

BIRTH OF A BALLET: AUGUST BOURNONVILLE'S  
A FOLK TALE, 1854

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DEDICATION

For My Children  
Gilbert Bruce and Geoffrey Deane

With love and gratitude for their  
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## CHAPTER I

### ORIENTATION TO AND PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY

Until 1955 few American dancers had heard the name of August Bournonville. A number of dance historians like Curt Sachs (1937), Cyril Beaumont (1942), and Lincoln Kirstein (1974), had brushed lightly over his contribution to the dance. Isabel Brown's (1968) unpublished thesis, "The Life and Contribution to the Danish Ballet of August Bournonville," constituted one of the first serious examinations in English of Bournonville's work with the Royal Danish Ballet. Prior to that, Erik Bruhn and Lillian Moore (1961) had co-authored a short treatise based upon Bournonville's Études Chorégraphique (p. 60), and Fleming Hjorth had written a few articles on specific areas in Dance in the early 1960's. The particular style of ballet associated with Bournonville's name was also the subject of a chapter in Erik Aschengreen's monograph, "The Beautiful Danger: Facets of the Romantic Ballet," Dance Perspectives 58 (1974).

Lillian Moore's friendship with Erik Bruhn brought with it an interest in August Bournonville, and she was one of the very few authors to treat him in a scholarly manner. In her

monograph, Bournonville's London Spring, she wrote that Bournonville was a:

superb master of dance drama and dance design, two elements which he blended magnificently in his masterpieces, La Sylphide, Napoli, A Folk Tale, and Kermesse in Bruges. (Moore, 1964, p. 4)

She further theorized that these ballets "are probably the only ballets to have survived anywhere, complete and intact for more than a century" (p. 4).

A family of dancers, the Prices, so strongly linked to all of Bournonville's ballets during his lifetime, was the subject of another monograph, The Dancing Prices of Denmark (Veale, 1961). Tom Veale (1961), its author, stated:

To the mystery and melancholy of literary Romanticism, the Bournonville ballets added the colorful gaiety of folk characters to build a rich, appealing art form . . . he required certain qualities - a delicate charm and sweetness in the women, a virile nobility in the men. (p. 4)

It had been said of the great Danish dancer, Erik Bruhn, that "there is no dancer alive with more style, more grandeur, and more passion" (Bruhn, 1973, p. 7).

In his short autobiography, Beyond Technique, Bruhn explored his own unique relationship with the Bournonville "tradition," concluding that "when I think of Bournonville,

I have to go on from where I see him, and that's from inside me" (p. 14).

In 1966 British dance critic, A.V. Coton, saw Kermesse in Bruges (1851) and commented upon the unique place it had among surviving nineteenth century ballets. Coton (1975) wrote:

Balletically the main fascination of the work lies in Bournonville's rich variety of expressive dances for both male and female created out of a simple but refined step vocabulary. (p. 48)

Coton's opinions have been revoiced by all the leading contemporary dance critics (for example: Clive Barnes, Anna Kisselgoff, P.W. Manchester, and Marcia Siegel) and reviews by these critics were highly effective in the process of shaping this author's aesthetic vision concerning the choreographer's use of technique and creative style. In Kisselgoff's December 23, 1979 review of the centenary festival held in Copenhagen marking the one hundredth year of Bournonville's death which appeared in The New York Times, she wrote that

Bournonville's realism is not naturalism or verismo. He selects but does not reproduce. Much of the beauty of his ballets lies in carefully observed details of behavior embedded in the harmonious compositions that govern every ensemble.

Recent years, marked by summer tours by soloists of the Royal Danish Ballet, the American bicentennial tour of the complete company and climaxed by the November, 1979 Copenhagen festival, have witnessed a resurging interest in the artistry of this venerable choreographer. Until the publication of Bournonville's memoirs, translated by Patricia McAndrew, in 1979, solid research had little hope of success unless the researcher had both a reading knowledge of Danish and the opportunity of study in Copenhagen itself.

Although not readily available in the United States, Theatre Research Studies II is of great interest consisting of six articles by separate Danish authorities and ranging from discussions on costuming to music and Romanticism. In 1974 Dance Perspectives devoted a complete edition to the romantic ballet in which, for the first time, Bournonville was juxtaposed with the complete picture of the ballet in the romantic era and set within his own uniquely Danish social-cultural milieu. The 1976 CORD conference in Philadelphia provided another opportunity for scholars and teachers to become acquainted with Bournonville on a variety of levels of achievement and import to the contemporary dance scene. This author was



a participant in that panel. Dance Chronicle (March 1980) has commenced an unprecedented printing of all of Bournonville's librettos with publication forthcoming.

The first biography, The King's Ballet Master, by Walter Terry, made its appearance in 1979. Owing to its brevity and the haste with which it was written, the book is of minimal value to the serious reader. A number of books in Danish have also been published recently: August Bournonville, by Allan Fridericia, a disorganized yet valuable addition to the source material; Salut for Bournonville, edited by Ebbe Mørk, a collection of short essays of topical interest (a few have appeared in the November 1979 issue of Dance) in connection with the 1979 anniversary festival in Copenhagen; an attractively mounted collection of articles, Ballettens Digter, by Erik Aschengreen, (one of which was translated in the March 1980 issue of Dance Chronicle); and a re-issue of Bournonville's wartime article, "Hvad Bør Danmark Gjøre for Sine Invalide Krigere?" with an introduction by Svend Kragh-Jacobsen.

In Ballettens Digter, Aschengreen reminds the reader that much nineteenth century 'golden age' literature has been allowed to gather dust while those of Bournonville's

ballets which have survived continue to play to full houses. According to Robert Neiiendam, in Det kongelige Teaters Historie, "Bournonville's silent poetry sprang from a combination of French balletic art and Nordic realism" (p. 208). One of his ballets which epitomized this sweet union was A Folk Tale (Et Folkesagn), created in 1854, at the highpoint of his choreographic career and which has persisted as one of Bournonville's most popular ballets. (see Appendix B, The Nine Most Popular Ballets Until 1939) The ballet was aptly described by a reviewer for Cornhill Magazine in 1874 who wrote that Bournonville:

has retained the most divine faculty for devising intricate and exquisite dances, and for framing stories of a dramatic kind, in which all the action is performed in dumb show, and consists of a succession of mingled tableaux and dances. (p. 307)

An examination of this ballet brought the author to the threshold of the historical process which, according to Theodore White (1978), is the connecting of events and decisions (p. 172). As an individual faces his life in the role of an artist, he is a composite of the present, conditioned to a large extent by the traditions of the past. Bournonville's ballets constituted, therefore, a reflection of his own personal adjustment to a changing

world. In My Theatre Life, Bournonville (1979) defined the triple life of the artist: "As a citizen he must complete his work; as a Christian he must mature to eternity; but as an artist he must never outlive his fame" (p. 4).

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to extend the literature dealing with the history of the Royal Danish Ballet and its unique contribution to the romantic era as exemplified by its choreographer-director, Antoine August Bournonville.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The specific problem of this study was to examine the choreography and production process employed by August Bournonville in relation to Et Folkesagn (hereafter referred to as A Folk Tale), which premiered at the Royal Theater, Copenhagen, Denmark on March 21, 1854 to an original score composed by Niels W. Gade and Johan P.E. Hartmann. Subproblems required the writer:

1. To discuss the various social, historical, and artistic influences upon Bournonville's career in relation to the creation of this ballet.

2. To identify specific literary sources and influences upon the creative structure of the plot for A Folk Tale.

3. To report anecdotes, problems, and thoughts along with specific choreographic notes made by the choreographer during the creative period.

4. To contribute short biographic essays on the various dancers who were associated with the ballet during the nineteenth century.

5. To present specific production details encompassing lighting, costumes, scenery, and props.

6. To relate critical reports on the ballet and on Bournonville as an artist of the community.

7. To augment existing information on the original production with notes recorded by dancers and directors following Bournonville's death.

8. To collect various visual forms of data including photographs, drawings, and diagrams.

### Definitions

In order to clarify certain terms for the reader, the following definitions are presented as used throughout this study:

Ballet. "Dancing surrounded by pantomime and combined with a coherent plot, or a pantomimic drama embellished with dancing . . ." (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 18).

Digter. One who "must perceive truth and harmony in the minute as well as in the immensely great with a clear eye in order to purify and enrich his understanding and imagination" (Bredsdorff, 1975, p. 227).

Pantomime. "The art of denoting characters, explaining situations, and expressing feelings and passions through gestures . . ." (Bournonville, 1979, p. 12).

Theatrical Dancing. "Like all the fine arts, the dance has its origins in nature. It comes from a warm heart, from a healthy imagination; its action expresses joy and pleasure . . . in addition to its musical and plastic nature, the dance also has a wholly unique one which belongs to the moment and cannot bear to be held fast . . . all the arts demand a great deal of technique. Let us, then, bring art into the craft, but never allow the craft to appear in art" (Bournonville, A., 1979, pp. 10-11).

### Procedures in the Development of the Study

The present study was developed from those kinds of materials which have survived to the present day with a full recognition that dance, as an ephemeral art form, truly exists only in the moment it occurs. In order to determine the kind of information which would have value, the author consulted various monographs written by Olga Maynard for Dance, and texts such as Repertory in Review by Nancy Reynolds, Ivor Guest's Ballet of the Second Empire, John Martin's Ruth Page: An Intimate Biography, Larry Warren's Lester Horton and David Vaughan's Frederick Ashton and His Ballets.

The following procedures were a direct outgrowth of focal points these authors utilized in their discussions of specific ballets created by choreographers either living or deceased.

#### Preliminary Phase

The preliminary procedures followed in the development of this study were (1) to examine all references to the choreographic and performing style of Antoine August Bournonville written in English; (2) to translate the published and unpublished manuscripts written by Bournonville in relation to A Folk Tale; (3) to ascertain

his personal and professional relationships, philosophical opinions, and other activities during the time span, 1840-1854; (4) to examine further writings and periodical references to A Folk Tale from 1854 to his death, 1879; (5) to attend rehearsals and performances of A Folk Tale at the Royal Theatre, Copenhagen, Denmark during March to May, 1977 for current information on the ballet; (6) to study the actual technique and style of August Bournonville, as it is known today, under Toni Lander Marks, Tove Rosenthal Liels, Kirsten Ralov, and Fredbjørn Bjørnsson, and through observation of children's and company classes at the ballet school of the Royal Theater, Copenhagen, Denmark; (7) to prepare a bibliography of the August Bournonville manuscript collections housed at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark and holdings on the ballet at the Theater Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark; (8) to view two performances per week of the Royal Danish Ballet from January to June, 1977, in order to ascertain the specific and special qualities inherited from the Bournonville era, which set it apart from other major international ballet companies; and (9) to reside in Copenhagen for a total of nine months to absorb contextually the national character and mores, and to develop an understanding and appreciation for its people, culture, and political life.

Procedures Followed in the  
Discussion of the Ballet

Selection of primary and secondary unpublished resources on the ballet was limited to that which this investigator was able to locate at the following institutions: The Royal Theater Archives, Copenhagen; The Theater Museum, Copenhagen; The Royal Archives, Copenhagen; The Royal Library, Copenhagen; and the Royal Music Historical Archives, Stockholm, Sweden. The kinds of manuscripts consulted included diaries, drawings, diagrams, sketches, letters, and notebooks. The film archives of the Royal photographer, Rigmor Mydtskov, were also consulted to compare and contrast change in costume, poses, attitudes, and gestures from 1922 to 1977. A number of published accounts concerning A Folk Tale was consulted. Because no bibliographies are available, the completeness of the resources used cannot be truly verified. Only one encyclopedia, dansk Biografisk Leksikon, was utilized in order to compile the dancers' biographies which may be found in the Appendix.

Copenhagen has had a number of daily and weekly newspapers along with a variety of blade magazines throughout the period of 1854 to 1975. This investigation was



limited to the following newspapers: Berlingske Tidende, Aftenposten, Information, Avisen, Morgenbladet, Flyveposten, Politiken, Fædrelandet, and National Tidende. Those periodicals consulted were Illustreret Tidende, Nær og Fjern, Tilskueren, Theater og Literature, and Literairt Maanedskrift.

Telephone and personal interviews were conducted with a number of Danish dancers and directors who have been closely associated with A Folk Tale: Kirsten Ralov and Hans Brenaa, both of pre-eminent importance in maintaining the Bournonville aesthetic heritage; Erik Bruhn and Peter Martins, both of whom played the role of Junker Ove; Dinna Bjørn, an ever youthful soloist who is vitally concerned with the Bournonville style; Niels Bjørn Larsen, director of the Royal Danish Ballet from 1952-1955 and a former Viderik; Henning Kronstam and Flemming Flindt, the present and former directors of the Royal Danish Ballet. In addition, the following people advised or corresponded with the investigator on this project: Patricia N. McAndrew, Erik Aschengreen, Svend Kragh-Jacobsen, Nils Schiørring, and Ebbe Mørk.

All ballets are here in referred to by their English translations as given in "The Ballet Poems of August

Bournonville: The Complete Scenarios, Part One," by Patricia N. McAndrew in Dance Chronicle, (March, 1979): 165-178.

#### Preparation of the Final Written Report

The final report was organized in such a way that the essays encompassing the related literature portion of the dissertation could be read as a prelude to the actual study, which was an investigation of the creative and production process employed by August Bournonville when A Folk Tale was presented in 1854. In that way, the actual dissertation portion of this study remains isolated and succinct in its form of presentation.

The information was summarized and conclusions drawn based upon the purpose of the study. Recommendations for further studies along similar lines were made. A classified Bibliography consisting of both foreign and English sources and an Appendix were included to complete the written report.

## CHAPTER II

### DENMARK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: AN HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

A work of art does not exist in a vacuum of time and space. Art reflects not merely the germination and growth of a creative idea by an artist but the very sensibilities of the philosophical-social-economic era in which an artist lived. Lois Ellfeldt (1976) has written:

Dance as an art is a theatrical experience that culminates and affirms both the choreographer's and performer's ability to create in movement some comment on the experience they know and cherish. (p. 3)

To appreciate the background from which A Folk Tale emerged, certain landmarks in the history of Denmark, and therefore the social environment of its creator, must be examined. "Society," Shirley Case (1943) has stated, "is a point of departure for all human living" (pp. 63-64). Bournonville, as a man and artist, directly reflected the society in which he lived, the relatively small, inbred, middle-class stratum existing in Copenhagen. Bournonville was to become an arbiter of artistic taste in that city, always working within the rather narrow parameters of accepted social and aesthetic standards. The following

discussion focuses on a few events of history, government, and society which occurred during Bournonville's life with the greater emphasis given to the first half century.

Denmark was not regarded as anything more than a minor kingdom throughout the period. Using rather inglorious terms, a report in the Cornhill Magazine (1879) introduced this obscure country to its late nineteenth century British readers:

Denmark as a country was weak and poor, so isolated among inimical races, so forlorn of all geographical protection, that its very place among nations seems to have been preserved by a series of accidents. (p. 297)

That any nation might owe its life to a "series of accidents" is a harsh statement indeed. Yet entirely within the context of the author's insinuation, selected contiguous elements can be added to illuminate those extreme judgments.

During the nineteenth century, Denmark could have been considered a microcosm of national life on the European scene owing to its comparatively uncomplicated political structure and remoteness from an agitated central Europe. The nation had suffered few of the tumultuous effects of war that had plagued many central European states during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries. Denmark avoided dramatic new trends; its very remoteness was a shield against change.

No foreign invasions or long-lasting waves of immigration had diluted the blood lines or, more importantly, injected the country with new leaders or ideas. The word "conservative" best describes both the national posture and the social values held by the people. Bournonville's (1979) own declaration of patriotism reflects the intense loyalties of the citizens, "In my heart and soul I am Danish and wish to rest nowhere but in Denmark" (p. 86). One might compare Denmark with Europe by contrasting the liberality of thinking found in the coastal cities of the United States versus the more restrictive thought process found in the insulated farm and ranch areas of the central American states.

A fragment from Johannes V. Jensen's "Denmark Song" more eloquently expresses the fierce patriotic pride Danes felt:

What the hand has wrought had in spirit birth  
 Flint used to serve for war and working.  
 The chips you find in the Danish earth,  
 In each is the soul of an ancestor lurking.  
 (Stark, 1947, pp. 96-97)

Danes had good reason to be proud of their ancestors. As early as the twelfth century, Denmark had consolidated

its lands into a nation, and quickly rose to a position of power in northern Europe. Land holdings once included what are today Norway, Sweden, Finland, and as far south in Germany as Hamburg. But the era of power and prosperity did not last. Denmark's small size, homogenous culture, and narrow economic base made its vulnerability to larger, richer, and more politically versatile neighbors inevitable. The territorial holdings were slowly stripped away, accompanied by a decreased amount of European influence.

Geographically, Denmark is a country of small red tile or thatched roofed villages set off by flat, green fields dotted occasionally with woods and devoid of high, arched hills or mountains. There are no wide rivers, no extensive forest areas, and no rich mineral deposits. Obviously agriculture and its associated trade have been the foundation for the nation's economy. Although general emancipation of the peasants occurred in 1788, most preferred to remain on the land. Even as late as 1870, 75 percent of the population still lived in agricultural communities. The Industrial Revolution only slowly effected any major economic or social restructuring in Denmark.

The practice of inter-court marriage by the aristocracy bestowed upon them a varied appearance, whereas the closed, unmixed heritage of the common people gave them an unmistakable visage: short stature, fair skin, reddish curly hair, and blue eyes. Travellers to Denmark often joked about the Danish peasants' ruddy robustness . . . and frequent drunkenness. They were considered less sophisticated and less finely featured than the British. One late eighteenth century French traveller even went so far as to complain: "If you meant to describe all the ill qualities that a man could possess, it was sufficient to say that he was a Danois" (James, 1966, p. 59).

#### Historical Background

"Princely power absolute to its extremest consequences" had been the right of Danish monarchs since the constitution of 1665 (Press and Cultural Relations, 1974, p. 45). By the nineteenth century, though, the king had far greater authority on paper than he had in force. A lack of natural resources on the one hand and of national motivation on the other placed Denmark on the outer rim of wealth and power among the other nations. Walter Malthus, nineteenth century British economist, criticized the

monarch's deficient initiative:

The very great liberty of speaking and writing that all persons enjoy, is attributed rather to want of activity, and energy in the government than to great liberality of sentiment. (James, 1966, p. 57)

From the end of the eighteenth century to the middle nineteenth, dramatic and traumatic changes penetrated northward, totally reshaping the complexion of this small country. Bournonville lived through many of these events.

The Great Fire of 1795, which swept through Copenhagen, destroyed 950 buildings. The economy was not strong at that time and financing the massive repairs imposed a tremendous increase to the national debt. Only a few years later, in 1807, before economic recovery had been secured, most of these newly rebuilt structures were again levelled at the hands of the British fleet. As part of a grand scheme to control European trade, Napoleon had established the Continental System, which was a strategy in his economic war against Great Britain. Included were partisan nations and neutral states, like Denmark, which were required to exclude British merchandise. Britain did not relish the prospect of Denmark closing off the gateway to central European trade. In expectation that



Denmark would join Napoleon's blockade (the regent, later King Frederik VI, admired the clever general), the British fleet immediately bombarded Copenhagen and captured her entire fleet in full view of the city.

Devastated were Denmark's capital city, its financial stability, its shaky agrarian and trade economy, and its national pride. During the bombardment, one-half of the Danish and Danish-controlled Norwegian merchant marine had been captured or destroyed. During the same period corn prices fell drastically; inflation was rampant. These events, occurring in rapid succession, strained the already unsteady economy to its breaking point. The regent's overly hasty decision to support Napoleon created further drains on the national treasury so that the currency collapsed.

Sweden viewed the calamity as an opportunity to develop its own power base by aligning itself with England. Napoleon's ultimate defeat heaped retributions on Denmark: the Treaty of Kiel in 1814 transferred Norway, a part of Denmark for over four-hundred years, to Sweden. Denmark staggered on but finally declared bankruptcy in 1823.

By this time Frederik VI had been on the throne for a few years; his reign lasted until 1839, a total of thirty-one years. Although ineffectual in the

international arena, Frederik VI was a popular, paternalistic monarch who upheld the absolutist principle of "we alone know." He directly reflected the accepted thinking of his countrymen: smug, conservative, and excessively loyal to the concept of the crown (Blicher, 1945, p. 12).

Some reforms, though, did occur during his reign. Compulsory education for children and the granting of civil rights to Jews dates from 1814. But between 1815 and 1830, Henning Fenger (1971) reported that: "Adversity had nurtured a spiritual poverty which pervaded all classes" (p. 75).

In 1820, J.J. Dampe, a political activist, attempted to bring about a new, free constitution which would have greatly limited the power of the monarch. It is interesting to note that Dampe's organization was centered in a political club and the club system was an integral part of Copenhagen's social milieu as is reported later in this chapter. King Frederik would not tolerate the movement and the "treasonous" affair was dealt with harshly. The liberals, after this first setback, redefined their goals and developed new, more people-centered reform programs. In this manner, they grew in social acceptance thereby

gaining a broad base of support from which both social and political changes could be effected.

