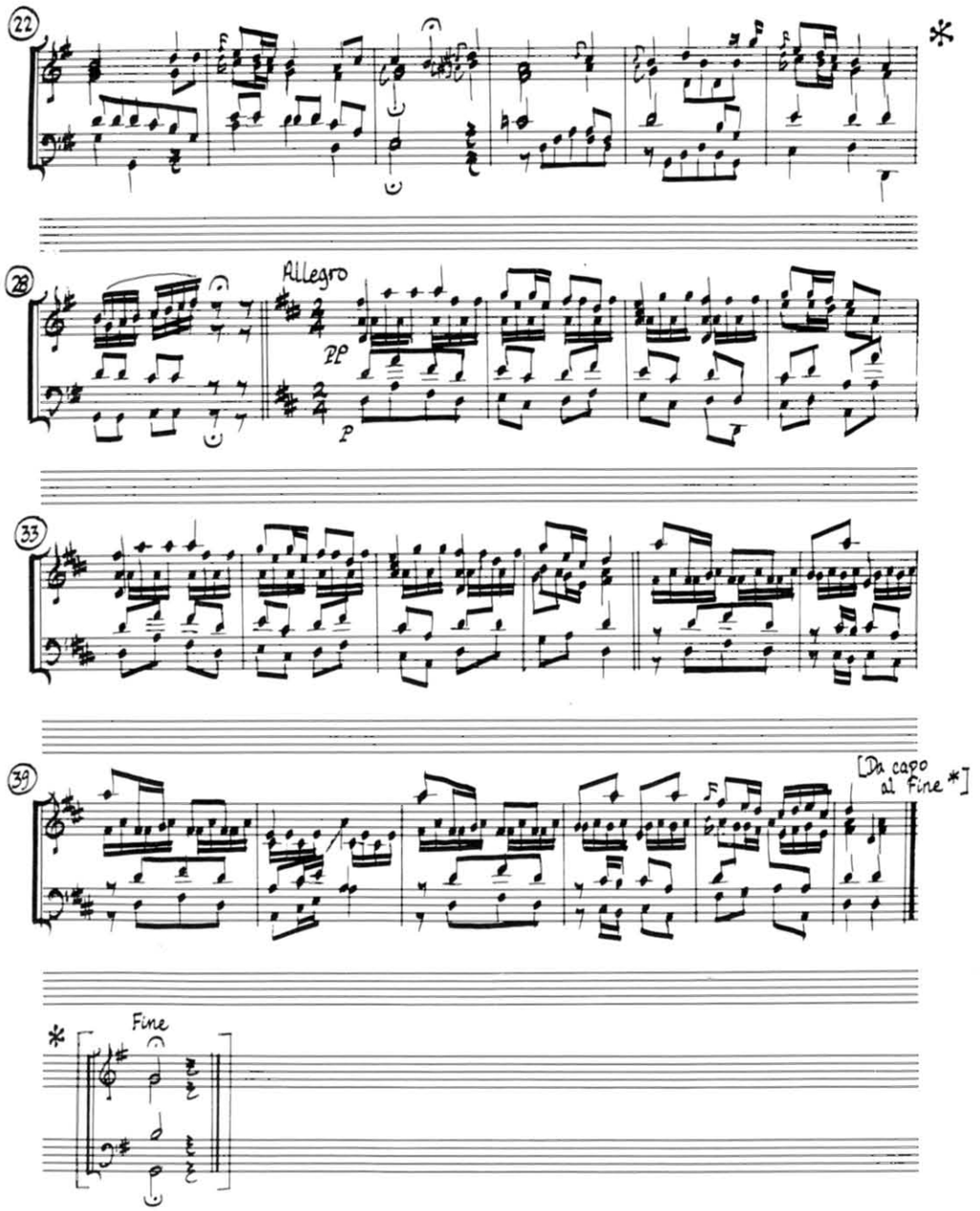




Ex. 4. Act II, no. 7 from the ballet Alexis, eller Desertören







As in the previous example, the dance movement begins in what corresponds to the vocal entrance in the air. Rather than the muted strings of the air the ballet number has pizzicato basses and violas for the first eight-bar strain. Along with the triplet figurations in the second violins, this three-level accompanimental pattern serves to provide a more rhythmically regular background to the lyrical solo line than was the case in the vocal model. Both there and in later phrases the second beat is always sounded, not held over from the first beat as in the air. Nor is there any syncopation, as occurs at "ne doit plus t-offenser" and following (p. 116): marking the rhythm unambigously appears to have been an important aspect of ballet music. Rather than the repeated cadential vocal phrase and following ritornello, the first section of the dance movement ends suspended in mid-breath – to be resolved by the entrance of the 16-measure B-section in $\frac{2}{4}$ time and in the dominant key. This portion has of course nothing to do with the air's 37-measure middle section in the tonic minor, which continues in the same meter and tempo as the foregoing section. Instead, the arranger has provided a typical, short, lively, duple-time dance. Indeed, its brevity seems to call for repetition, although none is indicated. The missing *repetitör* part would probably have offered clues regarding repeated sections, since those for other works are full of remarks such as "play this section three times", "take the Da capo twice through", etc. It seems highly likely too that, as in the vocal air, the first section would have returned Da capo following the Allegro. As it is, not only does the movement end abruptly in the dominant key, but the D major close makes for a poor transition to the following E-flat major Adagio movement: proceeding from G major to E-flat was on the other hand quite normal.