The ultimate weakening of absolutism began in the 1830's although not as a reflection of popular dissatisfaction with Frederik VI himself. In 1838, Christian VIII assumed the throne and a more liberal regime was anticipated. Instead, this cultural aesthete became increasingly more conservative as he attempted to increase national self-determination while restraining the liberals' demands for a new constitution.

Christian VIII's death in 1848 coupled curiously with an epidemic of revolutions across Europe. In March of that year, a civil war along the Prussian border broke out as a backwater reaction. The Danish intelligentsia seized this opportunity and non-violently forced the stately new king, Frederik VII, to relinquish his absolute rule and to establish a parliamentary system of government. It was as a result of this event that the Royal Theater was removed from its royal patronage and became a department under the minister of culture, church and education. The influence of the middle class greatly increased as the government turned its attention to the social reforms sought by the people.

According to the Constitution of 1849, the monarch was to be proclaimed by the Rigstag. The line of succession would remain intact but never again would he be allowed to wear the crown of state or even to sit upon the throne itself. Further revisions in the constitution were made in 1854 and again in 1855 with the net result that the power of the people was gradually strengthened through additional civil rights and taxation reforms.

Bournonville was certainly no political activist. But his own stepped-up efforts to augment social benefits for the company and to alter the administrative structure of the Royal Theater in the years following his own retirement as a dancer in 1848 unequivocally demonstrated his own sensitivity to the social and political turmoil of the day.

During the same time another series of events was waiting in the wings, eventually taking center stage in 1864. With each revision, the constitution had granted the southern duchies of Slesvig (German: Schleswig) and Holstein greater freedom for self-rule. The political wrangling spanned many years and is more complex than the parameters of this discussion can allow; the climax was a brief and furious civil war which resulted in another major political, social, and morale defeat for Denmark:

loss of two-fifths of her population and one-third of her land mass. It would be well past Bournonville's lifetime before the country would fully recover from this particular catastrophe.

### Life in Copenhagen

During the nineteenth century, approximately 110,000 to 140,000 persons resided in the Danish capital, a figure representing nearly one-fifth of the total population. Rudimentary city government had existed since 1659 when a council of thirty-two "literate" men was established by Frederik III. These men, in actuality, were always the king's puppets, and a more equal representative system was not inaugurated until after Frederik VI's death. Prior to 1839, it was the practice, for example, for the city gates to be locked nightly at ten o'clock and the keys presented to the king before he retired.

Visually, Copenhagen was a hodge-podge of small streets and alleys with three and four story structures built right up to the edge of the street. Except for the King's Gardens around Rosenberg Castle near the north gate of the city, greenery was almost non-existent. An unfortunate tax regulation, enacted in 1805, helped

produce the many wretched slums dotting the small city. According to the code, any apartment measuring less than two-hundred and seventy square feet would not be subject to taxation. Consequently most apartments were tiny and cramped.

For the poor, this meant pitiable living standards. Even as late as 1850, one out of every twelve residents lived in a basement (Møller, 1970, pp. 115-117). From these dank, dark, windowless holes, the only access to the outside was up a ladder. Attic rooms were little better, but at least they were not flooded by street debris with every rain. Building practices and living conditions in general make one understand both the mass exodus to the countryside during warm summers and the frequent epidemics which beset the city.

Not until 1850 did apartments begin to have running water. It was, therefore, a daily duty for children or maids to fetch water from the city's community pumps, so few in number that long waits in a queue were inevitable. Frequent breakdowns in supply due to failures in the ancient wood and lead pipes and to contamination by sewage were equally unavoidable. A corollary chore was

to strain the water through a gauze sieve before use. Even in the best of times, Copenhageners joked and complained about their "swamp water."

Lack of a fresh water system meant lack of underground sewage networks, so household water was casually dumped out of the window onto the street. Open gutters were constructed in the cobblestone streets to carry off this water. Small factories, restaurants, and grocery shops also contributed their refuse to the city streets. One can imagine the buildup of rotting wastes between rains.

Each building was required to provide latrines, but the ratio was usually only one to every ten inhabitants, the wastes being carted away periodically. Residents would bribe the latrine cleaners with beer and sandwiches to insure quick work.

Without private facilities, only public bathing houses existed. Copenhagen did not see the first home bath tub until well after 1860. It was not installed by the king but by a wealthy wholesale merchant. The monarch was the second individual to possess a bath tub in Copenhagen.

The greatest fear of any resident was not crime but fire. A fire in such crowded conditions quickly became a holocaust, so a special twelve man brigade was organized to watch over the city during the night from lofty church spires. The incidence of home fires decreased markedly with the introduction of "fireless" petroleum lamps in 1860.

Because the houses were constructed so that both desirable and undesirable apartments existed in the same structure, persons from differing classes and occupations could reside almost side by side. One such example was the geographical distribution of prostitution throughout the city. Grethe Hartmann's 1967 history of prostitution in Copenhagen indicated that no true red-light districts existed.

Prostitution was not considered a crime, per se, but was "tolerate," according to Police Chief Bræstrup in an 1852 report. One of the areas most heavily populated by "residences" was the vicinity around the Royal Theater. Also living within a two or three block radius of the theater were many of Copenhagen's most respected citizens and creative artists, among them Bournonville.



The third étage of the Royal Theater was even restricted for these women and their liaisons. So, although not openly condoned, prostitution nevertheless was an accepted part of Copenhagen life.

No implication is being made that Copenhagen had begun to melt into a classless society. On the contrary, the closer the physical proximity between the classes became, the tighter and more closely knit the invisible boundaries grew. The middle class, considered philistines by the poor, was a powerful minority (only about 6 percent of the population) which strove to retain its priority. The smallness of its number was in sharp contrast to other European nations, such as Germany and France, where the middle class constituted almost 50 percent of the population (Namier, 1944, p. 7).

To retain its individuality, the Danish middle class was imbued with structure and formality. Elias Bredsdorff (1975) wrote, "In Danish society of the early nineteenth century, it was almost impossible to break through class barriers" (p. 154). One small example was in the use of surnames, except when addressing family members or close childhood comrades. Storyteller Hans Christian Andersen never fully recovered his self-confidence after his

long-time friend and adviser, Edvard Collin, chose to retain the social distance by refusing Andersen's offer to address each other by their Christian names.

Possession of a title was a desirable distinction in this stalwart, stratified society. Andersen's friendship with Bournonville became firmly cemented when, following the great success of Bournonville's ballet Napoli in 1842, Andersen addressed the choreographer with the prestigious title of 'poet' (digter) of the dance. So close was their mutual admiration that they established a lifelong friendship on a first name relationship. Bournonville was immensely proud of his designated status of digter as well as his subsequent promotion from ballet master to royal ballet master.

One method for insuring social visibility and acceptance was to be awarded the non-inheritable Order of Dannebrog. In 1808, Frederik VI had decreed that any citizen was eligible for the award according to merit. Four classes or ranks were then established: grand commander (restricted to royalty after 1842), commander - grand cross, commander, and knight. Bournonville achieved both the level of knight and commander; he made frequent use of this title - Ridder af Dannebrog - in his correspondence.

Both Bournonville and Andersen had ascended into the inner sanctum of middle class hierarchy. Yet it was Andersen, in his well-known story, "The Ugly Duckling," who was able to illuminate the pinchingly strict conventions of this structured social order.

Now, the cat was master in the house and the hen was mistress, and they always used to say "We and the World," because they fancied that they made up almost half the world--what's more, much of the superior half of it. The duckling thought there might be two opinions about that, but the hen wouldn't hear of it  
 . . .

The cat asked: "Can you arch your back or purr or give sparks?"

"No," replied the duck.

"Well, then, your opinions aren't wanted, where sensible people are talking."  
 (Bredsdorff, 1975, p. 321)

Living conditions for this middle class were appreciably better than those of the working classes. The average apartment numbered five or six rooms and cost about one-hundred, seventy rigsdaler per year (ca. \$1,200). These dwellings usually faced the street and the front window often included a small platform so the housewife could accompany her handwork with a good view of the street life below.

Mealtimes were different from the contemporary mandate for "three squares." Breakfast consisted of

smoked herring on dark rye bread and coffee. Lunch often included open-face sandwiches of pork, cheese, or sausage washed down with schnapps and beer. Tea accompanied by bread and butter was served around six o'clock. Dinner was then eaten at nine o'clock. This evening meal was heavy and simple: grain soup, bacon, dried cod, salted herring, stew, or gruel. Salad or vegetables were not readily available and dessert was reserved for Sunday dinner. Except for Sundays, holidays, or birthdays, the daily menu was rarely altered.

For the average Copenhageners, life was not drab or repetitive; on the contrary, their lives were filled with many structured recreational and traditional activities.

#### Amusements

Visiting friends and relatives was a very popular way to spend an evening. Besides gossiping, discussing politics, or singing, the ladies might sit and knit while the gentlemen took turns reading from a recent novel, book of poetry, or one of the many political or literary magazines, like Maandskrifter or Corsaren. Two exciting events widely written about in Danish periodicals of the

1850's were the California Gold Rush and the Mormon trek across the wild plains to found Salt Lake City.

Special interest clubs formed a large part of Danish social life. Models of class consciousness, the numerous organizations had very exclusive membership rules. Small shop owners would not want to be a member of the same club as a merchant or vice versa. Not all clubs were occupational; many were political, literary, or charitable. One popular category was the dramatic society whose members enjoyed producing their own plays, much as community theater groups do today.

### Theaters

Copenhagengers were avid theater-goers. Not only was the Royal Theater, that citadel of aesthetic taste and culture, filled nightly, but the even more popular plebian theaters as well--Peltolletti's Theater, Folketeatret, the Casino, and Morskabs Teatret. A deep, artistic interrelationship existed among these theaters, as well as a healthy rivalry.

Dancers from the Royal Theater occasionally performed in divertissements at other theaters, particularly the Morskabsteatret, owned by the family of two of Bournonville's soloists: ballerina Juliette Price and

danseur Valdemar Price. In the 1830's a troupe of Tyrolean singers and dancers stunned Copenhagen with their jodels and landlers. Bournonville, too, was impressed and so based his one act ballet, The Tyroleans, on the popular Leo family. Bournonville also choreographed about nine divertissements for the Casino Theater between 1849 and 1879.

Tickets to the Royal Theater were sold not only at the box office but also throughout the city by hawkers definitely out to make a profit. Behind the gallery was the loge, a balcony sectioned off into small boxes. The only seating was on planks or stools. These bleachers the hawker could fill as full as he dared. People were literally packed in; verbal and physical warfare frequently erupted in such cramped quarters.

Another peculiar practice was that of the backstage viewing area, a balcony ringing the backstage section. Family, friends, and admirers were given free tickets to see what they could of a performance. These "patrons" occasionally disrupted a performance when their chatter distracted the attention of the performers. This seating custom was eliminated in 1874 when the new theater opened sans the backstage balcony.

As one can well imagine, performances were not the quiet, attentively witnessed affairs a contemporary audience would expect. While the heavy chandeliers were hoisted noisily toward the ceiling, the audience would not be occupied so much with the evening's program as with the rest of the audience. The house could not be dimmed entirely so throughout the performance members of the audience paid almost as much attention to each other as to the performance.

It would be nice to be able to assert that of the three divisions in the Royal Theater--opera, drama, and ballet--ballet was the most popular. Such was not the case. Dramatic productions (tragedies, comedies, and vaudevilles) were the first love of the people. Yet, that Bournonville was able to elevate the ballet beyond the status of an opera corps de ballet gave the company a unique status in the annals of nineteenth century ballet history.

During the short summers, emphasis of life was definitely towards the out-of-doors. The Royal Theater was closed (as it is today) from June to September. Since its opening in 1848, Tivoli has been the center for summertime entertainment in Copenhagen. Then as now the

accent was on music, food, drink, light entertainment, and gambling. Its own orchestra was headed by H.C. Lumbye, long time ballet composer and friend of Bournonville. Lumbye's polkas and galops were to become an integral part of Tivoli's bourgeois atmosphere (Skjerne, 1946, pp. 70-72) as was the pantomime theater with its charming, stereotyped exploits of Perrot.

Even now times have changed little for Copenhageners seeking a breath of fresh air. Except for the addition of a few landscaped parks, people today enjoy the same sights as their forefathers: a walk along Langeline, the fortifications adjacent to the sea or the grounds of Rosenberg castle, the king's former summer home. In Bournonville's time, if one's objective was to see and be seen, he strolled down Strøget and paused at a favorite pub or tea room.

Besides mid-summer eve, traditionally celebrated by all-night outings with camp fires along the coastal beaches, the event of the summer season was the annual northward outing to Klampenborg and Dyrhavsbakken.

Hampers were filled with bread, butter, whole pork roasts, cake, sausage, beer, schnapps, cheese, fruit, tea, and coffee. This was no day in the beech forests



any more than when a contemporary family ventures off to Disneyland here or Legoland in Jutland. Dyrhavsbakken was a treefilled amusement park with a variety of entertainments from carnival rides to puppet shows to wax figure displays, pubs, gambling, and roving animal acts. The day traditionally ended with the custom of stopping for a round of beer at the popular pub, Slukefter.

The less prosperous might only get as far as the small amusement park just beyond the city gates at Østerport. The more prosperous leased or owned summer homes as far north as Hillerød and Fredensborg, cities home to two additional royal residences. Here young mothers would retire with their children for the summer, leaving father to join them for the week-ends.

#### Art Versus Life

Bournonville's private life embodied the bourgeois spirit of the times. Far from being an ascetic, he enjoyed life, yet modelled it according to accepted middle class standards. He aspired to be accepted as a gentleman and adhered to the dictates of society in order to achieve that acceptance.

For him, though, art spoke on a different plane of existence. The concept upon which the Royal Theater was

based represented the epitome of gentility and the idealization of dramatic expression. "The purpose of art in general," wrote Bournonville in 1861, "and of the theater specifically . . . is to elevate the soul and strengthen the spirit."

Daily fears, frustrations, political fortunes, and the unpleasantness of urban living had no voice or raison d'etre in Bournonville's aesthetic theories in which art became a serious matter involving the highest functions of the mind. The search for beauty and the pre-eminent value of idealism were paramount.

One can glean, in Bournonville's ballets, those traditional cultural elements inherent in the social order in nineteenth century Danish life. The choreographer utilized only those traditions and customs by which the people framed their existence within the national, patriotic spirit. His works typified the middle class model of idyllic family and church and state centered life. As Erik Aschengreen (1974) emphasized:

Bournonville's ballets are built upon the idealistic, Christian foundation . . . such a belief was characteristic of . . . the clearly dualistic perception of life, with its cleavage between body and soul, almost always bound up with religious or philosophical idealism. (p. 46)

So the earthly, finite, sensual, and materialistic world represented one aspect of human existence; the spiritual, harmonious, infinite, and chaste qualities constituted the truth upon which art was founded.

Henrik Ibsen's first excursion to Copenhagen in 1852 filled the young man with heady impressions of the Royal Theater and its foremost actress, Johanne Luise Heiberg. His poetic impressions of her serve to delineate the relationship between the theater experience and life beyond its walls.

The memory of a beauty-filled  
 Festive spell,  
 The memory of a row of hours veiled in time,  
 When first I saw you glide--sublime,  
 Jewelled, with grace and truth of heart--  
 Through the wonderland of art.  
 This sight my debt in me instilled. (Marker,  
 1975, p. 130)

Notice Ibsen's choice of words--sublime, beauty-filled, festive spell, and wonderland of art. They provide seminal clues toward a conceptualization of the role of the theater in the life of the nineteenth century Copenhagener. Bournonville understood the relationship only too well, supporting the precept by representing an idealized Denmark on its stage. His ballets didactically demonstrated the higher form of artistic reality yet remained within the grasp of the ordinary theater-goer.

### CHAPTER III

#### BOURNONVILLE: THE MAN BEHIND THE BALLET

Antoine August Bournonville was born in Copenhagen on August 21, 1805. His father, who bore the same name but was known as Antoine, was then principal dancer with the Royal Theater and renowned for his "French elegance and virtuosity" (Krogh, 1948, p. 79). His mother was the Swedish actress, Louisa Sundberg. Of all the elder Bournonville's children, besides August, only his older step-sister Gustava pursued a theatrical career. She made her debut as a pianist and reciter at the Royal Theater in 1814, when young August was only nine years old. It is understandable that the middle-aged Antoine, so well-known for his brilliant technique, eagerly encouraged any signs of his young son's interest in the theater; his name would not die.

In 1811, at six, the youngster was accepted into the ballet school at the Court Theater in Copenhagen. In addition to ballet training, the elder Bournonville insisted that his son receive a strong liberal education.\*

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\* August studied foreign languages, music, singing, literature, mythology, and history.

The boy's training was quite extraordinary for a period when many performing artists had little or no humanistic education. It demonstrated Bournonville's keen interest in his son's future. The father was always to exert a considerable influence over the development of August's values and artistic ideals.

On October 2, 1813 the eight-year-old made his debut as one of the children in Vincenzo Galleotti's successful ballets, Lagertha. Galleotti, the theater's venerable director, thought so highly of August's diction that the boy was frequently assigned speaking roles. After Galleotti died at eighty-three in 1816, Antoine Bournonville assumed his position of ballet director. The very next year, when August was twelve, the boy had a leading role in Judgment of Solomon. He not only spoke lines but sang in a "colorful tenor" voice (Bournonville, C., 1905, p. 4). The youth was naturally elated with his early success; even Giacchino Rossini attempted to convince him to train for the opera. The temptation to forsake dance was strong. However, Bournonville's equally strong desire that his son follow in his path prevailed. To music, though, the boy would always turn with deep admiration, personal skill, and respect.

Years later the full-grown and mature artist conceptualized dance as the embodiment of both rhythm and movement entirely dependent upon music, the "noblest of all the fine arts" (Bournonville, A., 1979, pp. 9-10).

By 1819, the fourteen-year-old began to develop his skills as a scenarist by writing his first ballet libretto based upon a Nordic tale. It would not be his last. This kind of activity seems to have given August great amusement, since he wrote a number of them while still a teenager (Bournonville, A., Note 1).

Since the elder Bournonville, who had studied with Jean-George Noverre as a young man, had many colleagues working in Paris, he felt that his son's artistic education would not be complete without his exposure to their expertise and to the artistic variety Paris had to offer. In 1820 he arranged for the youth to receive a foreign study grant from King Frederik VI, and he himself took a leave of absence from his post as director of the ballet. Off the two went for a six month tour abroad.

Once in Paris, Bournonville introduced his son to many of his old theater friends and took him to museums, receptions and a variety of performances from opera to vaudeville. The impressions and values the wide-eyed

youth absorbed during this trip were to form a firm foundation upon which his long and fruitful career would be based.

One significant effect was the high value he later placed on the virtuosity of the male dancer during an era when the role of the male in ballet suffered a decline elsewhere in Europe. At fifteen, the young man had the privilege of studying with two of the most respected teachers in Paris, Pierre Gardel and August Vestris, and of seeing much of the ballet repertoire at the Paris Opera, still centered around outstanding male artists of the day.

Upon their return to Copenhagen, the young August was hired as a dancer at the Royal Theater under his father, still the ballet director. Antoine Bournonville had made his name as a dancer; unfortunately he was neither an effective administrator nor a clever choreographer. Since Galleotti's death in 1816, the ballet had slipped into a gradual decline. August's own rise to the rank of soloist did nothing to offset his father's growing disfavor with the theater administration and the king. By 1823, the sixty-three-year-old Bournonville was forced into retirement, and August decided that it

was time for a change of scenery. He was acutely aware that remaining in Copenhagen would only stifle both his abilities and growing ambitions. Even in his earliest letters and diaries, one can sense the high standards of excellence the youth had set for himself (Bournonville, A., 1969).

In 1824, at nineteen, Bournonville obtained a two-year leave of absence with pay in order to further his training in Paris.

Shortly after his arrival in Paris, Bournonville's budding administrative abilities and his gift for being able to outline solutions as well as problems were revealed in two manuscripts he wrote in 1824. Although written before his twentieth birthday, these papers, "Draft of Regulations for Dance Personnel at the Royal Theatre" and "Register of Ballet Personnel" outlined the major faults in the structure of the ballet at the Royal Theatre (Aschengreen, 1972, p. 34; Bournonville, Note 1). His ultimate ambition to become director was clear.

In Paris Vestris once more became his coach at the Academie Nationale de Musique et de la Danse. Not only did the young dancer use his power of observation and



analysis to record the ballet technique he was learning, but, in addition, he made detailed descriptions of the major dancers of the Paris Opera called "Revue de la Danse." In the paper, he commented upon Francois Albert's well-placed body and elegant manners (he was Bournonville's personal idol), on Antoine Coulon's aplomb, and upon Francois Simon's unfortunate physique which gave his arms and head an awkward appearance (Bournonville, A., Note 2).

On March 10, 1826 the two years of study at the Opera ended when Bournonville passed the obligatory examinations. Gardel, director of the Ballet de l'Opera de Paris, hired him immediately at the rank of double' (a demi-soloist)\* (Bournonville, Note 3; Veale, 1956, pp. 36-37, 70-73; Kragh-Jacobsen, 1972, p. 12). Because he accepted this post, Bournonville was required to withdraw from the Royal Ballet. Even though he gradually repaid the money he had been given, this action created ill feelings with the board of directors and the king (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1972, p. 12). Nevertheless, Bournonville joined the prestigious company. His ability to manipulate

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\*Kragh-Jacobsen reported date as March 16, 1926, 1955, p. 22.

events to his own purpose was evidenced on another level when he decided that his father should spend the summer of 1827 with him in Paris. August was very eager to demonstrate to his father that he was "no more the opinionated scholar" but "the son you have always wanted" (Bournonville, A., 1969, pp. 154-157).

His father had other plans. He responded that he intended to visit August's older step-sister, Gustava, and her children in Stockholm. Bournonville's letter of March 23, 1827 betrayed his fiery temper. "Why is it that I should have the bad luck that makes Gustava more important than me to merit your affectionate preference" (pp. 157-160)? The petulant young man won; his father did visit Paris that summer.

The following Christmas saw a very select troupe of dancers from the Paris Opera depart for a gala season of opera and ballet performances in London. Bournonville was among them. It was his first engagement as a guest artist, and he was ebullient in the descriptions of his performances:

Who would have believed that we youngsters,  
 unknown until then, would be received with  
 such roars of approval . . . . The bubbling  
 vivacity which animated my dancing . . . did  
 not fail to have its effects . . . !  
 (Moore, 1965, p. 14)

"Mit Elskte Føderland" - My Dearest Homeland\*

By 1828, the twenty-three-year-old Bournonville intimated in letters that he would return to Copenhagen if the situation was suitable. Since his suggestions were well-placed, an invitation to perform as a guest artist was extended; he accepted. His triumphant return to the capital in 1829 was the highlight of the fall season opening the theater on September 1 with Homage to the Graces.

Throughout his three month stay, he was singled out for his effortless technique and mimic facility. "He flies!" cried an adoring public.

Bournonville also had the opportunity to stage his first ballet, Soldier and Peasant (1829).

Concerning this production, Adam Oehlenschläger, the revered Danish author-playwright, wrote that Bournonville's mime was so natural he almost forgot that it was a ballet he was watching (Aschengreen, 1977, p. 24).

Here was the infusion of new blood the faltering Danish Ballet needed! Bournonville drove a stiff bargain. Hard pressed King Frederik VI balked: "We will not

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\*Bournonville, A., Note 4.

negotiate further.'" Nevertheless, Bournonville's judgment was shrewd. He counted upon public support, and he got it. At each performance, his appearance was greeted by such acclamation that the king was forced to reconsider (Illustreret Tidende, December 1, 1879, p. 2).

On January 1, 1830 Bournonville assumed unequivocal leadership of the ballet in the three-sided position of director/teacher, principal male soloist, and choreographer. His high salary demands (more than most government officials earned) were met.

The problems of the new position at first appeared enormous. There was no repertoire to speak of, the corps was poorly trained, and the company was plagued by disorganization. While imparting the purely classical tenets of the Vestris School, Bournonville began his choreographic career staging ballets which he had danced or had seen in Paris. Jean Aumer's La Somnambule (1829) and Pierre Gardel's Paul et Virginie (1830) are two examples from this period. Not until Faust, in 1832, did Bournonville create a full-length ballet of his own.

Although he collaborated with Adam Oehlenschläger on only one production, the battle scene in St. Olaf (1838), perhaps no other individual exerted as much influence

over the development of the merging choreographer's artistic taste and aesthetic philosophy. Oehlenschläger established the romantic school in Denmark by defining the Nordic heroic genre and by nurturing the gem of German Romanticism in Danish literature. His public support, as well as that of classical sculptor, Bertel Thorvaldsen, was very important in spreading the influence of Bournonville and his ballets. Oehlenschläger abhorred "the mindless dancer" whose only proficiency was his entrechats and pirouettes (Aschengreen, 1977, p. 22). Under his influence Bournonville came to realize that artistry meant more than mere physical perfection.

Bournonville was intrigued by his new role as a teacher. "By teaching roles to others," the young pedagogue observed, "I obtained a clearer impression of my own part and for the first time, in a manner of speaking, came face to face with my art" (Bournonville, 1979, p. 33). The company and the school were administered by a benevolent patriarch, for Bournonville attempted to mold not only the dancers' bodies but their very lives. He felt strongly that they should be literate and cultured.

During his first year with the ballet, Bournonville published his first book delineating the nature of dance,

Nytarsgave for Danse-Yndere.\* It established his credentials and defined goals for his dancers: "That which is beautiful is good" (Bournonville, A., 1829, p. 29).

For many of his students, such as Georg Brodersen, Christian Johannsson, the Price family, and Ferdinand Hoppe, the relationship grew with passing years from "beloved master" to "dearest friend." The diaries of both Antoine and August attest to the many times these and other students shared not only meals with the family but also holidays and birthdays (Bournonville, Antoine, Note 5; Bournonville, A., Note 6).

In return, Bournonville demanded total allegiance. For some, this was difficult to give. One example was Lucile Grahn, first famous for her role as the tragic Sylph in Bournonville's version of Taglioni's La Sylphide (1836) and later as one of the immortal Pas de Quatre. She left Denmark in 1838 angry with Bournonville; their bitterness was never assuaged.

#### Family Life

Bournonville's own large family was one of the foci of his life. Helene Håkansson, whom August married in

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\*Title continues with eller Anskuelse af Dansen som skjøn Kunst og behagelig Tids fordriv.

June, 1830, was content with a "backseat" role; little is known of her. She supported dutifully whatever arrangements her husband made for himself or the family. Among the six children, their only son, Edmond, became a physician. Therese, Vilhelmine, and an adopted daughter, Mathilde, all married and led quiet lives. Augusta, the eldest, was the only one to study ballet. In 1843, at eleven, Augusta created the role of King Erik in her father's Erik Menved's Youth (1843).

Shortly after her confirmation at sixteen, Louise Antoinette Augusta was sent off to Paris accompanied by Aunt Eva (Helene's sister). Her father wrote her a special book of advice, Til min Elskede Datter Augusta, Souvenir de ton Pere. Unfortunately for the Bournonville tradition, she turned her attention from dance to music, and then, with her marriage to Peder Tuxen, in 1852, gave up the theater altogether.\*

Charlotte completed the family picture. It was with Charlotte that Bournonville seems to have had the strongest relationship. She later became a noted contralto with the Royal Theatre and actively enshrined

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\*For an interesting discussion of Souvenir and Augusta's trip to Paris, see Flemming Hjørth's two part article in Dance, May and June, 1967.

her father's image in her own writings. (Refer to Erindringer, 1903 and August Bournonville: Spredte Minder, 1905.)

Like his choreography, Bournonville's home life maintained a balance between seriousness of work and the gaiety of play. In her reminiscences, Spredte Minder, Charlotte recalled one Easter morning when one her father's pious friends called unexpectedly and was shocked to find the whole family cavorting around the house in some sort of charade. Once her father convinced him that genuine familial displays of affection are proofs of Christian love, the ice broke, and the old friend enjoyed his day among the merry "heretics" (pp. 78-80).

The children enjoyed play acting sessions. Included in the manuscript collection at the Royal Library are a few little scripts Bournonville had devised for his children as entertainments for family celebrations (Bournonville, A., Note 1).

Very little is known about this family, for Bournonville lived at a time when such matters were thought to carry little impact on the professional contributions of an individual. Since his letters and diaries make frequent, endearing references to various family



members, one can surmise that this facet of Bournonville's life was warm and satisfying.

#### A Touch of Scandal

In 1839, when Lucile Grahn made her abrupt exit from the company, Augusta Nielsen was elevated to the position of ballerina and assumed many of Grahn's roles. Her growing popular success appears to have soured her relationship with Bournonville. A full scandal erupted in 1842 (Neiiendom, R., 1963).

The premier of The Toreador had been postponed until November 27, 1840. Augusta's fans suspected that the postponement was an expression of Bournonville's flagrant disregard of her. Count von der Schulenburg, an admirer of Lucile Grahn, now had the fuel to ignite a conspiracy against the powerful ballet director. The Sunday, March 14, 1841 performance was selected for the confrontation; King Christian VIII would be attending. The Toreador had been specifically requested by the King. Although forewarned that Schulenburg was planning something, Bournonville was not prepared for the onslaught of hisses and whistles which greeted his triumphant grand entrance as the toreador. The fiery artist was livid! He ran directly over to the royal box on stage right and asked

the king's pleasure. The performance was allowed to proceed but immediately afterward, the balletmaster was placed under house arrest until nine days later when he left the country for six months, expelled without pay. To overreact as he had done was unthinkable; to have dared to confront the king in such a manner was unpardonable.

Yet the subsequent grand tour of Italy and Spain bore him much choreographic fruit. Naples (better known by the Danish, Napoli - March 29, 1842) was an instant success. The action depicted on stage actually paralleled what Bournonville had witnessed. "From my window, I could, in one hour, gather more groupings than I could use in twelve ballets" (Bournonville, 1979, p. 90). A foremost critic of the time and later director of the Royal Theatre, Johan Ludvig Heiberg, gave this ballet his approval:

In other theaters one can see more magnificent ballet--more amazing scenery, more imposing productions--but nowhere else will one see these arrangements employed with such taste and proportion as in Mr. Bournonville's choreography. (Aschengreen, 1977, p. 34)

Bournonville and Danish Romanticism

Bournonville gratefully acknowledged both Bertel Thorvaldsen and Adam Oehlenschläger as his spiritual fathers. The focus for his principles and aesthetic values was entirely Nordic, as was theirs. Bournonville viewed himself as a member of the Danish intelligentsia and indeed was accepted as such. The Royal Theatre was considered the center of Copenhagen's intellectual community with many authors, musicians, and artists regularly attending its performances. Through his ballets, Bournonville conversed with them on an artistic plane. On his own sense of national presence, Bournonville observed:

There may be something French in the trimmings, but the foundation is completely Danish . . . . in my productions I have often allowed my fantasy to run in Nature's mystic circles and to intertwine in the action, partly as a dream and partly as reality personified. (Aschengreen, 1977, p. 28; Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 29)

Years later, Danish historian Robert Neiiendam (1921) succinctly summarized Bournonville's creative contributions to Denmark's "Golden Age."

His ballets prized the idyllic, innocent gaiety, the implied expression of eroticism, the delight in Nature's beauty, patriotism, and deep feeling for the Fatherland. (1, pp. 112-113)

Bournonville's genius could be seen in the lifelike groupings in such ballets as Napoli and in the impish dwarf banquets in A Folk Tale. He was able to translate popular ideas onto the stage as when B.S. Ingemann's romantic view of Nordic history inspired Valdemar (1835) or the visualization of playwright Bjørnstjeren Bjørnson's picture of Nordic folklife became The Mountain Hut (1859). Zulma (1852) was created during the period of fascination with the glass and steel Crystal Palace at the London World's Fair of 1851. Inspiration from Thorvaldsen's dramatic return to Denmark from Italy in 1838 gave Bournonville the idea for Festival in Albano (1839). The fantasy of Galathea's voyage around the world brought about Far From Denmark (1860). And his last ballet, From Siberia to Moscow (1876), was based upon his own trip to Russia in 1874.

Achieving such remarkable productions was no simple task. As collaborators, Bournonville utilized both accompanists from the theater and acknowledged composers of the day. (Refer to Chapter Five, Bournonville and His Composers.) One of his first collaborators was J.F. Frølich; the results were Valdemar and Festival in Albano. Along with Holger Paulli, Edvard Helsted, Niels W. Gade, and others, Frølich was numbered among Bournonville's

personal friends. But the choreographer's drive often strained these friendships. "'Bournonville, I love you as a man,'" exclaimed the frustrated composer during one such session, "'but I hate you as a balletmaster'" (Neiiendom, R., 1921, 1, pp. 112-113).

Of primary interest to Bournonville was that his ballet was able to take its place among the meaningful arts. In Denmark, the balletmaster met with unprecedented success. The dance was taken more seriously than anywhere else in Europe. Through his stringent discipline, not only was his position elevated but that of his art and of his dancers as well.

#### A Time for Change

The 1840's marked a period of upheaval in Bournonville's life. He was thirty-eight when on November 1, 1843 the first painful experience of loss occurred; his eighty-two year old father, Antoine, died. It is said that when Bournonville received news that his father was dying, he left Copenhagen immediately after the dress rehearsal for Erik Menved's Youth and rode the thirty miles north to Fredensborg, in order to be with his revered father. (His parents were living as free-lodgers on the estate of the king.) Through the years

father and son relationship had remained close. The elder Bournonville had continued to give class at the Royal Theater and to assist occasionally at his son's rehearsals. Although certainly expected, the death was felt deeply by the man who had striven so hard to fulfill his father's expectations.

How does one continue to strive forward when numerous milestones had been passed? The forties, in many people's lives, are frequently a time for assessment and re-evaluation. Bournonville was no different. He began to worry about growing creatively stale, thereby encouraging pity where once he had received admiration. When he said "Here I have no competition, save from my own works; and what comparison could be more bitter" (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 59)? His thoughts included his most recent failures--Erik Menved's Youth (1843), Kirsten Piil (1845), and Raphael (1845)--as well as the many successes that he had had.

Change was part of the atmosphere which pervaded Europe in the 1840's. A number of revolutions occurred in 1848. The Danish version was a bloodless dissolution of absolute monarchy, establishing a free constitution in 1849. Bournonville's theater was no longer under royal patronage but became, instead, a governmental agency.

Not entirely unrelated to the political unrest was Bournonville's decision to turn the directorship of the ballet school over to one of his assistants, Georg Brodersen, in 1847 (Neiiendom, R., 1922, p. 111). Bournonville was deeply aware of the political and social turmoil around him. As a result he actively altered his own conditions, thus freeing his life from undersirable responsibilities and allowing him to seek new horizons. As his own sense of social commitment increased, so would his activism in these areas during the forthcoming years.

Bournonville also chose to retire as a dancer and gave a series of farewell performances with the final benefit performance in Valdemar on March 31, 1848. Critic Meier Goldschmidt reviewed this final appearance in his respected periodical, Nord og Syd. Of the forty-two year-old artist, Goldschmidt wrote:

It was a real feast for the mind to see Bournonville dance. It was not only the lightness, elasticity, or grace in his movements, but it was the energy, soul and passion . . . it was like reading one of the old classics--such a perfect marriage between the content and form of music and dance. With indescribable, yet chronometer-like precision, could his body whirl and bend in wild, fiery passion and then on the last note, on the last beat, stop as though he had turned into a marble statue. First came a pregnant pause, and then in a flood the applause turned the theater into an ocean of thundering sound. (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1953, p. 261)

Goldschmidt's praise fell on deaf ears. Since his father's death in 1843, Bournonville had had to live with two major failures at the Royal Theater: Erik Menved's Youth and Raphael. Bournonville was convinced that he had lost his audience.

As a climax to his personal disappointments came the threatened closure of the Royal Theater itself. The intelligentsia was such an extreme minority in Denmark--only about 6 percent of the population--that politicians, newly armed with expanded constitutional authority, took aim on the first easy target. Critics of the theater called it a trivial waste of money. The artists were understandably panic-stricken.

In obvious low spirits, Bournonville published a half-hearted defense of his eighteen-year tenure:

I have performed in a variety of genres, the most difficult, if not the most rewarding, roles in dancing and mime . . . . I have, up until now, defended my post as First Solo-dancer. I have earned for the ballet a proper place in the Kingdom of Art and I have made it an ornament for the very stage upon which I once saw it despised and neglected. (Bournonville, A., 1979, pp. 33-34)

The theater did not succumb. Instead, appointed as its director was Johan Ludvig Heiberg, probably the most important critic and playwright of the time. Buoyed by the optimistic turn of events, for Heiberg was considered



an artistic ally if not a friend, Bournonville renegotiated his contract with the Royal Theater with a new title of Court Ballet Master to June, 1855.

His new contract signed, Bournonville took the opportunity to voice his complaints, present his own views on the "state of the ballet," and give the new director some public advice in a short treatise entitled, Det kongelige danske Theater, som det er, published in 1849.

The provincial narrow-mindedness of Danish audiences was particularly irritating to the ballet master. In his eyes, these cliques were enemies of the ballet who were eager to sneer at the dancers' every move and then dig into the first cheap novel or gossip magazine searching for "new" evidence to support their prejudices that male dancers were simpletons and female dancers were courtesans.

Bournonville (1891) had his own labels:

Tragedy is for the nobility, opera is for the clerics, comedy is for the bourgeois, and ballet is for the plebians. The nobility represents the establishment. Clerics are the thinkers and the bourgeois earns the most money. But, of course, it is the people who do the most work. They are used and oppressed while being the first to be called when vigorous action is needed. Then, when it is time for the reward, they are shoved into the background. (p. 25)

For Bournonville, the theater was a microcosm of life. The ballet dancers represented lowly peasants who were clamoring for a chance. If they were to be successful, Bournonville had to use his influence to elevate the ballet in the theater ~~heirarchy~~.

This period of unrest was to have a permanent effect upon Bournonville's future choreographic works and upon his view of the world. During the remainder of his career, Bournonville was a defender of new ideas--the modern, naturalistic form of theater introduced by Henrik Ibsen, and social reform--support for the building of a hospital for war wounded. One accomplishment for which Bournonville is best remembered was the establishment of an unprecedented, self-perpetuating pension fund for the dancers.

Not only was this last endeavor a primary example of Bournonville's social awareness, but it is prima facie evidence that Bournonville possessed the rare gift of being able to develop and then execute dynamic yet workable solutions to given problems. It was this skill which brought him success time and time again throughout his life.

Equally without antecedent in European ballet circles was Bournonville's acceptance as a member of Danish society.

Regardless of his public complaints to the contrary, he was an important member of Copenhagen's artistic and literary circles. Through his work as director of many plays and operas, and indirectly through the number of actors and actresses who began their careers as ballet students, Bournonville's overall influence in the Royal Theatre was second only to the theater's director. Bournonville did not remain unrecognized. He received two of Denmark's highest honors (Order of the Dannebrog and the Cross of Merit) along with similar honors from Sweden.

In 1848, during the summer after he had retired as a dancer, Bournonville's health broke and he suffered a bout of typhoid which left him 'skin and bones.' After recovery, he felt it his duty to enlist in the Army since Denmark was preparing for war. Like the other members of the Royal Theatre, Bournonville was assigned to the largely honorary Life Guards corps, whose duty it was to be on watch for an invasion of Copenhagen.

When it was her father's turn to stand guard, Charlotte recalled, the entire family went to observe him perform his duties. Such was his fame that this event created a sizeable crowd, among whom were Prince Ferdinand and Princess Caroline.

The summer of 1853 saw Copenhagen in the throes of another epidemic, cholera. Bournonville returned from a trip to Sweden in time to assist the sick and dying and to convert his apartment into a veritable hospital. Only at his mother's insistence did the family withdraw to a rented villa in Fredensborg. She asserted that the epidemic would bypass Fredensborg as it had during the plague of 1711. She was correct, and Bournonville was able to spend a productive summer there preparing the librettos for both A Folk Tale and Abdallah (1855).

He fell in love with the small town and purchased a villa there to which he referred as his "'earthly Paradise'" (Bournonville, C., 1905, p. 163). The home became his permanent residence, and he lived there almost entirely during the last fifteen years of his life.

Shortly after the premier of A Folk Tale, Bournonville was engaged by the Royal Opera Theater in Vienna to stage The Toreador. (Refer to Chapter Seven, p. 206 for further mention of this trip.) Mixing business with a summer holiday, Bournonville, accompanied by his wife, Helene, and his daughter, Charlotte, also visited Dresden seeing the customary sights and enjoying a number of theatrical performances. During all of Bournonville's

numerous trips abroad, he kept a detailed account of the operas, ballets, and plays he had seen (Bournonville, A., Note 1). That his summer in Vienna proved successful was demonstrated by his subsequent appointment as director of the Viennese ballet for the 1855-1856 season, his contract with the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen having expired. He returned to Vienna with most of his family and his newest protege, Juliette Price.

Unfortunately his philosophic ideals were neither understood by the Viennese corps de ballet, who were ill-prepared to project the complete mimic characterizations his works demanded, nor were they accepted by the public and the critics, who were accustomed to greater sensuality in their ballet. "Here, as in Paris and nearly everywhere else," complained Bournonville, "art must take a back seat to the 'imposing' ballerinas" (Aschengreen, 1977, p. 40).

A disappointed Bournonville returned to Copenhagen, his hopes of developing an international reputation dashed. This excursion, though, did leave the ballet-master with a deeper appreciation of his unique position and accomplishments as part of the Royal Theater in Copenhagen. Grudgingly he admitted that "on the high-salaried Continent I could find just as much

unpleasantness as I could here at home" (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 28). A new contract was signed in which Bournonville was designated a director for opera and singspiel in addition to being the ballet director and Court Ballet Master.

It was not long, though, before Bournonville was ready to stretch his vast abilities in another new direction.

#### Three Years in Sweden

In 1860, Bournonville accepted the position of Intendent with the Swedish Royal Theater in Stockholm and remained there through the 1864 season. Although he had visited the Swedish capital occasionally as a dancer and to stage his works (his first appearance was in 1839), Bournonville was not associated with the ballet in this assignment as managing director-producer. His duties brought him an extraordinary amount of authority over the whole theater. Supervision over all the departments provided Bournonville with an opportunity to work directly with many varied productions, making important personnel and technical decisions from the ground up. His administrative power was so far reaching that only the conductor/music director ranked between him and the director of the theater.