Typical for all the movements in the ballet *Desertören* is their relative overall brevity by comparison with the opera's airs. The same observation may be made concerning many ballets of the period in the Stockholm collection. Even those entirely newly composed tend to consist either of series of short movements, say four or five, in different meters and tempos, intended to be played in a sweep and forming a musical unit, or else of longer numbers built up of symmetrical eight, twelve or sixteen-bar phrases stapled upon one another, perhaps in a rondeau scheme with returning refrains or other pattern providing cohesion. Ballets with more generously proportioned movements such as Gardel's *La dansomanie* with music by Méhul are less common, as are also those in which the composer had a unifying vision for an entire act, such as did Noverre's Viennese composer Joseph Starzer in such works as their *Les Horaces et les Curiaces* – one of the ballets once part of the theatrical dance portfolio of Stockholm's Kungliga teatern.

Perhaps more usual, even if somewhat extreme in its lack of development of the musical material, is the once very popular ballet *Tillfälle gör tjufven* (first performed 14 Feb. 1785). As noted earlier, the danced version was an adaptation of a successful Swedish vaudeville of two years earlier (see fn. 32). The libretto for the vocal entertainment indicates that the new Swedish metrical texts, 28 in total, are to be sung to the tunes of apparently well-known French airs and Swedish songs. The titles for nine of the French and eleven of the Swedish melodies are supplied – the remaining were given in a musical appendix that has

not come down with the libretto. Since one of the actor-singers in the original vaudeville was the noted Swedish poet, singer and songwriter Carl Michael Bellman it is not surprising to find that at least four of the suggested tunes from Swedish songs are those he himself made popular[44]. Of the nine French airs five have at present been identified: two by Dezède, one by Monsigny and a chorus by Grétry[45]. While the original source of the fifth, "Ca ca qu'on recommence un rigaudon", has not been located, the refrain section of its tune was later used by Bellman for the song "Närvarande vid fluidum"[46]. As is generally acknowledged, Bellman borrowed a large majority of his melodies, especially from French airs. Thus another of the French items listed in the libretto for *Tillfälle gör tjufven,* Monsigny's "O! ma tendre musette", eventually appeared in Swedish guise as Bellman's "November den femtonde dagen"[47]. Probably too others of the Swedish songs called for in the vaudeville could be traced back to French, Italian or even English opera tunes. In any event the orchestral parts for the ballet based on the vaudeville, comprising 30 numbers, reveal that in all likelihood the entire ballet score appropriated the music earlier selected for the vocal work[48]. Of the nine numbers so far identified in the vaudeville all nine appear in the danced version as well[49].

In the ballet *Tillfälle gör tjufven* the adapting of songs and airs as dance music appears to have involved little reworking, nothing at all so thoroughgoing as with *Desertören.* This has partly to do with the fact that the original airs and songs chosen already had dance-like tunes. Occasionally rhythms were smoothed out or more driving accompanimental patterns were supplied. But on the whole the only slightly problematic aspect was in making some of the briefer tunes cover a sufficient length of time to fit the action or the dance figures. The solution was the simplest possible: frequent repetition. For instance no. 14 in the ballet (no. 11 in the vaudeville) occurs at the end of a scene in which the market place depicted is to grow dark, the stands to be shut up and the crowd to disperse. The music, Bellman's "Hej, Musicanter: ge valdthornen väder", is a tune in $\frac{6}{8}$ time only sexteen measures long[50]. In the *repetitör* part one sees the remarks in French and Swedish: "tills ståndеn äro igen" [until the stands are shut up] and "jusqu'a ce que le theatre se vuide" [until the stage is empty] and the instructions "Da capo 3 a 4 ggr" [Da capo 3 to 4 times]. Indications along the same lines are found with others of the briefer movements. The popularity of this ballet and some others

[44] The Bellman songs in question are: "Aldrig ett ord! för tag mig tusand" (Fredmans sång no. 62), "Blåsen nu alla" (Fredmans epistel no. 25), "Hej, Musicanter: ge valdthornen väder" (Fredmans epistel no. 4) and "Bacchi Härolder med guld och beslag" (Fredmans epistel no. 1).

[45] "Je le compare avec Louis" and "Faut attendre avec patience" from Dezède's *Les trois fermiers* (1777); Monsigny's "O! ma tendre musette" and the chorus "Dieu d'Amour, en ce jour" from Grétry's *Les mariages des Samnites* (1776).

[46] Fredmans sång no. 52.

[47] Fredmans sång no. 48.