The ballet, not as popular in Sweden as in Denmark, was maintained primarily as decoration; it was not serious enough for the more austere Swedes. Had Bournonville taken a position solely with the ballet, his authority would have been considerably less than that he previously enjoyed in Copenhagen.

Earlier, in 1858, in an article purportedly written by Bournonville, the director of a drama was compared to the conductor of an orchestra to whom each musician should focus his attention for direction (p. 1). Frederick Marker (1971) has observed that beginning around this point in time the Regieprotokoller of the Danish Royal Theatre reveal the first instances of detailed blocking plans for the misé en scene of the larger operas (p. 201). This function would have been carried out by Bournonville. Even earlier, in 1849, Bournonville had stated:

If a painter is a master with his easel and the virtuoso is a master with his instrument, what shall a theater present without mastering harmony in thought, tone, and form?  
(p. 41)

Over the years Bournonville had synthesized his concepts of theater (under the guidance of his friend Frederick Høedt who campaigned for these same advances in the theater) while working day-to-day with dancers,

actors, and singers (whose roles often overlapped) into a thesis: that serious rehearsals and dress rehearsals should be held under the leadership of the director who would orchestrate the entire scene in a pictorial sense. This constituted an important innovation in the theater. Directing and producing more than fifty lyric productions while in Stockholm afforded an excellent environment to redefine this essential premise.

Among the innovations instituted were more stage rehearsals and a full company dress rehearsal for each production. The autonomy of the director as the orchestrator of the stage action was strengthened, much to the displeasure of many Swedish actors and actresses.

While in Stockholm, Bournonville did not lose touch with his "children" in Copenhagen. The company was led by a loyal student, Ludvig Gade, who had been appointed director of the ballet. (See Appendix A, Biographical Information.) Reading correspondence between Bournonville and Gade, one is able to ascertain that many artistic, program, and personnel decisions continued to be made by the master. Gade continued through extensive correspondence, up to the year of Bournonville's death, to act as his official liaison and assistant with the ballet and the theater (Bournonville, A., Note 4).



The 1860's found Bournonville more settled with himself and his position. For him, ballet had evolved in concept from a balance between separate entities of mime and dance into a theatrical event in which these elements became more fully integrated. Unfortunately, two of his finest works from this period, The Valkyria (1861) and The Legend of Thrym (1868), have been out of production so long that they are lost to modern audiences.

The primary example of this period in Bournonville's creative development still available to the modern audience is The Voluntary Life Guards on Amager (1871). In a sense this one act ballet was almost a mimed vaudeville with the formal dances flowing directly into and out of the continuity of the action. Deborah Jowitt was fascinated with the "depth of the stage picture" and the controlled individuality of each detail (1976, pp. 10-11). Regarding this ability to intertwine form with function, an early 20th century British author, Reginald St. Johnston (1906), wrote that Bournonville's ballets "disclosed a new field in the management of the ballet, namely the extent to which perfection in the staging and dressing of it might be carried out" (p. 165).

### The Social Reformer

To many in Denmark, Bournonville is remembered best for his social awareness and for the benefits he fought to achieve for his dancers. Adroitly manipulating his own powerful position, Bournonville established an educational system for the ballet children which emphasized literacy and a broad-based understanding of fine arts and foreign languages.

His most important accomplishment was the single-handed establishment of the Royal Ballet Private Pension Fund in 1869. It was unprecedented for the Folketing to allow such a fund to be inaugurated, but Bournonville was adamant. He felt that it was a crime for dedicated dancers, who had sacrificed the best years of their lives to the most exhausting of the arts, to be allowed to live to old age in extreme deprivation.

Subsidized entirely through an annual benefit performance and public donations, this endeavor prompted the influential theater critic, Edvard Brandes (1880), to remark after Bournonville's death that "Denmark is the only country in the world where a ballet dancer is not synonymous with a courtesan, and where a dancer is able

to have a decent family life" (p. 240). Heading the list of contributors was the Queen herself, and included were many of Copenhagen's most influential citizens.

The New Edifice--a "Temple to the Muses"\*

Almost twenty years passed between the first discussions on the need for a new theater and its final opening on October 16, 1874.\*\* Those instrumental in having it erected included primarily those most aware of technical advances already in use abroad: popular storyteller Hans Christian Andersen, respected actress Johanne Luise Heiberg, and distinguished actor/director Frederick Høedt. Because Bournonville's own active role insured a favorable position for the ballet in the new structure, detractors whispered that the theater would be good only for opera and ballet.

The new, modern building, equipped with a larger stage, greater capabilities for special effects, and seating about 1500, opened with a gala program "steeped in the established Danish romantics" (Fædrelandet, October 16, 1874, p. 2). J.P.E. Hartmann's prologue humn

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\*Aftenposten (October 7, 1874) referred to the theater as a "magnificent temple for our national dramatic arts."

\*\*Today this theater, located on Kongens Nytorv, is known as gamle scenen, the old stage.

dedicated the theater to the people: "'We greet the house, which the nation and its people built'" (p. 2). Greek Classical symbolism was always central to Bournonville's artistic philosophy. Appropriately his contribution was a tableau in which each of the branches of the theater--opera, ballet, and drama--paid homage to the Greek gods.

The king honored many people that evening; Bournonville was not among them. Indicative, perhaps, of his diminishing influence, Bournonville's sole reward was to have his portrait hung with those of Galeotti, former ballet-master, and Anna Margrethe Schall, former danseuse, in the ballet foyer.

The first ballet to be performed in the new theater was to have been a completely restaged version of A Folk Tale. But the sets were not completed in time so The Toreador was a hasty replacement on October 22, 1874.

#### One Last Adventure

While final negotiations were being made for the smooth transition from the old theater to the new, the every youthful balletmaster was making other preparations. One of his early favorites, Christian Johannsson, who was now one of the first teachers in Marius Petipa's ballet at the Maryinsky Theater in St. Petersburg, had

been trying for years to persuade his beloved teacher to visit him. After he received the coveted Anckerske poets' grant, he studied the Russian language, and then the sixty-nine year old Bournonville began a five week trip to St. Petersburg and Moscow in late Spring, 1874. (See also: August Bournonville, "Et kort Besøg i Rusland," Illustreret Tidende, in three parts beginning February 14, 1875. The series of articles was incorporated into Mit Teaterliv, vol. 3, (1877), pp. 99-133.)

Bournonville was warmly received in St. Petersburg; "Petipa greeted him with deep respect and brotherly affection" at a luncheon prepared in his honor (Krogh, 1953, p. 326). Yet, after seeing Esmerelda, Don Quixote, and The Pharoah's Daughter, the old master could not avoid comparing unfavorably what the Russians idolized (he had observed how demonstrative Russian audiences were without the aid of a paid claque) with the ballet Bournonville idealized.

Intellectually he could appreciate the immensity of the company (over one hundred as compared to his forty-five dancers), the dancers' dazzling technique, the sumptuous productions, the highly developed dramatic line, and the methodically logical plot structures,

Yet, artistically these elements were meaningless to Bournonville if the unities of truth, beauty, and grace were ignored. Still he was able to accept the fact that this kind of ballet was what the Russian people obviously enjoyed.

What the choreographer found most exciting were the Russian and Polish national dances for men. These he transferred as realistically as possible into his last ballet, From Siberia to Moscow (1876).

Although Bournonville had been the director who encouraged the naturalist Norwegian playwright, Henrik Ibsen, and had been the first to produce three of Richard Wagner's operas in Copenhagen\* the era which Bournonville represented was slipping away. The Brandes brothers, Georg and Edvard, were the spokesmen for naturalism, a new era diametrically opposed to many of the precepts Bournonville held dear. The many battles he had with the current director, M.E. Fallesen, had undermined the ballet master's influence. Many of the virtuoso dancers he had nurtured were themselves now ready to leave the Ballet too. He decided to retire.

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\*Lohengrin (1870), Mestersangerne i Nürnberg (1872), and Tannhäuser (1875).

A Time to Leave

Retirement was unthinkable, protested his friends. "The Bournonville name," commented his frequent adversary, Theater-chief Falleson, "is so knitted to the ballet, that I cannot see how they can ever be separated from each other" (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1953, p. 328).

But leave he did on June 30, 1877. Retiring at the same time was Georg Brodersen, who had directed the ballet school for Bournonville since 1847. To replace them were Ludvig Gade as ballet director (not with the title of Court Ballet Master or even ballet master) and Daniel Krum as teacher for the students.

It was only after Bournonville's death that his daughter, Charlotte, discovered an entry in her father's diary, dated January 1, 1879, in which he expressed concern for his heart. He had been experiencing chest pains for quite a while which his physician son, Edmond, had diagnosed as mild heart attacks. Edmond was sworn to secrecy; no one was to know. Ever the proud Frenchman, Bournonville enjoyed boasting that he "was young enough to work, but too old to suffer disappointments" (Bournonville, C., 1905, p. 45).

In a sense, Bournonville never did retire. As his theater responsibilities diminished he added writing projects: various articles published posthumously as Efterladte Skrifter and completion of his memoirs, Mit Teaterliv. Carl Andersen (1879) remarked, following Bournonville's death, that the ballet master was so youthful in appearance, thoughts, and deeds that it had been easy to forget how old he was (p. 11). Only weeks before his death, Bournonville had created and staged a special tableau as part of a gala honoring the 100th anniversary of the birth of his mentor, Adam Oehlenschläger, at the Folketeatret, November 14, 1879.

The evening of November 27, saw Bournonville at the Royal Theater attending the 150th performance of Valdemar. Surrounding this event was the last struggle Bournonville was to have with the theater administration. It had been proposed that the choreographer be awarded an honorarium, as he had been given for the 150th performance of Napoli. But the minister of culture balked at the idea, noting that the decision should be made by the Folketing. In order to avoid bringing such an issue before the legislature, many of whose members opposed the national theater altogether, Bournonville asked that the request be withdrawn.



The situation was embarrassing, especially to the dancers who looked upon the aging master with affection. At a reception in the ballet foyer following the performance, Ludvig Gade emotionally paid homage to the man responsible for making their profession a truly national art. In turn, Bournonville toasted his "children" wishing them to "'remember your old master and never forsake the tradition'" (Bournonville, C., 1905, p. 172).

Two evenings later Bournonville went again to the Royal Theater, this time to witness the awaited debut of the ballet's newest star, Hans Beck. (See Appendix A) The young artist performed one of Bournonville's own solo divertissements, "Polka Militaire." (In 1843 Bournonville had performed this at his father's deathbed.)

The next day was Sunday, November 30, and as usual, when Archdeacon Just Paulli gave the sermon, Bournonville was in his place at Frue Kirke. Afterward, he rode a street car toward home and shortly after getting off, collapsed. Emergency aid came quickly, but the ballet master died before arriving at the hospital.

Shortly after his death, Edvard Brandes wrote:

He strove all his life not to be considered a dancer, in the sense of a mannequin with an empty heart and a pair of beautiful legs, as the public generally accused men of being who occupied themselves with such an unmasculine

pursuit as the dance. Bournonville would not be branded a sissy, with a half-castrated art; he considered himself first, and foremost, a man. (Aschengreen, 1977, pp. 46-47)

Bournonville had not accepted the role society had defined. He recognized its injustice and strove to change the condition and the image of dance and the dancer. How marvelous it is that he succeeded with his vision of dance as an art in which there are no boundaries. Only the great, the good, and the beautiful could inflame him to action, reminisced Carl Andersen.

Many years before, in 1841, when Bournonville had leapt off the shield during a performance of The Toreador and had stormed to the edge of the stage asking King Christian VII "What shall I do?" The King had replied, "Blive ved!" (Brandes, 1880, pp. 237-238), literally "persevere."

And he did . . . !

## CHAPTER IV

### AESTHETICS AND HISTORY OF MUSIC IN DENMARK

From Bournonville's own life, the focus of discussion is turned to an examination of Danish musical aesthetics and a brief review of the development of music.

Any revolution of ideologies, in music as well as in politics, must carry with it recognizable elements of the past in order to maintain a continuity with the disparate factions co-existing within that revolution. The Napoleonic age created just such a climate of upheaval and passionate response so that the air had to settle back toward a continuum of "centeredness." Both polarities--organization and disorganization--always exist simultaneously; it is the balance that changes. What was known as the Romantic Era of the nineteenth century is better understood as a state of fluidity in which that subtle balance between passion and reason differed from one European nation to the next.

In Denmark Romanticism emerged slowly and surely. It did not explode onto the artistic centers as was the case in Germany and France. August Bournonville's (1979) views on music accurately reflected the romantic

tendencies of the Danish state of mind:

Music is, in reality, like a flower, which uses its grace, its magnificence of color, and above all its fragrance to forge its way through the senses to the innermost soul. (p. 672)

The flower was summoned to symbolize music, giving the description of music a decidedly erotic flair. Abruptly that Romantic tendency was converted from its flight of romantic freedom toward the elevation of man's spirit and soul. Every facet of man's experience was required to participate in the quest for salvation. Contrast Bournonville's idealized educative role for music with that of Heinrich Heine, who wrote this as part of his Letters on the French Stage (1837):

Music is a strange thing. I would almost say it is a miracle. It stands half-way between thought and phenomenon, always spirit and matter, a sort of nebulous mediator. (Barzun, 1977, p. 126)

Heine is not quite sure in what role music will be evidenced, Bournonville is. Both men, however, would accept the statement that "music is the art of producing emotion, by means of combinations of sound, upon men both intelligent and gifted with special and cultivated senses" (Klaus, 1970, p. 212). How is it possible to justify Heine's emotional versus Bournonville's more spiritual opinion?

A sense of ethical continuity as a kind of personal realism covered the philosophical foundations of Danish thinking like a soft down quilt. Strong moral tones permeated the creative energy of all Danish artists during the nineteenth century. In France, as well as in Germany, political conflagrations prevented such an outlook from establishing that kind of relevant base. Music, as well as art, released these people, like Heine, from matter but with a helplessness and purposelessness not found in Denmark.

A study of music in Denmark discloses a significant dimension to Bournonville as an artist of tremendous influence. The close working relationship among the performing artists in Copenhagen was due in great part to Bournonville's active nurturing role (Horton, 1963, p. 124). His function as protagonist can be viewed as an extension of those elements and ideals already present in the Danish social and cultural institutions: input from the Germanic forms, an imaginative adoration for Italy and an affinity for republican France (Einstein, 1947, p. 317). These were important factors in the shaping of the nineteenth century Copenhagen's sense of culture. Danish artists traveled and studied on state supported trips abroad, returning home to interpret their

impressions to their compatriots, fully acknowledging the limitations of their collective interests. Aschengreen (1974) labled this viewpoint as biedermeier (pp. 33-34).

The primary themes in nineteenth century Danish music, as identified by Søren Sørensen (1966), were national pride, lyricism and a delight in natural beauty (p. 223). These influences were to evolve in a careful, orderly sequence over a forty year period. At the beginning of the century Denmark "had no meaningful musical history" (Brix, 1971, p. 9). The German classicism of Haydn and Mozart, as practiced by emigres, completely dominated Danish musical life (p. 291). Only in the dramas and comedies of Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) - the "Moliere of the North" - had there been any attempt to awaken a slumbering national consciousness (Yoell, 1974, p. 13). But those days were both short-lived and long-gone.

Hyggelig, a cozy sense of camaraderie, was an important concept in the life of every Dane. Drinking songs and liturgical hymns were not the odd bedfellows they appear to be at first glance. Georg Brandes (1886) noted that singing in groups instilled the participants with a sense of "universal humanity" which validated their "spiritual condition" (p. 77). The Lutheran

service placed greater significance on the text than on the mysticism of ceremony found in the Roman Catholic liturgy. The singing of simple congregational hymns was employed as a "vehicle to amplify the text" (Donakowski, 1977, p. 81). The very act of unison singing, although of the lowest order of emotion, grew to be symbolic for human equality and fellowship (p. 104).

By the late eighteenth century, secular clubs were being organized to establish a better base for musical culture in Copenhagen. The grand era for the support of music on an amateur level began with the Drejer's Klub, organized in 1778. Many other clubs were created thereafter each presenting weekly or bi-monthly concerts. By 1800, almost 300 public concerts were being performed annually, giving Copenhagen a lively cultural life (Schiørring, 1978, pp. 60-62).

Economic collapse in Denmark, coupled with ever growing virtuosic technical possibilities, fractured those clubs, which had been organized solely to develop musical values. With the demise of the clubs by 1820 and the rise of professional musicians, music became relegated to the role of public amusement and of home entertainment (Hovde, 1948, pp. 505-506).

To study music was a formidable status symbol; not being able to play the pianoforte was unthinkable to the middle and upper classes. Pauline Worm, an early Danish feminist, complained that one could hear whole apartment buildings vibrate with the sounds of clanging pianos (pp. 508-509). The immense interest in music made the middle class grow to become a major artistic force in Copenhagen. This group, better than anyone else, recognized music as an aesthetic force through which their class and nationalistic aims could be achieved. Artists were encouraged to explore but only within these middle class realms (Riedel, 1969, pp. 5, 49). The composers themselves were perfectly content to create within these limitations.

The middle and upper classes turned to the theater for their culture; "the Royal Theater was the center of cultural debate" (Schjørring, 1978, p. 266). Danish audiences did not support the deeper compositional forms, such as the symphony or the piano cycle, so it is no surprise that their appreciation was given to the dance forms. The virtual king of this Straussian style was H.C. Lumbye (1810-1874), a Bournonville discovery. Beginning with Napoli (1842), the choreographer turned repeatedly to Lumbye's bright, rhythmical gallops and



and polkas to bring his ballets to a rousing conclusion. Lumbye's music perfectly suited the long mid-summer evenings at Tivoli; his name became as much a national institution as the park itself, and his music "liltingly paints an authentic picture of nineteenth century Danish sentiment" (Yoell, 1974, p. 20).

The formidable success experienced by Lumbye's fifty man orchestra was so immediate that by 1845 the word "polkomania" had been coined (Skjerne, 1946, p. 130). This is not to imply, however, that the technical caliber was anything but of the highest order. In 1850, Niels W. Gade, the noted composer, reorganized the Musikforeningen, a concert society which was the orchestra. It was Lumbye's orchestra which he enlisted to form the foundation of the newly formed orchestra.

Along with the Musikforeningen, the Royal Theater carried considerable weight in the music community through commissions. As part of the theater's triumvirate structure, which relied solely upon original music, the ballet became a strong influence on the lives of developing composers. Having begun in the seventeenth century merely as a court diversion, the ballet had grown, under the leadership of Vincenzo Galeotti (1733-1816), into "a distinct art form capable of influencing

the course of music" (Erslev, 1920, p. 221). Its deeply-rooted foundations were based upon poetry and beauty.

To Galeotti, a follower of Jean-Georges Noverre, music and dance shared divine origins. While the one was an "art for the ears," the other was an art for the eyes.

Music is a voice, a language, and lecture, although on a diminished scale, from the ancient times. In those times, music was a universal idea which flowed through all of art and philosophy. (Zahle, 1854, pp. 57-58)

That "great forms need great ideas, and great ideas need great forms" was a precept supported both by Galeotti and by Bournonville, one of his last pupils (Klaus, 1970, p. 213). Bournonville began his walk through the flowering of romanticism with indelible ties to the classical ideals of both his father, Antoine, and his early teacher, Galeotti. Himself an accomplished musician, Bournonville (1979) fully acknowledged the importance of the score to the success of his ballets: "The noblest of all the fine arts is music . . . dance owes its existence to music" (p. 7). In this respect, Bournonville was not expressing a novel opinion, rather he was underscoring the viewpoint of that era. Music was

the form of artistic expression for the whole century just as sculpture had been for antiquity (Lanier, 1898, p. 3).

The idealistic chastity of Bournonville's views were tinged with idyllic Romanticism. "Music is an art which should address itself more to the sentiments than to the intellect" (Bournonville, A., 1891, p. 289). Thus, for Bournonville, music was a metaphor around which he was able to maintain that difficult balance between the rational and irrational, between classical form and romantic emotionalism.

In Bournonville's ballets, his use of music closely followed the precedents of the day: dramatic episodes followed by more lyrical scenes, direct underscoring for pantomimic events, and richly-colored delineation of the setting for the plot (Schiørring, 1972, p. 91). Respect for both the composer and the shaping of a score was to set Bournonville's ballets apart from those of his continental counterparts.

Late in life, Bournonville (1891) observed:

To the uninitiated, music appears to serve the ballet only as accompaniment, directly opposite to its proper role. Melody and harmony call forth feeling and character; rhythm determines movements. It supports the unspoken dialogue, being essential for producing meaning, even to the point of depicting the whole situation. (p. 160)

Only as a "lyric art form" did Bournonville wish to describe ballet, owing, in part, to its natural "painterly and dramatic tendencies" (p. 161). Technical virtuosity was commanded to serve the needs of the musical content as well as to express thoughts and feelings. The musician, dancer, and choreographer co-existed as aesthetic facilitators. A specific work therefore was valued by Danish society "according to how well it served man's education and edification" (Donokowski, 1977, p. 104).

The process of education requires the learner to be forced to first bite the morsel, then digest it and finally to use it to energize his life. Bournonville was fully cognizant of these steps. Music should not be instantly hummable. Instead a discriminating public should want to hear the score more than once so as to discover the music on its own terms. The music should "come into its own after the eye had wearied of the fleeting [choreographic] images," he wrote (1979, p. 351). He could accept that the first time viewer might be moved more by the music than by how he had translated his painstakingly composed libretto to the stage (p. 32). In these respects, Bournonville was able to foresee the future with uncanny accuracy. Over one hundred years later, music historian Nils Schiørring (1978) acknowledged

that it was in the nineteenth century Danish ballet music that a contemporary student of music history can best appreciate that era as "a living reality" (p. 359).

Written in 1870, the same year that Lohengrin introduced Wagnerian opera to the Royal Theater, Bournonville directed the above argument against Richard Wagner's compositional style even though he would shortly direct two more Wagner operas in their Danish premiers, Meistersangerne i Nurnberg (1872) and Tannhauser (1875). Wagner was attacked for his arrogant opinions about music and especially for his attacks upon Bournonville's favorite composers: Mozart, Weber, Rossini, Meyerbeer, Spontini, Beethoven, and Gounod. Of the Danes, Bournonville most admired the works of Niels Gade, Johan P. Hartmann, followed by Friederich Kuhlau, and C.F. Weyse. Concepts like "refreshing" and "convincing" carried more weight with the balletmaster than "astounding" or "remarkable." Those last named adjectives Bournonville (1979) equated with formlessness (p. 371).

Upon what direct influences and historical events did Bournonville and his colleagues draw to formulate their pivotal aesthetic philosophies and taste in music? Useful to the reader is a highly selective journey through those major milestones which, in their turn, determined

the manner in which Bournonville would deal with music in his role as a choreographer.

### Early Scandinavian Music

Progress, therefore, is not an accident,  
but a necessity . . . it is a part of nature.  
Herbert Spencer (1851)

Historians frequently turn away from pre-nineteenth century Danish music as being merely derivations of German. Even the Danes themselves had to rediscover their own rich and varied musical heritage dating as far back as the sagas chronicled by Saxo Grammaticus (1905) in the twelfth century. This evidence illustrates a vibrant exchange of themes and ideas between Danish princes and central Europe, centering on the Gregorian plainsong form. The actual Danish ballad was a product of the more earthy Viking songs, the earliest recorded medieval ballads having been found in the Scania Legal Codes of 1350 (Kappel, 1950, pp. 10-11). These early songs were the records of valiant deeds performed by forthright kinds and their brave noblemen, colored by their fears of an unseen netherworld, a "home of terrors" and peopled by trolls, fairies, etc.

Action took precedence over lyric or picturesque verbal effects. These kings and knights (technically

only members of the cavalry who were awarded tax-free status) were in no way the lofty royalty we conjecture. Instead, they were members of the gentry, not very far removed from their own peasants, and their music and dances filtered easily down to the villagers where, as folkeviser, they maintained a vital existence. The melodic lines of the folkeviser penetrated natural speech patterns of the peasants, giving them a clearly identifiable national color (Machlis, 1963, p. 90). The characters were portrayed with sturdy simplicity as compared to the overly-sentimental delicacy of figures appearing in nursery tales (Brandes, 1886, p. 68).

In The Scandinavian Countries, B.J. Hovde (1948) has affirmed the necessity of a strong folkloric base to the development of a positive national morale. Folklore, more than any other facet of literature, is important "to the growth of the feeling that the nation is an integral unity culturally and traditionally as well as politically" (Dal, 1967, p. 12). Denmark did develop along these avenues. Every community had its spillemand, usually the tailor or shoemaker, who with his fiddle, told jokes, sang songs, and recounted tales. The ballad style demanded a straight forward manner: the singer

rarely mingled his own judgments with the overall narrative (Steenstrup, 1968, pp. 199-200).

### The Renaissance Period

The Renaissance brought a reworking of these earlier robust pagan tales into the more platonic models influenced by the sublimity of Christianity. Revelations through dreams and chaste romances were set with madrigals and notets on Venetian models. Distilled and reshaped by generations of listeners, these ballads and poems were first found recorded in poetry books, a popular ladies' pastime in the sixteenth century. The oldest known is The Heart Book, dated 1535-1555.

From 1588-1648, all aspects of Danish life were under the absolute control of Christian IV, "le roi soleil" of the North. Christian indulged himself in the grand life on a monumental scale. His artistic patronage supported both foreign and domestic musicians, thus creating a high standard for musicianship in the nation.

Ultimately, while infusion of cosmopolitan ideas grew, the glimmer of home-grown creativity dimmed. Frequent intermarriage with the courts of continental Europe and a desire for that kind of cultural input



prevented the Danish court from becoming the center for development of a true Danish culture.

It really was the Danish gentry, the comfortable class of freemen, who patronized local talent (Olrik, 1939, p. 18). And so the sonnets and songs came to represent the mores of this class. Erotic elements were curtailed, morality was encouraged, nature was eyed sentimentally, and action took precedence over the lyric or picturesque (Steenstrup, 1968, p. 38).

Dancing formed an integral part of the ballad, both influencing and being influenced by it. Peasant leaping steps, full of simple energy, blended with the decorous tripping paces of the freemen. In the opinion of Erik Dal (1967), it is exactly because of the strong inter-relationship between ballads and dance that those melodies which were preserved to the nineteenth century must be close kin to the originals (p. 25).

#### The Golden Age

By the early nineteenth century, the largely oral tradition for the folkeviser was supplanted by written texts recorded by a number of energetic chroniclers. Various political, economic, and social calamities had befallen the Danish state, as related in a previous

chapter, setting the stage for these efforts and securing them instantaneous historical and popular success.

The Danes were in desperate need for something meaningful around which a sense of national pride could be re-identified. The rich treasure of Viking lore, Scandinavian sagas, and medieval ballads, some of which were the earliest recorded in the history of western European man, was collected, recorded and widely read by Danes on every social level.

Leading the procession of collected folk music was Udvalgte Dansk Viser fra Middalalderen, edited by W.H.G. Abrahamson, Rasmus Nyerup and F.L. Rahbeck in five volumes (1812-1814). Nyerup collaborated with P. Rasmussen in 1821 to publish Udvalg af dansk Viser in two volumes while composer C.E.F. Weyse made many traditional ballad tunes accessible to the contemporary musician with his 50 Gamle Kæmpervisemelodier (1840-1842). Just Thiele's Danmarks Folkesagn (1843) a small but "fairly good" collection was a reference for H.C. Andersen who recommended it to Bournonville. The choreographer made use of source elements in his construction of A Folk Tale, along with the editions by Nyerup and Bergreen.

A.P. Bergreen, Weyse's biographer, continued to update old folk melodies in his eleven volumes of

Folkesange og Melodier fædrelandske og fremmede (1842-1870). (Both Weyse and Bergreen were later criticized by purists for emasculating the originals by imposing nineteenth century rhythmic tonal conventions.) Svend Grundtvig was the first to apply the newly formulated principles of scientific investigation to the collection and notation of folkeviser. He organized a research society which has continuously published editions of Danmarks gamle Folkeviser since 1853.

Danes were able to acquire a tradition of customs and mores through these cultural accounts of the middle ages. The ballads were often a mosaic of dress habits, feudal customs, and festivals. The contemporary poet was able to draw upon these richly descriptive accounts as a *mise-en-scene* for their themes (Dal, 1967, p. 18).

One distant result was the cross-fertilization, during the Romantic period, of the existing popular song literature with these newly-published peasant songs. The strophic, Germanic art song was the result. Fortunately composers who were to shine in this highly personal lyric form, like C.E.F. Weyse (1774-1842), had a number of truly gifted Danish poets from which to draw their inspiration and create their melodic lines. In the highest Schubertian sense, these composers could "fashion

a melody so that it sounds completely spontaneous, and to feel the inevitable moment for the modulation or change of colour in the harmony" (Horton, 1963, p. 99).

The Danish romanse was not directly related to the German lieder. Where the romanse evoked a poetic mood, lieder encompassed a broader emotional range. "Danish songs seemed content to breathe softly and rock billowy rhythms not too far removed from the noble strains of balladic ancestors" (Yoell, 1974, p. 18).

The greatest of the golden age Danish poets were available to composers like Weyse and Heise, including: B.S. Ingemann, Christian Winther, Adam Oehlenschläger, H.C. Andersen, and Johan Heiberg. According to Vagn Kappel (1950), the lyric romanse constituted one of Denmark's unique contributions to nineteenth century musical literature.

Returning to the historians who made the material available to the poet, most of them felt as did P.A. Bergreen. With the appearance of his Melodier . . . Udgivne fædrelandshistoriske Digte, Bergreen (1842) expressed the hope that the book would encourage new nationalistic compositions by "renewing half-forgotten memories of the real Danish songs and repress the many

meaningless ditties which seemed to constitute such a great part of the common people's spiritual nourishment" (Kjerulf, 1917, p. 46).

"The North is most assuredly entitled to a language of its own," asserted Robert Schumann (1880, p. 89). Poets, composers, dramatists, and the choreographer August Bournonville responded to the call with a vigorous outpouring of creative energy. Having first served entirely chauvinistic aims, collecting folkeviser now provided food to the soul builders of the nation, her creative artists. As previously noted, these ballads had been seasoned more by the freemen gentry and their bønder than by the royalty and their courtiers.

The sentient elements in the evolved folksongs, therefore, involved simple sentiments, homespun charm, breath, and lilt in the melodies (Yoell, 1974, pp. 14-15). Poets and composers, as well as Bournonville, stained the old dances and songs freely with colors gathered from their own times. Touches of the waltz, with its decided "oom-pah-pah" beat, for instance, sneaked in as an attempt at contemporary relevancy. Yoell (1974) contends that a "distinctive native flavor" was able to survive nevertheless.

He also reported on a nineteenth century folklorist who compared diagrammatically the qualities found in Scandinavian folk melodies. Compared to Sweden and Norway, the point is graphically made that the "golden age" in Danish literary and musical creativity represented a kind of beidermeier idyllic tenor. The Danish tempo smoothed out the creases of passion, enobling it in a classical sense to result in an idyl of beauty. Danes steeped these deep emotional responses in stylized, traditional, pastoral images:

Sweden	agitated
Norway	a singing curve
Denmark	idyllically sustained (p. 32)

The actual roots of romantic idealism from which the Danish school of music sprouted was most decidedly German. Robert Schumann (1880) candidly observed that "our art seems to have taken firm root in all countries near Germany, but above all in the northern ones" (p. 512).

The French Revolution had served to underline some drastic amendments in the relationship of the artist to his society. The arts had become a symbol of an integrated society; the need for promoting defined public aesthetic policy resulted in art being enlisted as a tool to those ends (Donakowski, 1977, p. 75). Revolutions across

Europe during the nineteenth century "emancipated the middle classes," wrote Paul Henry Lang, "and in doing so yielded cultural leadership to the petty bourgeois spirit" (Klaus, 1970, p. 5).

In Denmark, the singspiel was to become a true national form. Riedel (1969) has coupled the form with a narrow provincialism usually identified as biedermeier (p. 47). In Musikkens Historie, Nils Schiørring (1979) provided another answer. He reminded the reader that the Danish court simply did not have the resources with which to mount lavish operas and so turned its encouragement over to singspiel and light Italian operas.

During the first quarter of the century, two Germans, Frederich Kuhlau (1786-1832) and C.E.F. Weyse (1774-1842), constituted the whole of Danish music. Although Claus Schall (1757-1835), himself a composer of note who had created serviceable scores for Galeotti's ballets, directed the Royal Orchestra brilliantly<sup>a</sup>, it was Kuhlau who was the first representative of Danish romanticism.

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<sup>a</sup>Bournonville reminisced in My Theater Life (p. 648) on Claus Schall: "His melodies still sound in my ears and carry me back to my first childhood on the path to art." Schall supplied the music for Galeotti's Lagertha, the ballet in which young Bournonville made his stage debut.

A man greatly influenced by Weber, Cherubini and Beethoven, Kuhlau's many contributions to the Renaissance in Danish composition will be condensed to a few remarks concerning the 1829 singspiel Elverhøj (The Elfin Hill). This production is of primary importance to the discussion of A Folk Tale owing to its immense popularity and for the motifs Bournonville later borrowed in the conception of his own ballet (Kappel, 1950, p. 20). [Refer to Chapter Six.]

What was created as a bon-bon for the wedding celebration of the future King Frederik VII, in 1828, became an instantaneous hit when it was presented for the public at the Royal Theater. Even today The Elfin Hill is considered "one of the most attractive historically important stage works of the Danish romantic period" (Horton, 1963, p. 80).

Along with Kuhlau's appealing welding of folk melodies to his strictly developed score, credit must be given to his collaborator, John Ludvig Heiberg (1791-1850), the nation's foremost critic and dramatist. One of the leading exponents of an idyllic national romanticism, Heiberg's libretto artfully combined patriotic sentiment



and folkloric super-naturalism, thereby insuring its place in the history of the Royal Theater as having been performed more often than any other opera, play, or ballet.

I laid my head on Fairy Hill, my eyes closed in a trance; then two maidens came to meet me and enchanted me with song and bewilderment. Ah, how strange a dance.  
(p. 82)

It has been said that The Elfin Hill represents the true "national opera" of Denmark (Yoell, 1974, p. 18). The long-lived singspiel marked the acceptance of romantic idealism into the mainstream of Danish popular culture.

Whereas Kuhlau, notwithstanding his international renown for contributions to flute literature, has been remembered best for this work, Heiberg is hardly thought of at all in connection with the libretto. His fame was made first as a critic/dramatist and secondly for having introduced and developed the vaudeville form in Denmark. As a point beyond the singspiel, vaudeville exhibited "greater pungency of its satire" and closer connections between the dramatic events and the music<sup>a</sup> (Horton, 1963,

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<sup>a</sup>Use of original music was a rarity. More commonly, the score was a pastiche of pop tunes, operatic themes, and folk melodies.

p. 82). Both forms enjoyed an immense following until the last quarter of the century.

C.E.F. Weyse was instrumental in demonstrating that contemporary musical concepts of harmony and melody could be derived from folk themes. Although later attacked for his wholesale tampering with original music, he did make folk songs accessible to the masses; many homes, certainly Bournonville's, relied upon Weyse's songs as a foundation for the family's musical library. His role, as having helped shape the characteristics of Danish Romanticism and Nationalism, was vital (Kappel, 1950, p. 13).

In addition to Weyse and Kuhlau, two other individuals played pivotal roles in the transition from classicism to romanticism in Danish music: Frederik Wexschall (1798-1845) and J.F. Frølich (1806-1860). Like the two former composers, Frølich was of German birth but grew up in Copenhagen and studied violin under Claus Schall. He was a close friend of Bournonville, and even tutored the choreographer's children in music. It comes as not surprise that many of Frølich's greatest successes were collaborations with Bournonville. As one of the first romantic composers in Denmark, he "approached antiquity and the Danish middle ages on the wings of nostalgia and imagination" (Lunn, 1962, p. 42). Such an outlook was

entirely in keeping with the choreographer's own aesthetics. It is in his ballet music, compulsory drudgery "done with insight and talent," that his position in the evolution of Danish music remains secure (Schiørring, 1978, p. 244). Frølich's best known works, ballets all, date from the 1830's and 1840's: Tyrolene (1835), Waldemar (1835), Erik Menveds Barndom (1843), Festen i Albano (1839) and Rafael (1845). Unfortunately illness overtook him at the height of his powers; Rafael was to be his last full-scale composition.

Erik Menved's Barndom, as noted in a previous chapter, had been a box office and artistic disappointment. Yet some of Frølich's music achieved an unusual level of success. In particular, "Riderhus Marsch" became one of Denmark's most popular marches (p. 243). As a truly pragmatic man of the theater, Bournonville could not resist using the melody again as the torch dance music in his Valdemar (1866).

"The most brilliant violinist our country had produced" was the comment that August Bournonville made about his own string teacher, Frederik Wexschall (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 660). As concertmaster for the Royal Orchestra's String Quartet, Bournonville described Wexschall as an artist having "freshness, humor

and considerable force" (p. 662). Wexschall's part in the rise of Danish music was that of a teacher, not a composer. He was a true virtuoso; Anna Erslev (1920, p. 86) has noted the sparkling wit of his musicianship. Discriminating students came his way, among whom were August Bournonville and Johan Peter Emilius Hartmann. These two youngsters began their lifelong friendship and professional collaboration as fellow violin students. At fifteen, they made their concert debuts playing together in a duet. Wexschall's taste for clean rhythms and cheerful wit were to color the creative energies of both these geniuses.

The two individuals whose influence came to dominate the Danish scene, who were most responsible for the course of musical growth, were not Danish at all but German. First, Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847) and then Robert Schumann (1810-1856) conquered the country on two fronts: through their works and by their students. The Leipzig connection was to become such a formula approach that it came to be labeled "Mendelssohnacid-Schumanoxide" (Machlis, 1963, p. 201).

Bournonville ranked Mendelssohn high on his list of favored composers. Like Goethe, the choreographer appreciated Mendelssohn's aristocratic quality with its

mixture of modesty and self-assurance. "There is a classical gracefulness," wrote Kenneth Klaus (1970), "to most of Mendelssohn's melodies . . . as a cultured gentleman, he favored a cultured kind of musical utterance which reflected the social amenities of the times" (p. 79). Mendelssohn's compositions captivated the musical mood of Copenhagen, wrote Nils Schiørring (1978, 2, p. 303). Such a blending of tender sentiment and classic moderation was appealing to the young Danish composers who were attempting to bind classicism to a kind of romantic idyl able to meet their conservative sensibilities.

Under Mendelssohn, Leipzig had been transformed into the mecca for musical training in Europe. New standards for musicianship and composition were established under his able leadership. The Gewandhaus orchestra developed into one of the best on the continent (Machlis, 1963, p. 124); eager young composers flocked to the Leipzig Conservatory, including two Danes who were to become such important fixtures in Danish music. One of them, J.P.E. Hartmann, would be touched lightly, while the other, N.W. Gade, would become Mendelssohn's virtual protege.

It was the "romantic shimmer of sentiment" and strong lyricism which connected Mendelssohn to the younger

Robert Schumann (Einstein, 1947, pp. 125-127). Both men were developing along similar lines, as in Mendelssohn's "Hebrides Overture" and Schumann's "Rhenish Symphony." They were at the forefront of the instrumentalists who were attempting to create music along poetic paths. Not entirely programatic in content, their musical conceptions, nevertheless, were a "link between the composer's experience as a musician and his experience as a human being" (Machlis, 1963, p. 124). Christian Zahle's (1854) analysis, "Klassikene og Romantiken," established this premise: it was through music that the gate of the romantic world was opened. "Tone became medicine to more than the soul." Music opened vistas to a re-appreciation of the marvelous details of nature--waves lapping and birds chirping--and a flag-waving respect for national heritage (pp. 59-60).

Schumann, equally a leader in the area of music criticism through his periodical Music and Musicians, attempted to redefine artistic and aesthetic goals. The relationship between Schumann and Mendelssohn was one of mutual, although geographically distant, admiration. In one of his essays, Schumann commented upon his colleague's

artistry:

Music is the outflow of a noble soul . . . this is why Mendelssohn's compositions are so irresistible . . . his intention is that the ear alone shall receive and the heart then make its decision. (Hayes, 1979, p. 5)

Following Mendelssohn's untimely death, Schumann noted in his diary that "his judgments in musical matters . . . go straight to the innermost core" (Jacob, 1963, p. 105).

Through his thriving periodical, Schumann was able to give a legitimacy to the work of Denmark's most gifted composers. Schumann and his wife Clara Wieck were frequent guest artists in Copenhagen, having first-hand knowledge of the ultimate worth of the younger generation of musical artists. Both Hartmann and Gade received their support thereby insuring that German influence would continue to flow through the veins of modern Danish music.

From such intermediaries as Mendelssohn and Schumann, the music circles of Copenhagen sanctioned the growing nationalistic tendency in the arts. As far as Schumann was concerned, Germany was the "first and most beloved music teacher: of the world (Pleasants, 1965, p. 192). Nationalism encouraged nations that had no established tradition of art music to develop their own manner of

musical speech (Machlis, 1963, p. 150). As the aspirations of the people grew more bold so did composers in their attempts to capture that special mood.

Natural phenomena became one of the most frequently employed motifs, signifying man's dynamic and functional identity with his Creator. The nation, in and of itself, came to symbolize man's identity with his fellow man. The rebirth of poetry during the first quarter century served as another imposing force on the work of nineteenth century Danish composers.

It is peculiar to observe that while composers and artists were preaching brotherhood, the ultimate result of ecumenism was an increased individualism and exclusiveness bordering on national possessiveness (Klaus, 1970, p. 99). Heinrich Jacob (1963), in Felix Mendelssohn and His Times, pointed to the "lurking politics and other dangerous passions" which had become bound up into the aesthetics of national pride (p. 150).