[48] The orchestral parts for the pantomime ballet *Tillfälle gör tjufven* are found among the miscellaneous ballets at no. B.122 (corresponding to Ficker no. 120).

[49] The Bellman songs noted in fn. 45 appear in the order named as nos. 3, 9, 14 and 20 in the ballet. The French airs and chorus cited in fn. 46, in order, correspond to nos. 2, 4, 15 and 18 in the ballet. Finally, Fredmans sång no. 52 (see fn. 46) is the refrain section in no. 5 in the ballet.

[50] Printed versions of the song are instead in $\frac{3}{8}$ meter and therefore 32 measures long.

with similar construction, such as Deland's much played *En komisk ballet,* seems to show that the 18th-century public was far from averse to hearing favorite tunes in various guises many times over!

Conclusion

Fortunate to have escaped the fires that ravaged so many other 18th and 19th-century theaters, the Royal Opera at Stockholm has succeeded in keeping intact much of the written record pertaining to its performing history to an extent not often matched elsewhere. The imposing mass of musical source material for later 18th-century European ballet preserved in the theater's "older music collection" can provide a solid basis for much future research into a long neglected genre. The present article is of course no more than a beginning in this direction. In addition to more thoroughgoing study of the scores and parts to the pantomime ballets, divertissement-dances and danced sections in operas and plays, dedicated searching out of additional pertinent archival documents and printed material is sure to yeld a more complete picture of circumstances in Stockholm and relationships to other centers for ballet. The task now underway of re-ordering and indexing the theater's administrative materials, which cover hundreds of running feet of archival shelf space, ought to make the work of locating specific items, long a headache, surer and easier. But the size of a painstaking examination of any scope ought not to be underestimated. Another as yet mainly unexplored avenue of inquiry concerns the possible existence in Stockholm of substantially more printed information on dance productions. The librettos and playbills for hundres of operas, plays and other theatrical spectacles given during the Gustavian era are represented in the huge, uncatalogued collection of "dramatic works" at Stockholm's Royal Library. These are bound together and shelved alphabetically, not chronologically as is often the case in other large libretto collections. Thus works more than a century apart may stand adjacent to each other and plays with and without music are freely intermingled with operas. Among them are found occasional notices of ballets and names of dancers never honored with separate printed programs. Unfortunately, the existing printed indexes of the collection have paid little or no attention to these aspects.[51] A diligent investigation of the collection with an eye to uncovering further 18th-century materials on dance would require months but would undoubtedly produce results in keeping with the effort.

As much of the musical and non-musical manuscript and printed source material on the 18th-century musical theater in Stockholm attests, artistic links be-

[51] Gustaf Edvard Klemming, *Sveriges dramatiska litteratur till och med 1875: bibliografi* (Stockholm, 1879), presents the title pages of all items then part of the collection and names authors and composers when known. Choreographers and titles of ballets, however, are listed only in the section devoted to specific programs for danced spectacles (pp. 497–506: "Pantomimer och karuseller") and these represent just a small fraction of the dance works staged. The more recent compilation by Kerstin Karlström, *Opera- och operettexter på svenska 1773–1973: en bibliografi* (Borås, 1977), referring only to texts printed in Swedish, makes no mention whatsoever of dance productions.

tween Sweden and the rest of the European continent were significant and enduring. Performers and composers travelled often and widely, and even a capital far to the north attracted first-rate talents. Thus, artistic practices observed in theatrical productions in Stockholm reflect and exemplify not merely local characteristics but international tendencies as well, particularly in genre as little circumscribed by the limitations of language as ballet. For any sort of realistic historical perspective it is hence not only natural but urgent to combine research on the Swedish sources for 18th-century dance with parallel and complementary investigations of the ballet in other centers. The richness of the material in Stockholm is certain to shed some penetrating light on what may have been diffuse aspects of the history of staged dance.

After all, even the century's most famous choreographer and author of the most celebrated treatise on dance, Jean-Georges Noverre, had hoped to close his career in a final burst of glory at Stockholm. In his petition to Gustav III in 1791, accompanying a handsome prospectus of his life's work, still preserved at Kungliga biblioteket,[52] Noverre asserted:

> I would regain at your court my youth any my talents. . . It would seem to be the destiny of my family to be attached to Princes of your Royal House. . . I would be happier than any of them if the last efforts of my talent, which is burning low, would be able sometimes to amuse the leisure of the One whom posterity will call the great Gustav.[53]

Although Gustav III was dead within a year and Noverre himself never made the journey north, Stockholm maintained for another decade and a half the vital enthusiasm for music and dance fostered by the "theater king" in an era which put Sweden on the theatrical map of Europe.

[52] Handskrift S. 254: 1–2.

[53] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. [2–3]: "Je retrouverois à votre Cour ma jeunesse et mes talens. . . Il sembleroit de la destinée de ma famille d'être attaché aux Princes de votre Royale Maison. . . Je serois plus heureux qu'eux tous, si les derniers efforts de mon talent, qui s'éteint, pouvoir quelque fois amuser les Loisirs de celui que la posterité appellera le grand Gustave".