The ominous signs of such intolerance were either largely ignored or a cause for blatant exultation. The Danes had found in their fine and performing arts a road to self-appreciation and respect. With such singular pride they could exult in the knowledge that "only



Scandinavians are able to comprehend these strains, so deeply rooted in our own lives, in our own country and, in all of which we are constituted" (Erslev, 1920, p. 159).

Having a distinctly melancholy air, Danish music came to reflect, in a deeply spiritual sense, the landscape of the nation: strong solitary stones, sweet songs, heather encrusted hills, the might of Odin, garlands of flowers, birds floating on clear lakes, beech forests, midsummer's eve madness, and trolls stealing young maidens--such was the scope of "Danishness." Bournonville's own attitude illustrates the point. On the one hand, he advocated a broadly based interest in music, likening it to the connoisseur who is liberal enough to enjoy the best of what every vintage has to offer. Contemporary critics were chided for accepting whatever was most accessible to the audience--"engaging and tuneful"--as a new classic. According to Bournonville (1891, p. 287), music à la mode could only be entertaining and not true art. To be of high rank, music had to be able, over the long run, to retain its zestful charm assimilating aspects of the folksong in the process.

The very concept of the folksong, so personal and intimate to the nation, engendered within the aesthetics of Bournonville and his compatriots a chauvinism of the

narrowest sort. Critics were encouraged to review Danish musical events on the basis of specific Danish guidelines and priorities since, as Bournonville (1891) asserted, art music should depict "a particularly national character" (p. 287). And so Denmark evolved very closed and clearly defined avenues for creative expression in art, music, and dance based upon self imposed nationalistic structures, under the direct influence of German progenitors. Her artists were not to invent new forms or lay claim to new territories. Instead, their role was to reshape accepted schools of thought for the palate of their Danish audiences, most particularly the middle class eager for political, social and moral self-awareness, and assertiveness. They got their money's worth!

## CHAPTER V

### BOURNONVILLE AND HIS COMPOSERS

Danish ballet music is, . . . as a result of Bournonville's artistically creative contribution, to a great extent still a living reality . . . Within the strict bounds of the ballet music form, the Danish composers are among the most outstanding that have survived from the romantic period. (Schjørring, 1972, p. 98)

The connection between August Bournonville and the Danish school of music is indelible. He was not only interested in the new trends but was a well-trained musician in his own right. Having a thorough musical foundation has always been a prerequisite for any great choreographer; Bournonville was no exception. The depth of his musical training contributed constantly throughout his career to the vital, imposing position his ballets had in Danish musical life. Not only could he communicate with his collaborators but he--like Marius Petipa after him--actually fed thematic ideas to them. Bournonville (1979) was in perfect control of that aspect of his ballets; he constantly affirmed that music and dance were inseparable elements, together having the capacity to

"enable us to express feeling and to tear ourselves loose from our anxieties and the trivialities of daily life" (p. 134).

This chapter deals with the development of Bournonville as an artistic force in Danish musical life through the fostering of the following collaborators: Niels W. Gade, Johan P. Hartmann, H.C. Lumbye, Frederick Frølich, and Baron von Løvenskjold. Particular emphasis is placed upon Niels Gade and Johan Hartmann, the composers of A Folk Tale.

In an earlier unpublished version of Études Choregraphiques (1848), the ballet master expounded upon that peculiar relationship:

The first evidence of poetry was the voice accompanied by gesture. Dance is the eldest daughter of music; terpsichore is united in the figure of rhythm and movement. (p. 2)

Bournonville was a true son of the theater. (Note 35)

Understanding as he did how ephemeral a ballet performance was, Bournonville wanted the best possible from his composers. He felt terrible when a score was not well received by an impatient audience. He felt that music should reveal itself slowly after a number of hearings:

It is then that I praise ballet music! . . . In this way A Folk Tale once again brought Gade's and Hartmann's melodies before a discriminating

audience and came into its own after the eye had wearied of the fleeting choreographic images. (Bournonville, 1979, p. 351)

In 1830, at a youthful twenty-five, Bournonville returned to Copenhagen with the exciting yet overwhelming task of rebuilding not only the company but of developing a solid repertoire. No wonder that he should get his feet wet choreographically through reliance upon devices learned during his Paris years. Not for almost five years did he attempt a collaboration of major proportions (such as the Theatre had witnessed between Claus Schall and Vincenzo Galeotti). Most of the scores written for his early ballets were pastiches utilizing the services of several composers (Schiørring, 1978, p. 343).

How exciting it is to witness, even in past tense, the gradual unfoldment of a great talent. To visualize, just through a reading of his ballets, his growing assurance as he first--as all artists must--recreated his own experience and then developed his strong theatrical viewpoints out of that foundation. One of his axioms, in relation to a use of music in an illustrative manner is best expressed in Kenneth Klaus' (1970) discussion of operas:

In order for any art to live it must have the finest of material put together in the

very best way. Some operas endure on their own merits while the rest must be shelved until a great singer emerges. (p. 242)

The two problems, that of a choice of repertoire and dancers, went hand-in-hand. It was to be the ballets themselves (along with the music) which should have life. The practical artist makes best use of the talents upon which he can depend; Bournonville could always depend on himself. He might not be able to control the administration, with its stringent financial policies, he might not be able to control the fortunes of his clever, talented pupils but he could exert an influence over the conception of the music from which he would create his superb dances and mime scenes. Bournonville had to have good music to excite his own fountains of creativity. "He inspired them, [the composers] formed them, and more importantly caused them to give the best of themselves" (Lunn, 1962, p. 48). As a choreographer, Bournonville would first develop the complete story theme and then assign particular composers to the task of writing the whole or specific sections of the score, frequently suggesting musical themes. Only when the concept of the music was clearly delineated, involving a give-and-take process between the choreographer and his composer, did

Bournonville begin to devise his misé-en-scène, mime, and dance sequences. He was committed to a firm bond between score and movement.

This is not to imply that the developing choreographer had carte blanche in the selection of a composer for his upcoming ballets. Apart from the young Baron von Løvenskjold, composer for La Sylphide (1836), all of Bournonville's composers, in his first ten years at the Royal Theater, were connected with the theater (Schiørring, 1972, p. 93). But the balletmaster was shrewd enough to evaluate the talent and style of each composer considering the "whole direction of his talent" before selecting particular individuals (Bournonville, 1979, p. 350). Along these lines, it must be noted that Bournonville had the unique talent and independent spirit to sniff out and then encourage emerging talent. He was not afraid to give the untried composer an opportunity to have his work performed side-by-side with the mature artist. "I was really quite young," wrote Niels W. Gade, "and it made me more aware of my capabilities." Bournonville commissioned the twenty-four year old to compose the first act of Muse of the Fatherland in 1840. The remainder of the ballet was placed in the experienced hands of Frederik Frølich (Kjerulf, 1917, p. 41). Again Bournonville would nurture

young talents, as with army trumpeter H.C. Lumbye, conductor Holger S. Paulli, romantic composer Edvard Helsted, and romantic idealist Johan P. Hartmann. Just as Bournonville's creative greatness lay, to a great extent, in his unrivalled ability to sense and select captivating subjects, so in choosing his composers, he allied himself with men whom he considered to have a bright musical future and who in their work at the Royal Theater had shown a flair for enhancing Bournonville's artistic efforts (Schiørring, 1972, p. 90).

Bournonville's clarity of aim is apparent. He conceived the ballets first and then sought out the best man for the job. Today, most of Bournonville's collaborators are relatively obscure figures in dusty music history annals. But it is sufficient for the reader to recognize that, by standards of the time, they were considered good solid composers.

Two of his co-workers do stand out, revered as the best composers of the Danish Romantic era; Hartmann and Gade were primary figures in the nineteenth century. Their works were to become the models for all Scandinavian composers until Carl Nielsen and Jean Sibelius emerged at the dawn of the twentieth century. A Folk Tale was



remarkable musically as well as choreographically because of the singular contributions of these two men.

The literature of these two men constituted the "new school" (Lunn, 1962, pp. 43-47). One of them, Johan Peter Emelius Hartmann cultivated a light style and had a fertile imagination. His notebooks were crammed with motifs just asking to be put to use. Consequently, Hartmann was always willing to whip up a piece for some special occasion or another; Bournonville frequently made use of his generous nature. The numerous ballets Hartmann composed constitute a major portion of the composer's creative output (Behrend, 1918, pp. 62-63).

In Niels Wilhelm Gade, Bournonville was to find not an intimate friend but someone whom he could respect. Gade's style, under the direct influence of Felix Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann, was of a remote, abstract symphonic nature. Although an admirer of Bournonville's talent and taste, he saw little need to bend his own dominant talent and ego to the needs of the dance. Bournonville was one of the first to recognize Gade's genius when he used the young man for The Muse of the Fatherland. One of Gade's few real major efforts for the ballet was A Folk Tale in 1853. While Hartmann's music for the second act conjured the primitive excitement of

the folkeviser, Gade's contributions, the first and third acts, were characterized by "delicate, poetic strains from the ballads including the celebrated winsome bridal waltz, the climax of the third act" (Behrend, 1935, p. 569).

In comparing the two, John Horton (1963) wrote:

Unfortunately the element of surprise is what Hartmann's music now lacks, and most of his stage work retains only the faded picturesque-ness of the stock romantic figures and situations . . . It was the fate of both Hartmann and Gade to settle into a comfortable provincial round all too early in their lives, and to go on writing prolifically with little development of technical resource . . . Their work is full of fine gestures and poetical ideas, but their range of expression is too circumscribed to prolong these golden moments. (p. 125)

As the reader becomes more familiar with the libretto for A Folk Tale, he will realize how Bournonville must have had the unique talents of each man specifically in mind as he conceived the three acts. [Refer to Chapter Seven.] Gade's earth world reality reflected midsummer frolic, with its gay peasant scenes and mysterious elf maidens, culminating in the now traditional bridal waltz, heard at almost every Danish wedding.

Hartmann's more freely styled second act typified a grotesque, almost vaudeville humor--a musical clown fantasy--set in the troll's netherworld haven.

So important was music to the final effect of a Bournonville ballet and so important were these two individuals to A Folk Tale, as well as to the mainstream of nineteenth century Danish music, that the remainder of this chapter will consist of biographical sketches of J.P.E. Hartmann and N.W. Gade. The primary objective is to provide the reader with pertinent information with which to more assuredly grasp the creative essence, cultural climate, and background which the composers brought to this project.

Johan Peter Emelius Hartmann  
(1805 - 1905)

To most non-Scandinavians today, Edvard Grieg and Jean Sibelius epitomize the "Nordic Sound." But the title of "High Priest" of Scandinavian Romanticism is rightfully Hartmann's. His vivid, theatrical yet charming style constituted the first earnest conscientious exploration into the realm of Danish national music (Yoell, 1974, p. 19). S. Levysohn (1905), in his biography, found that Hartmann set great value on the joys of life and in the depth of the collective Danish soul (p. 102). His setting of Adam Oehlenschläger's The Golden Horns in 1832 marked the beginning of Romanticism in Danish music.

Although born into a family of musicians, his father having been a member of the Royal Orchestra and his grandfather an eminent composer, Hartmann had to fight family opposition to attain his musical ambitions. As a child, he studied violin, viola, and piano; his concert debut was made at fifteen, playing a duet for two violins and orchestra with another talented teenager, August Bournonville. As a youngster, he favored Haydn, Mozart, and the newly discovered Louis Spohr whose fine, feelingful music made a special impression (Behrend, 1918, p. 21).

In spite of his obvious talent, the family insisted that the boy study for the bar; they thought of security first. Even when the respected Danish composer C.F. Weyse, after having heard one of Peter's fantasies for organ, predicted a bright future for the lad, he was not permitted to abandon his academic studies. He did become a lawyer and throughout his life held a bureaucratic position with the government in addition to his musical activities.

At nineteen, Hartmann replaced his father as organist at Garrison's church, then transferred to the Church of Our Lady in 1842.

Adam Oehlenschläger was an enormous influence on Hartmann's career as the primary exponent of visionary

Nordic fantasies. Hartmann sympathized with the new European musical innovations of the 20's and 30's. Through exposure to Oehlenschläger's poetry, heralding the coming "golden age" of Danish culture, Hartmann's music became "orchestrally luxurious, and thematically a superbly prepared movement" (Schiørring, 1972, p. 96). The Golden Horns was Hartmann's first composition to be totally inspired by Scandinavian folk themes. "It is Oehlenschläger," observed Sven Lunn (1962), "who inspired in Hartmann the tonalities of Nordic visions which burned with fantasy and enthusiasm emitting a feeling of triumphant power" (p. 43). Yoell (1974) wrote, in The Nordic Sound, that the composer cloaked Oehlenschläger's lines with the "clash of viking shields and the heroic meter of the ancient sagas" (p. 19). Bergreen's collection of folkeviser was frequently referred to by Hartmann for folk thematic suggestions.

Hartmann's early works reflect the style of Frederick Kuhlau. But he was also open to suggestion from a variety of directions, from German Romanticism to French witticism (Hammerich, 1916, p. 80). In 1827, Hartmann's compositions gained the interest of the Copenhagen music circle

and he was able to obtain, under the patronage of Prince Christian, a teaching position at the respected Siboniske Conservatory.

The year 1829 brought his happy marriage to Emma Zinn, also a composer who wrote under the pseudonym of Frederik Palmer. "She was a fine, charming, lively, and impulsive person," who provided an exciting balance to his otherwise even-keeled conservative nature (Levysohn, 1905, p. 65). Only six of their ten children survived to adulthood, among them were composer Emil Hartmann and Sophie Gade, the composer's first wife.

Two continental trips were to have lasting impressions. The first, in 1836, brought him in contact with many of the most influential stylists of the day: Liszt, Rossini, Weber, Chopin, and Schubert. Leipzig was particularly stimulating. Hartmann felt himself completely at home in that stronghold of the waltz and Italian opera; he enjoyed the "extremely good natured and tidy people" (Behrend, 1918, p. 45). In Hamburg, one of his sonatas won second prize at a competition.

Returning to Copenhagen, Hartmann found that his trip had given him new credibility in the eyes of his peers. Filled with energy, Hartmann produced a number of symphonies and organ works which won the praises of Louis

Spohr and, more importantly, were reviewed in Robert Schumann's Neue Zeitschrift fur Musik. In an article on one of the sonatas, Schumann proclaimed Hartmann an "artist who is a lord over the form and not merely a slave of his feeling. Yet he is always able to touch and captivate us" (pp. 48-49).

In 1839, Hartmann returned to Germany, meeting Mendelssohn and Schumann; for both of whom he had great respect. It was Schumann, however, who would have a more lasting effect upon Hartmann's approach to music. The visitor even contemplated remaining in Germany, but strong family ties forced him to abandon that idea.

The ultimate result of these tours was seen not only in the greater regard he received from the music community but could be heard in the increased depth of the Danish character of his music. The trips "opened deep wells in Hartmann's artistic soul" (Behrend, 1918, p. 51). His compositions became more noble, more rhythmically varied and more harmonically captivating.

Hartmann was a down-to-earth man, as confident and relaxed in his bureaucratic position of secretary for the civic guards as he was with his teaching at the conservatory and fulfilling frequent commissions (Schiørring, 1978, 2, p. 250). He was a diligent worker.

In later years, Hartmann compared his personality with that of his dear friend, Hans Christian Andersen. Both had lived through periods of tremendous grief--Hartmann's wife Emma died in 1851 and his daughter Sophie, Gade's wife, also died shortly thereafter. Their methods for coping differed remarkably. While Andersen laid his heart and sorrow open for public inspection and sympathy through his thinly-veiled autobiographical writing style, Hartmann submerged his emotions; his music did not reflect his personal life. "When I couldn't compose well, I composed badly or read or played, anything to keep on going." As a result, wrote Behrend (1918), he frequently seemed to be writing "more from a willpower than inspiration" (p. 43).

The area of his finest achievement was in the development of a peculiarly Danish or Nordic musical aesthetic. Although he never achieved the international fame of H.C. Andersen, Sejr (1955) pointed out, he spoke to the Danes on a highly personal level (p. 4). Over a period of fifty-two years, from Olaf the Holy One (1838) to Yrsa (1883), he would constantly return to the folkeviser and ancient ballads for inspiration: Hakon Jarl (1884) an overture, A Folk Tale (1854) a ballet, The Lay of Thrym (1868) a ballet, Vølvens Prophecy (1872), and Arcona (1874) a ballet.



The years were fruitful for the prolific composer. Hartmann was fully involved in every phase of Danish music. He collaborated with Andersen on two syngstykker: The Raven (1832) and Little Kirsten (1846).

Of The Raven, Schumann wrote that some harmonic flaws existed but that "the opera contains music of melodic beauty" (Schumann, 1880, p. 12). Danish critics were more unabashed in their feelings. They called it "brilliant, full of character, and highly original . . . of a strong and noble style" (Behrend, 1918, p. 40).

Written during the first years' bloom of marriage to Emma, Little Kirsten has been called the most womanly of all his works, "light complexioned, . . . a fine yet strange flower." Hartmann was now in full power, having pulled together all the elements which, in the future, would become his personal trademark. One reviewer said it best:

Hartmann's genius has never been so clear as in this composition, which has a thoroughly genuine Nordic tonal foundation and injected with charming grace, as much in the melodies as in the harmonic treatment. (pp. 55-56)

It is to his ballet scores that one must turn in order to understand Hartmann's true gifts. Fantasy Island or From the Coast of China (1838) marked the first of many

successful collaborations with Bournonville. It was his clear sense of the dramatic which, according to Schiørring, (Note 7) attracted Bournonville, exciting his own sense of balletic theater. True, Schiørring continued, the scores were unable to stand on their own but something of Hartmann's fancifulness can be appreciated today as well as his talent for melodic and rhythmic constancy.

Little Kirsten (1846) was directly linked to a third collaborative success, A Folk Tale (1854), the first full production Hartmann attempted following Emma's death in 1851.<sup>a</sup> Her death culminated a number of grief filled years, so this ballet marked his return to professional life.

The vibrant second act music for A Folk Tale took its vitality, as had Little Kirsten, from folkeviser and the dark, mysterious nature of the Edda sagas. Behrend (1918) described the second act as a "troll hill with its baroque inhabitants" (p. 58). Hartmann had taken the art of the bewitched intellectually beyond the mere borrowing of familiar folk themes (Sørensen, 1966, p. 221).

Of their lifelong association, Bournonville (1979) remarked that "collaboration with this great artist has

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<sup>a</sup>In 1856, he married one of Emma's friends, Thora Jacobsen.

further attached me to his amiable personality and filled me with admiration for his spiritual gifts" (p. 386).

In 1861, they produced The Valkyr about which Bournonville (1979) wrote:

There is in our Nordic myths and fable-shrouded sagas such an endless amount of material for production that even the ballet can gather from them motifs which could hardly be better interpreted by any other art form. (p. 281)

So close were their thought processes that when Hartmann first played some of the themes for this ballet, Bournonville jumped for joy, absolutely delighted, shouting that they followed his own thoughts perfectly (Grandjean, 1895, p. 476).

In the early 1860's, Bournonville worked in Stockholm, but upon his return, the two artists revived their partnership with The Lay of Thrym (1868). Their ballets, related composer Axel Grandjean, always reflected a tight unity between story and music. Not surprising was British author Edmund Gosse's (1911) reaction to this ballet when he saw it in 1874. About the music, Gosse observed that

nothing more wild, more magical, more barbaric . . . can be conceived; while the savage and tumultuous action was relieved by lyrical passages of liquid harmony. (pp. 201-203)

Not until seven years later did they team up again. In the interim, both men traversed new directions:

Bournonville to direct operas and help negotiate the building of the new theater and Hartmann to create such typical works as Vølven's Prophecy, a foreboding work also based upon The Edda but conceived differently from The Lay of Thrym, and "Spring Song," op. 70, a cantata for choir and orchestra (1871).

Arcona (1875), their final collaborative effort, marked the end of an era. Both men appeared tired of the format; the themes purposely borrowed from Little Kirsten simply did not translate well in this gutsy story of Danes fighting off the plundering hordes during the days of Valdemar the Great. It suffered not only from the usual production and administrative haggling but also from a lack of concentration in its motifs. Leftist critic for Morgenbladet, Alfred Finch, was particularly scathing:

Only disgust can result from this ballet which, in this closing tableau, heralds the 'victory of the faithful' and 'Denmark's glory' by having the audacity to put . . . forth vapid and frivolous dances. (Neiendam, R., 1921, 1, p. 167)

Ironically, the very ideals which these two creative artists had helped develop as nationally accepted norms were now to be turned around against their own work.

No one else's music had reached into the very heart of the people as had Hartmann's. His music was

always beautifully constructed, richly harmonied tone poems representing the "golden age" of Danish culture. His vocabulary, as Vagn Kappel (1950) noted, owed its "warmth and sweetness" to the ballads (p. 23). Hartmann's legacy was the manner in which he mined his thematic material. He drew upon the ancient melodies "like a treasure, a new force, a musical rebirth . . . with lasting solidity and manly strength" (Hammerich, 1916, p. 85). Figuratively, he had transcended the drawing room and had found warm fellowship at the kitchen hearth. He was as comfortable to his audiences as a pair of slippers; never a revolutionary, Hartmann was content to live in harmony with his times.

At a testimonial dinner honoring the grand old man's nintieth birthday, this special poem was read:

For as a colossal tree, a mighty oak,  
 For which the praising of life possessed great  
 value,  
 Whose dimensions through generations rose and  
 rose,  
 So grew his art with the passage of time,  
 From elf dances and music for water sprites.  
 With a silver voice his tones rose powerfully,  
 Beyond the hills, whose vision directed,  
 From one mark to the next as his energy  
 steadily demanded. (Recke, Note 8)

Ten years after his death, biographer Angul Hammerich bemoaned the fact that Hartmann's musical heritage had been so closely tied to the ballet, lowest ranking of the

performing arts. So correlated had been his Nordic music and Bournonville's French balletic art that Hartmann could not be viewed as a separate entity (Hammerich, 1916, p. 83). Hammerich was correct in his fears, Hartmann's works were largely forgotten, and it has only been in recent years that his manuscripts have been dusted off, played, and even recorded.

Niels Wilhelm Gade  
(1816 - 1890)

While Hartmann, the distinctly masculine philosopher, explored the new territory of the ethnically-inspired composition, it was Niels Gade who would refine that format, thereby bringing the Nordic sound to the attention of an international audience. His music was light and lively, more lyrical in a feminine manner, throbbing with life (Behrend, 1930, pp. 64-65). Taken together, the two composers represented the alpha and omega of nineteenth century Danish music.<sup>a</sup>

On the surface, it would appear that Gade's music should have represented a natural evolutionary process in the development of a purely idiomatic style, Gade's immersion into the techniques of German music, particularly

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<sup>a</sup>H.C. Lumbye represented the best in Danish popular music.

at the end of Mendelssohn's life, a period which critics disparaged as superficial and devoid of feeling, resulted ultimately in stagnation. From about 1850 until his death in 1890, Gade's style changed little, becoming encrusted with restraint and Mendelssohnian precision. As co-director (with Hartmann) and conductor of the [The New Music Society] Musikforeningen, he was responsible for introducing and encouraging many of the younger Danish composers but few of these new musical ideas seemed to rub off on his own work (Hammerich, 1916, p. 70). By the mid-twentieth century, Einstein (1947) dismissed Gade as a "Classicist with Romantic coloring" because his national tone challenged nothing. "He lacked the quality of proud protest" (p. 318).

Hartmann was the one who continued to grow artistically; most young Scandinavian composers were more eager to study under Hartmann than under the strict formalistic Gade, even though Gade's influence far exceeded that of his father-in-law (Schjørring, 1978, 2, p. 285). The two composers maintained a deep respect for each other's philosophical bases and style in spite of fierce battles waged among their loyal followers. At Gade's death, the elderly Hartmann participated in planning the memorial concert. Excerpts from the eulogy hymn, for which

Hartmann composed the music, provide an interesting view of the manner in which Gade was to be remembered, not as a composer, but more as a developer of Danish musical taste. He:

enobled our perceptions, opened up our ears for sound -- building style and worth -- leading us on a trip, as he guided us spellbound, releasing our sights: from Bach's powerful cathedral, from Gluck's chaste temple's doorways, to the Munster cathedral, Beethoven's Ninth -- forward into Mendelssohn's fingals cave and to the elves cavorting in the sparkling moonlight. (Richardt, Note 9, p. 7)

We are drawn back to Gade, the child. What a different childhood experience he had from Hartmann's. Touched by his father's everready good humor and his mother's deeper romantic nature, Gade grew up, as an only child, with both a sense of gaiety and a deep appreciation for literature and the theater of tragedy. From his earliest years the lad was an avid reader on all topics; his favorites, though, were the romantic tragedies of Adam Oehlenschläger and the folkeviser compiled by A.P. Bergreen.

Neither of his parents had any serious interest in music, yet, his father, a cabinetmaker who specialized in constructing violins and guitars, recognized the necessity for Niels to have some kind of formal musical training. At six he began training with the violin virtuoso



Frederik Wexschall. His father, in fact, had his heart set on Niels following his own footsteps in becoming a cabinet maker, but the sixteen year old's successful debut on the violin in 1834 forced him to realize that his son's real talents and desires were elsewhere. That year, Gade gained admittance to the violin school of the Royal Orchestra. Numbered among his fellow students and friends were the Helsted brothers and the future actor-director Frederik Høedt; together they discovered the riches of Germany's great composers: Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schumann.

Fortune did not come easily to the young man. When one of Gade's first compositions, Socrates (1835), was given a reading by the Royal Orchestra, the budding composer was so discouraged with the results of the session that he charged home and threw the manuscript into the oven (Erslev, 1920, 2, p. 166). The year 1838 brought additional disappointment. A group of experts gathered to hear Gade's newest work, an overture. At its conclusion, only harsh silence greeted the artist. Only Frølich offered a few polite words before quickly leaving the room (Kjerulf, 1917, p. 38).

Yet, the following year, Bournonville took the young man under his wing. The twenty-three year old was asked to arrange some of Kuhlau's music as a score for Aladdin or the Wonderful Lamp, an Oehlenschläger play directed by Bournonville. So pleased was Bournonville with Gade's work that he gave the composer another opportunity for artistic growth by juxtaposing his creative talents alongside that of the respected Johan F. Frølich.

The resulting Muses of the Fatherland premiered in 1839. The occasion, which obviously generated great attention on Gade, was the official reopening of the Royal Theater following a two months mourning period for the death of King Frederik VII (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1953, pp. 230-231). Schiørring (1978) has pointed out that in these early works Gade emulated the style of the then popular composers: Weber, Spohr, and Rossini. The "Nordic frankness, rhythmic feeling, and the form of harmonically expressive character" which characterized his mature style was only just beginning to emerge (2, p. 318).

Fortune struck at long last for the twenty-five year old artist in 1841 in the form of his instantaneous success, Echoes of Ossian. Having been intimately familiar with the past works of Kuhlau (his singspiel,

The Elfin Hill), Mendelssohn's "A Midsummer's Night's Dream," and "The Hebrides" overture, Gade created his masterpiece based upon the poetic folk song melodies while employing a free form structural base. In his diary, Gade fully acknowledged the folkeviser as the most important inspirational force behind this work. Kappel (1954) acknowledged that this overture introduced the Danish nationalistic style of absolute music, as opposed to music written for the theater (p. 20). The fresh idea that Gade contributed to the Danish style of his elders was the "poetic dreaminess of the orchestration . . . so boldly pointed yet delicate in its spirited rhythms . . . his talent for orchestration was obvious" (Behrend, 1935, pp. 564-565).

The overture was awarded the first prize in the Copenhagen Musical Society's competition, and from this encouragement, Gade ambitiously sent the score of his Symphony in C Minor to Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn was impressed and invited Gade to visit him in Leipzig. Bournonville sensed Gade's emerging fame and engaged him for one more project, the blue grotto scene music for Napoli (1842). Gade's musical style for that second act was described as "lyric-illustrative" (Schjørring, 1978, 2, p. 318).

A study grant from Christian VIII enabled Gade to fulfill his dream of studying in Leipzig under Mendelssohn. The debut of his first symphony by the Gewandhaus Orchestra in 1843, under Mendelssohn's baton, scored another triumph for the rising star. A French newspaper reported that "the young Danish composer is making something of a sensation in Germany . . . he is said to be a living image of Mozart." More praises: "nothing quite like him has come our way among the young composers in a long time" (Pleasant, 1965, p. 191). After hearing the Symphony, Mendelssohn wrote to Gade that he would be:

one who will follow your work with love and sympathy and when I meet an artist of your rank and a work of art, like your C minor Symphony, it will be the greatest, happiest occasion. (Henriques, 1891, p. 10)

The following year, Mendelssohn took some of Gade's compositions with him for his guest appearance as a conductor in London, a city which almost worshipped the masterful German. Between Gade and his mentor a close rapport had taken shape; "Mendelssohn's romanticism, with its deep classical roots," was Gade's ideal (Schiørring, 1978, 2, p. 168). In one of his letters to home, Gade referred to Mendelssohn as the most "delightful person under the sun and moon" (Erslev, 1920, p. 168).

Not long after, Gade became Mendelssohn's assistant conductor and instructor in his famed Leipzig Conservatory. With Mendelssohn's unexpected death in 1847, Gade was appointed conductor of the Gewandhaus Orchestra. But the honeymoon was over for this ambitious Dane. German musical taste had been on the verge of change, and only through Mendelssohn's magnetic presence had the older classical aesthetic been maintained. Gade's artistic personality had been too closely aligned with that of his predecessor. The anti-Mendelssohn forces found Gade a ready scapegoat. Denmark's war with Prussia over Slesvig-Holstein duchies provided a valuable excuse for Gade to make a hero's return to Copenhagen. Not until the winter of 1853 did Gade return to the Gewandhaus Orchestra as guest conductor.

Copenhagen welcomed her first true international celebrity with awe and respect. He was named director of the Musikforeningen, a post he shared with his future father-in-law. Gade immediately reorganized the orchestra using Lumbye's Tivoli ensemble as the core. The orchestra was not as strong as that of the Royal Theatre, but it provided Copenhagen with an orchestral medium for absolute music.

From 1851 to 1858, he was the organist at Garnisons Church, switching to Holmens Church in 1858 after the organ he designed for that church was installed; he remained the director of music there until his death in 1890. The position of organist required a high level of dedication and piety. None of Gade's usual lightly tempting romantic qualities was allowed to permeate his otherwise strongly didactic sacred tones (Behrend, 1930, p. 94).

Marriage beckoned. He and Sophie Hartmann were married but only a brief interlude of happiness was destined. She died in 1855 shortly after the birth of her first child.

In 1853 Gade worked with Bournonville for the last time. At the same time he was also composing a second work, Elf Shot, based upon similar folk tale themes to A Folk Tale. While his first and third act music for A Folk Tale paid deep allegiance to his Mendelssohn-Schumanesque foundation, Elf Shot has come to be considered "his greatest gift to his Danish homeland" (Behrend, 1918, p. 53). Deeply steeped in Nordic mythology, Elf Shot has remained Gade's most vigorously creative work.

Based primarily upon the poetry of C.K.E. Molbech, who was inspired by folkeviser, Gade interpolated passages

by other authors into his text which tells of young Oluf being mortally wounded as a result of his evening encounter with elf maidens. Compare the effects of being elf shot in this excerpt of Molbech's poem, which emphasizes demonic terror, and Bournonville's softened effect upon Junker Ove in A Folk Tale. [Refer to the libretto in Chapter Six.]

Lord Oluf halted his steed at evening  
while the mists drifted on the meadows  
of fragrant flowers and verdant grass;  
fain would he seek his rest,

---

He turned his glance towards Fairy Hill,  
his eyes it gripped in a trance,  
of its numerous maidens came forth,  
who lure with song and with discourse.

---

Thus I advise our Danish lad,  
who a-riding would go in the woods:  
let him ride not off to Fairy Hill  
nor lay himself down there to sleep.  
Beware, O beware of the Fairy Thicket,  
where the heart is caught in a trance.  
(Gade, Note 10)

Following two highly successful theater works, Gade was dashed into despair, first with the death of his mother-in-law, Emma Hartmann, and then with the passing of his own beloved wife, Sophie, in 1855. By 1857 life brightened with a new marriage, to Mathilde Stæger, a union which was both long and fruitful.

The following year "Baldur's Dream" was performed for the first time but received scathing reviews. One reviewer described his work as "noise instead of musicianship, an absence of melodic foundation" (Behrend, 1930, p. 30). It was as though the critics had formulated a pre-conceived sound which they expected Gade to produce and he had failed them. From that time on, he curtailed the spontaneity and vitality heard in his earlier works, gradually becoming more academically dry (Horton, 1963, p. 119).

Gade had not been connected with the Royal Theatre since the days of his youth, a situation unique in Denmark particularly considering Gade's position there and abroad. The directorship of the opera orchestra was then vacant, in 1863, so Gade's friends sought the position for him. Gade had never had any experience in opera; orchestral music was his forte. A few uncomfortable months with the opera were enough to force Gade to withdraw from the experiment.<sup>a</sup>

These experiences colored Gade's perception of himself. He diminished his compositional output while

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<sup>a</sup>Holger Paulli, ballet accompanist and composer, was then named permanent conductor, remaining in that position until his retirement in 1883.



strengthening his grip on the progress of compositional style in Denmark. His talent for administration was equal to that of his German mentor, and Gade was not one to bypass the call of success and its accompanying powerful influence. Gade marshalled the easy-going Hartmann and Paulli into developing both the Musikforeningen and the Copenhagen Conservatory along strongly prestigious autocratic lines, as he had learned in Leipzig. The idealized beauty of his earlier works slipped into the past. Looked upon as nature's "fairhaired son," Gade was clever enough to use his naturally dominating personality for his own ends (Sejr, 1955, p. 5).

Through sequential observation of the many drawings and daguerreotypes of Gade, Schiørring has noted obvious personality changes as Gade aged. From an outward friendly, clear-eyed expression during his twenties in the 1840's, Gade gradually became more self-centered, careful, and definitely self-assured with the passing years:

Nothing much romantic was there to find in Gade's exterior or in his temperment . . . in many ways he was not a particularly amiable bloke . . . our most romantic composer, in reality, had a cold and conscious brain.  
(Schiørring, 1978, 2, p. 231)

As principal conductor for the Musikforeningen and as a teacher, Gade was a stern disciplinarian with a

"gruff but helpful paternalism" (p. 233). Although he preferred his favorites, Mozart, Beethoven, Handel, and Haydn, one of his organ students, Johannes Beck, recalled that Gade did not shy away from the contemporary composers, like Liszt and Wagner (Behrend, 1930, p. 61). Two generations of Scandinavian composers passed under his discerning yet domineering eye. The control he exerted over style, harmonics, and subject matter became nothing short of dictatorial. In his relations with his musicians he could be both a jovial gentleman and the sarcastic despot.

In style, Gade's music remained modest, almost devoid of attitudes and gestures, without dramatic moments which would have created lush signatures in sound. As Yoell (1974) observed: "He seems to have watered down his original promise as a Danish nationalist in preference for routine, though palatable, cosmopolitanism" (p. 98). Only the Danish fragrance was retained in a music which turned toward classical ideals; Mendelssohn's precepts overrode every musical decision. Rarely did Gade attempt to blend new colors on his tightly-controlled palette. The few excursions Gade made into Bournonville's world of ballet music constitute a slight break in this creative continuity. Of Bournonville's and Hartmann's influence

over Gade, Kjerulf (1917) concluded that "the two had been, in any case, seductive against Gade's chaste muse" (p. 240). Although never close friends, Gade and Bournonville worked well together, each appreciating and respecting the other. That Gade recognized Bournonville's musical abilities can be seen from one little incident which occurred a few years after Bournonville's death.

Out for a stroll, Gade halted in front of the old Bournonville home in Fredensborg. Cocking his ear, with a half sad half roguish expression, he said: "Only the widow and music is left--". Bournonville was by himself music's most important representative (Behrend, 1930, p. 113). Only three times had the two men collaborated for a ballet, the last and most important occasion being A Folk Tale in 1854. For Denmark Gade was the first composer in modern times to become world famous. In no small way, Bournonville's perception of Gade's talent and early support helped the young genius onto his road to fame. Bournonville called back the favor in 1853; he knew that Gade would provide just the clean, gay, lightly cosmopolitan orchestration that he envisioned for his first and third acts.

With a combination like Hartmann and Gade, as we have seen, there was no chance for A Folk Tale to fail owing to a poor musical conception. The musical foundation was rich and secure.

## CHAPTER VI

### A FOLK TALE: DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBRETTO

Our sky is not so free,  
a chill is on our sea,  
Nor have our woods the palm tree's sway,  
as in the South, men say.  
But the Northern lights flash over the sky,  
the woods whisper fairy tales airily,  
and the sea doth bound  
as a lingering sound  
of our father's song of victory.

Bjørnstern Bjørnsson

In the preceding chapters, various elements in Danish history, Bournonville's own life, Danish socio-economic conditions, Danish musical aesthetics, and the biedermeier Copenhagen taste which formed the underlying structure upon which Bournonville's ballets were designed were introduced. When B.J. Hovde (1948) described society, he defined it as "a composite of its living individuals as conditioned by the inherited experience of the past and by their own adjustment to a changing world" (p. 707). It was upon such a foundation that A Folk Tale took its place in 1854 in the repertoire of the Royal Danish Ballet as an integral part of the cultural life and heritage of nineteenth century Denmark.

Part of the balletmaster's ability to meet the exacting standards of the cultural community was his unique ability to transcend the plebian role of entertainer to that of a respected ballet digter or poet of the people. That title meant a great deal to Bournonville and his cultural peers. Oehlenschläger and Ørsted were two respected writers of the time who sought to define that role.

Adam Oehlenschläger, the father of Danish Romanticism, was Bournonville's childhood idol and one of the first truly great writers committed to the development of the "mother" tongue as an expressive medium (Griffin, 1875, p. 272). He, as is exemplified in his St. John's Evening Play (1803), exalted idealism in the poet, whose first duty is to uplift and ennoble mankind. He raised such serious questions as man's relationship to nature, life and death, diligence, and conscience which were submerged into the innocuous story of a trip to Deer Park and vignettes depicting everyone's favorite activities there, a theme comfortable to all Copenhageners.

H.C. Ørsted contributed further to the establishment of high standards for the role of digter in The Spirit

of Nature (1850):

The sunlight of science must penetrate the Digter; he must perceive truth and harmony in the minute as well as in the immensely great with a clear eye; it must purify and enrich his understanding and imagination, show him new forms which will make his word even more alive. (Bredsdorff, 1975, p. 227)

Even before he was accorded the exalted title of digter, Bournonville took his role of ballet composer very seriously. Full responsibility for his ballets rested with him; from the first idea to the last jeté in the finale galop, Bournonville sought control of each element. In My Theatre Life, he confided that he found it difficult to select story ideas which were appealing to his audiences and suited to the uniquely dramatic and technical talents of his company. He was at his best, in his own estimation, when a production harmoniously wedded nature, human life, and history with the plasticity of ballet. That his best ballets succeeded in cementing the relationship between French balletic vocabulary and forms to Nordic idealism was observed by Edmund Gosse in his 1874 review for Cornhill Magazine:

This poet . . . has retained instead the most divine faculty for devising intricate and exquisite dances, and for framing stories of a dramatic kind, in which all the action is performed in dumb show, and consists of a succession of mingled tableaux and dances. (p. 300)

Based upon the foundation material developed during the preceding chapters, A Folk Tale is to be discussed here and in Chapter Seven from the basis of such data as could be ascertained from existing source material dating from the 1853-1854 season and augmented, where needed, by information from more recent productions. Following is my translation of the final draft of the libretto which Bournonville completed in February, 1854. This version became the printed program sold at all performances. Until the end of the last century the text was not altered, but in this century the program material has been edited down to about three or four pages.



The Published Libretto

A FOLK TALE<sup>a</sup>

A Ballet in Three Acts  
by  
August Bournonville

Music Composed by Gade and Hartmann  
Scenery by Hrrer. Christensen and Lund  
Costumes Designed by Hr. Edv. Lehmann  
Machinery Arranged by Hr. Wedden

Performed for the First Time March 20, 1854

CHARACTERS

HILDA, a mountain lass . . . . .	Jfr. Juliette Price
MURI, a troll woman . . . . .	Mme. Møller
DIDERIK her sons . . . . .	Hr. Hoppensach
VIDERIK . . . . .	Hr. Stramboe

ELFMAIDENS, GNOMES, DWARVES AND TROLLS

FRØKEN BIRTHE, heiress to the manor . .	Jfr. P. Fredstrup
JUNKER OVE, her cousin and fiancé . . .	Hr. Funck
FRU KIRSTINE, their aunt . . . . .	Jfr. Larcher, Sr.
HERR MOGENS . . . . .	Hr. Gade
CATHERINE, old housekeeper, former nurse	Jfr. J. Fredstrup
MORTEN, the cook . . . . .	Jr. Fussel, Jr.
ELSE, a pantry servant . . . . .	Mme. Stillmann
DORTHE, a lady's maid . . . . .	Jfr. Garlieb

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, PEASANTS AND SERVANTS

SOLO DANCES

Mm. Hoppe, Lund, and Fredstrup; Mme. Keliermann; Mlles.  
Rostock, S. Price, Borup and Bills.

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<sup>a</sup>August, Bournonville, A Folk Tale, (Copenhagen: J.H. Schubothes Boghandel, 1854).

The action takes place in Jutland in the early sixteenth century.

ACT ONE

Scene 1

A party at the foot of a wooded hill.

The servants from the manor are busily setting up a table under an old oak tree when a hunting horn is heard nearby; it is the capricious Frøken Birthe, who has ordered the table to be prepared in that particular spot. The old housekeeper takes no pleasure in this fancy and recounts the legend of the hill folk and the trolls. All the serving girls become uneasy, but Birthe's arrival soon gets them moving again. Their confusion and several mishaps enflame her temper, which with the approach of the guests is transformed into the most obliging friendliness.

Scene 2

The party, which consists of Birthe's aunt, the young Junker Ove, several gentlemen and ladies and the stiff but chivalrous Hr. Mogens, take their places at the richly-set table. The huntsmen play lively dinner music, and the peasants perform their country dances as entertainment for the guests.

The mistress proposes several dances and games, demonstrating her bizarre humor, while Hr. Mogens seizes every opportunity to show gallantry to her, in contrast to her cousin, who seems cold and preoccupied. Birthe cannot conceal her annoyance over her fiance's behavior, and when darkness falls, she offers her arm to Hr. Mogens and invites her guest to follow them back to the manor.

The Junker remains alone in the woods, in spite of Catherine's warnings, and sits brooding near the hill.

### Scene 3

From underground, music is heard and the hill begins to rise on four blazing columns: the hill folk are working the forge and are dancing to the blows of the hammer. In the middle sits the Troll Woman, while at her side stands a lovely girl in glimmering raiment holding a large golden cup in her hand. She approaches Ove with floating steps and offers him the full cup; he accepts it with his gaze fastened intently on the airy figure, but pours its contents on the ground, and bluish flames gush forth from the grass. The Mountain Lass asks him to return the cup; she threatens and entices, but Ove is determined to keep it. A struggle ensues during which the Troll Woman finally becomes impatient and drags the

girl inside; with a signal she closes the hill and calls the elf maidens forth from the depths of the marsh.

Clothed in fluttering gowns with rushes and water-lilies in their flowing hair, they encircle Ove and pull him with them into a whirling dance. He attempts to escape, but in vain. They entangle him in their misty veils, and finally he sinks exhausted at the foot of the hill, with the cup tightly clasped to his breast.

## ACT TWO

### Scene 1

The Troll Woman's underground hall. In the middle is a large hearth with forges on either side of the stage,

Diderik and Viderik each sit at their forges and hammer out gold jewelry for Hilda, who is sitting spinning on her distaff; Muri stands by the hearth making pancakes. The brothers, who are both in love with the Mountain Lass, do not hide their jealousy, but take every opportunity to pull each other's hair; their mother has trouble controlling them.

The highest ranking trolls of the district have been invited to a banquet, and the most splendid utensils in the house are brought out. The gold cup, which the Junker still has, makes Muri wonder. Diderik is, as the

eldest son, chosen to be Hilda's spouse, and Muri decides that it will be best to hold the nuptials as soon as possible. Viderik becomes disconsolate and creates a veritable uproar. But old Muri, misunderstanding the injustice, picks up a large birch rod, grabs her disruptive son by his frizzy hair, and drags him out with her in order to give him a severe punishment.

### Scene 2

Diderik's proposal--which essentially consists of draping his adored with all the jewelry that both he and his brother had forged for her--runs into trouble. Hilda makes him understand that she likes him very much but in no way will she have him as her husband. His change from flattery to indignation only contributes to emphasize his ugliness. She dances titteringly around him and he runs menacingly off to complain to his mother.

### Scene 3

Hilda looks compassionately after her rejected suitor but is determined that she will never be his bride. On the other hand, she wishes for her handsome Junker and recalls with yearning their meeting near the hill. Feeling tired, she lies down for a rest on the couch, where she soon falls asleep.

Out of the dream's mist, a row of hovering pictures unfolds to the accompaniment of lullaby melodies:

A nurse sits rocking an infant. By her side stands a table with a lamp and a gold cup. A group of angels, kneeling in front of a picture of a cross, pass over the rocker and the sleeping nurse.

Small trolls rise up from the floor. In their arms, they carry a baby in swaddling clothes whom they kiss and hug. They approach the cradle and exchange the children. One of the little goblins notices the gold cup. Lifting it up, he drains it before stuffing it into his pocket. The trolls then sink back down into the ground with their changeling.

Hilda awakens--all has disappeared. She attempts fruitlessly to recollect her dream; only one point remains distinct to her, and when she finds two sticks on the hearth, fashions a cross in front of which she kneels somewhat like the angels in the cloud.

#### Scene 4

Muri returns startled to see Hilda's devotion and threatens her into throwing the sticks away. Diderik appears in his best clothes; Viderik afterward enters with a red-eyed expression and intent upon revenge.

The guests assemble for the stately banquet; the engaged couple is introduced and the toast is proposed to them.

Hilda must dance to entertain the visitors, and Viderik is comanded to accompany her on the dulcimer. The trolls are delighted. The beer is intoxicating and the party becomes uproarious. Meanwhile, Hilda arranges with Viderik to escape when the troll dance is at its wildest swing.

They carry out their plan and disappear through the forge.

### ACT THREE

#### Scene 1

On the outskirts of the forest. To the left a spring is seen with a picture of St. John. In the background, fields and meadows. Further on is the manor and, in the distance, the heath.

Harvesters cut and rake grass in the meadow; the poor and infirm kneel by the spring and partake of its healing water. Hilda, dressed as a rustic, and Viderik, gotten up as a tinker, come forward out of the thicket and observe the peaceful scene, but with different reactions. The dwarf entertains himself with the superstitions of the elderly, but Hilda, who remembers her dream and recognizes the cross in the hands of little St. John, reprimands his mocking accompaniment and makes friends with the poor.

The harvesters, who have finished their work, sit down under the trees to eat their lunch which Else brings them. They are intrigued by the strange girl and flock around her curiously, but find her not particularly fit for work. Viderik encourages them to dance and accompanies them on his dulcimer. Hilda participates in their round dance, but exhibits such a marvelous lightness that the peasants are so startled at the sight they simply forget their own skipping.

### Scene 2

Hr. Mogens moves in among the group with a graceful condescending air and, as usual, is an object of the girls' pranks. Their gaiety ceases when Junker Ove approaches. His whole expression bears the mark of quiet madness; he sees the elf maidens dancing and hears the troll's hammer blows everywhere. Compassionately, the peasants make a pathway for him; only Hilda remains behind and steps forward to ask him about the cup, which he continues to hold in his hand. The Junker studies the girl thoughtfully, but it is impossible for him to remember the memories which began with her airy appearance. Hilda, acting out of instinctive inspiration, fills the gold cup with the miraculous water from the spring and brings it over to Ove, who brings it to his lips, while Hilda kneels



in front of the cross held in the arms of the little St. John. Ove is overcome with trembling. His eyes light up, his head is cleared, he sees everything around him with awareness and joy. Recognizing Hilda, he names her his Angel of Salvation. Viderik, who has observed all their actions, stamps indignantly between them, threatens Junker, and tries to drag Hilda off.

The lovers make futile attempts to appease him [Viderik] with their pleas and offerings. Finally, when Hilda asks him if he prefers her to return to the trolls and marry his brother, he shudders with terror. Rather than see that hated union occur, he gives the girl to a jubilant Ove.

### Scene 3

Hr. Mogens, who has mistaken the interference of the tinker and the mysterious girl and, in addition, does not like seeing the daft Junker getting closer to Frøken Birthe's manor house, collects the peasants in order to free the neighborhood of these unwelcome guests. Ove attempts to remonstrate with them, but no one takes him seriously, thinking that he is still possessed. He becomes angry and will defend the girl, but he is overwhelmed and carried off.

Hilda, as agile as a hind, escapes her pursuers, and Viderik executes a clever trick to overthrow the whole army.

#### Scene 4

Frøken Birthe's room at the manor house.

Dorthe, one of the chambermaids, lays out Birthe's clothes and uses her absence to try them on herself. While she stares and gapes in front of the mirror, in comes the pantrymaid with the Frøken's drink. She also wants to dress up; the other girls follow the example and soon the whole toilette is divided up among them. Their frölic lasts only a short time when . . . the bell . . . Birthe enters dressed in a morningrobe and vents all her ill humor for the day by being particularly hard-to-please about her clothing. A number of petty incidents bring on her rage; she kicks at her servants, shoves old Catherine away and shows her aunt to the door. The girls, who are now driven to their limits, raise a fuss. Suddenly, Birthe cries out for help being overcome by her excitement, and falls into a faint.

At this moment, Hilda runs into the room, the cup in her hand. All are astonished to see this strange girl but she thinks that this place reminds her of her dream with

its gentle lullaby. She sees the old nurse; leading her slowly over to the easychair, Hilda sits down on her lap. The cup is recalled as being the one which disappeared in the Frøken's earliest youth. Fru Kirstine discovers a mark on Hilda's shoulder and all exclaim with happiness that she must be their rightful mistress. Birthe awakens from her fainting spell and is furious to see the homage being paid to this strange girl. She orders that they should chase Hilda out, but contrary to her command, they try to exorcise her as a troll. Frøken Birthe rings her bell and stamps in vain. Since her tantrums are only met with contempt and loathing, she throws a cape around herself and hurries in a rage out to the woods in order to bring the farmers home.

The aunt, maids, and all the girls gather around Hilda and with loving solicitude lead her in to dress her for the celebration.

#### Scene 5

The woods next to the spring.

An old woman enters with an empty wheelbarrow on which lays sticks and twigs. She looks all around and sounds a lur to call the rendezvous. Diderik and all the dwarves creep forward out of the bushes. The woman throws off her hood; it is Muri. She announces to the hill folk

that now that their favorite has returned to the Christian people, there will be no more happiness for them here in Denmark. She hands out walking sticks and bids them to prepare themselves for long journeys. Diderik is disconsolate and his mother must again use her authority to dampen his sorrowful eruption. The hill folk hear a noise and sink back down into the ground.

Hr. Mogens, who has armed all the farmhands of the manor, has broken them into different groups and sends them off to the right and left in order to capture the fugitives. Exhaustedly he sits down under a large tree and reflects upon his love for the rich Frøken, whom he is in hopes of winning on his personal merits. Viderik, who has collected a handful of seed, slowly enters. Mogens is not seen calling his people together; they tumble in from every quarter, but Viderik, having climbed up into a tree, tosses the seed all over them, and they freeze as if they were statues. Then the squint-eyed dwarf takes out his dulcimer and amuses himself by seeing his petrified opponents nod and shake their heads, without being able to move their hands or feet.

Birthe rushes in to seek help against her rebellious servants. But what can equal her surprise and indignation

when, instead of defending her rights, Hr. Mogens and his army look at her with pitiable expressions nodding and shaking their heads! She discovers Viderik, who with malicious humor, observes the scene his troll art has conjured. He freely and familiarly approaches Birthe and strikes her jovially on the shoulder, calling her "sister" as he offers his hand and kiss for a greeting. She pushes him away from her and tries to impress him with her high rank, but Viderik points to her frizzy hair and the tremendous resemblance she has to him: her blistering-bad temper, her knotted hands, and her stamping feet. All clearly confirm that Birthe is in fact a troll.

The family rises up out of the ground: the armed farmhands regain use of their limbs, but only to use them to free themselves for their escape. Hr. Mogens is encircled by small trolls, who dance around him and jab him in the sides. Muri walks over to Birthe and gives her a motherly embrace. Diderik and Viderik greet their sister warmly and ask her to join them on their journey. But Birthe would rather die than return to her race and she cannot be forced. Muri wishes therefore to test her and directs her attention to Hr, Mogens, whom she knows has proposed to her daughter. But matters have changed; the manor is no longer part of the dowry. Muri is not

self-conscious; with a signal, she directs the dwarves to drag in chests and barrels of money which they load onto the wheelbarrow and push forward in front of the astonished suitor, who cannot quite believe that they are not figments of his imagination. Muri, her sons and entire household troop sadly off and Hr. Mogens, letting the dowry lead the way, offers the Frøken his arm and takes "Troll for Gold."

#### The Last Scene

Twilight covers all and summer is in its full radiance. The St. John's festival procession draws near with its country magnificence of banners, chains of flowers, and herbal sprays. The medieval Bacchus sits on his beer keg which is borne around triumphantly. Jugglers and dancing gypsies accompany the people of the manor and two waiters carrying staves and silver tankards lead the procession.

Hilda, richly attired and surrounded by distinguished kinsmen, enters and receives greetings from all. Ove kneels gallantly before her; she again hands him the gold cup and presents him her hand and her heart.

The young master and mistress take their places on the seat of honor, Music plays, dancing heightens the feeling of happiness and, under the beautiful maypole, midsummer is celebrated.

The following discussion includes a comparison of the first draft of this libretto, completed in July, 1853 with the final version completed in February, 1854. This first version was submitted to theater director Johan Ludvig Heiberg for approval. Emphasis has been limited to those additions or deletions of scenes or stage business in the major roles of Junker Ove, Hilda, Muri, Frøken Birthe, Viderik, Diderik, and Mogens.

Since Bournonville's own notes on the ballet and those of his student Ludvig Gade do not seem to have survived, one scene from each of the three acts will be compared according to the written notes which do exist, those of Emil Hansen, Hans Beck, and Valborg Borchsenius.<sup>a</sup> [See Chapter Seven.] Because, with the exception of the final three scenes of the third act, the changes were minor in nature, the complete translation of this original manuscript<sup>b</sup> has not been included. To compare those three scenes (Bournonville expanded the action and added another scene to the final edition) see Appendix C, Scenes from Act Three of the First Draft of A Folk Tale, dated July 16, 1853.

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<sup>a</sup>Refer to Appendix A, Biographical Information.

<sup>b</sup>Translated for the author by Patricia McAndrew.



The second section of this chapter consists of a discourse on those elements from Scandinavian folklore, tales, and related theatrical productions which relate directly to the development of the plot material.

### Evolution of the Libretto

Prior to nationalization of the Royal Theater in 1848, ten to twelve new productions were mounted annually, but that figure dropped to an average of seven during the economic squeeze the theater experienced in the years following. Usually the Ballet only produced one new work per year and Bournonville made numerous complaints about the stringent budgets under which he had to attempt to create new effects. According to Alan Fridericia (1979), in the period 1851-1855, Bournonville created only two pivotal works: Wedding Festival at Hardanger and A Folk Tale (p. 303). Bournonville, recovering from a number of personally felt crises surrounding midlife, had to adjust creatively to an increasingly depressed economic situation in the theater. Bournonville did transcend limitation and created, in A Folk Tale, a ballet which not only delighted his audience but endured to please audiences for one hundred and twenty-five years.

Development of an aesthetic rationale for the libretto began with Bournonville's al fresco conversations with Frederich Høedt, an actor and director known for his directoral sensitivity and theatrical innovations, during the summer of 1853. Excited in Bournonville were the relationships he drew, especially the childhood fantasies in the tales he had learned from his Swedish mother, Lovisa Håkansson:

The old legends about gnomes, elf maidens and beautiful children were of considerable use to me in this subject. A feature in Thiele's collection of stories where one hears goblins holding the banquet toasting one another with "Skål Diderik!" "Thanks Viderik!" gave me a whole imaginary picture of life inside the hills, . . . most varied situations emerged from the cycle of legends as well as the manor life of the middle ages. (Bournonville, 1979, pp. 126-217)

Gradually his thoughts combined both borrowed and original elements into a cohesive, workable plot which captured the totality of the Danish Romantic spirit. On July 16, 1853, he recorded his finishing the libretto, and this version was sent to Heiberg for approval. Confident in the perfect modelling of the concepts and form, Bournonville expressed both impatience and anger that Heiberg's acceptance was so long in coming. By this time, the two men had become adversaries on a number of administrative and artistic issues. Heiberg accepted the

idea for production but succeeded in placing a number of hurdles in the balletmaster's path throughout the rehearsal phase; Bournonville's much publicized departure to Vienna during the summer of 1854 and during the 1855-1856 season resulted.

As rehearsals progressed and Bournonville developed his ideas in conjunction with his dancers and worked out the score with his composers, Gade and Hartmann, a few minor revisions in the libretto occurred. Because, with the exception of scene 5 and the final scene of Act 3, Bournonville's changes were minor, the complete first draft has not been included. Consult Appendix C to compare those previously mentioned alterations from the July, 1853 draft to the final, published version. In the following section, variations which exist are identified and discussed.

## ACT ONE

### Scene 1

The ballet was originally set in the fifteenth century, but the time was changed to the sixteenth century. Although Bournonville gave no justification for this change, the sixteenth century does correspond with

the earliest recordings of ballads upon which a number of elements in the storyline are based.

### Scene 2

Birthe's relationship to her guests in terms of age was changed. The earlier script emphasized the age difference and exploited the guests' advanced age giving Birthe an opportunity to make that an object of her "bizarre humor."

### Scene 3

While the original draft only points out that the dance scene of Hilda and Junker Ove "forms a contrast to the bustle going on inside the hill," Bournonville became more descriptive once the action had been formulated through rehearsals. Hilda attempted to retrieve her cup.

The closing moments of the act, in which Junker Ove was "elf-shot" by the elf maidens at Muri's command, were much more diabolically emphatic in the final draft. Originally, Junker Ove was swept along in the maidens' whirling dance and only fell exhausted at its culmination. Instead, emphasis was placed on his being thoroughly entangled as though in a spider's web.

ACT TWOScene 1

Bournonville must have realized that what an audience could see plainly need not be described [the descriptions could have been for Heiberg's benefit] so the setting for the second act is but casually referred to in the printed version.

Except for the change of stage business showing servants cleaning the silver serving pieces for the banquet to showing the best utensils of the household simply brought into the hall, the action described was identical. Only minor translating interpretations can identify any differences.

Scene 2

Again the two librettos are identical except for the evil nature of Diderik being strengthened in the final script. His ugly nature is shown in a total lack of sincerity; he will change from cunning flattery to demanding childishness. And when those tactics do not work, off he runs to seek his mother's assistance.

Scene 3

The action is identical in both scripts.

Scene 4

In the first draft, Bournonville has the red-eyed Viderik enter with his mother. Delaying Viderik's entrance, as Bournonville did in his revised version, serves to strengthen the religious confrontation between the pagan troll woman and the mountain girl who was only just beginning to realize her true identity as a baptised human.

The entrance of the fantastic stream of netherworld guests was set off as a separate paragraph sentence in the final copy. Originally only a cursory sentence was added to the same paragraph describing Muri's startled reaction to Hilda being discovered at her devotions.

No mention of the guests' reaction to Hilda's dance is given in the first draft. It is, however, in the revised edition. The dwarves' pleasure from observing her provided an exuberant logic for them as they spilled into their own bizarre versions of her chaste virtuosity.

ACT THREEScene 1

The well, which is only specifically identified with St. John in the final version, was considered holy because of its surroundings. Again, Bournonville made the final

draft less detailed in description allowing the action to move along in a more visual sense. Originally, Bournonville had written:

Hilda, who remembers her dream and has some slight idea of the significance of the Cross, chides her companion, is kind to the invalids, and breaks her golden rings in two and gives pieces to the poor.<sup>a</sup>

In the published version, this description became:

Hilda, who remembers her dream and recognizes the Cross in the hands of little St. John, reprimands his [Viderik's] mocking accompaniment and makes friends with the poor. (p. 8)

The significance of the spring is equally strengthened, for instead of the original "salutory water," Bournonville altered the adjective to "healing." The concept of connecting Hilda as a reborn Christian to the efficacy of their pilgrimage to the spring on St. John's eve was now complete.

The slight detail of Else having brought lunch to the farmers better defined the logic for having the farmhands enter just at that moment. In the first draft, Bournonville only mentioned that "the haymakers . . . come to enjoy their sandwiches beneath the shade of the trees."

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<sup>a</sup>Act 3, scene 3 (p. 6).

Scene 2

The significance of Junder Ove's healing and redemption through Hilda's faith-filled intervention was made the focus of the entire scene in the final version when Bournonville re-arranged the sequence of events slightly. At first the audience was to see Herr Mogens conspire with the peasants against Hilda and Viderik before Junker Ove's mind was restored. He had reason enough to suspect Hilda and Viderik of being trolls since these netherworld beings had the ability to take other forms on St. John's eve. Far less substantive was a conspiracy at this point in the action: as long as Junker Ove remained "elf struck," Herr Mogens was in an advantageous position with regards to Birthe's hand-in-marriage.

Junker Ove relives his meeting with Hilda and his subsequent disastrous encounter with the elf maidens without recognizing Hilda in the final draft. This is a far more logical approach than his reliving the past because he recognized Hilda, as was originally developed.

With "unconscious inspiration," Hilda gives Ove a drink of the miraculous spring waters with simple yet direct faith whereas she only gave him a drink of the



"bright water"--a description of far less importance to help relieve his faintness in the original draft. "Joy and awareness" are Ove's responses to the restoration of his senses in this version. In the published edition, reflecting Bournonville's Christian-toned concept, Ove goes beyond joy to acknowledge Hilda as his "Angel of Salvation."

At this point, the audience is reminded of the differences between humans who have the potential for redemption and trolls who do not. Viderik intercedes and attempts to drag Hilda off. Only her appeals to his jealousy and hatred of his brother Diderik make Viderik change his mind. Even a human husband is better than Hilda being wed to his despised brother Diderik.

### Scene 3

It is in this scene, then, that the planning of the conspiracy and its execution took place. Scene 2 stands as the climactic moment of the ballet; this scene with its Mack Sennet chase (complete with a grossly overweight cook waving a soup ladle and pot as he struggles along in the rear of the makeshift army) serves as an absolute contrast to the spiritualized harmony which

embued the previous scene, Jealousy and hatred are as vigorously exercised here as is the theme of love and charity in scene 2.

The importance of this scene in the character delineation of Herr Mogens is apparent later in the act when he chooses "troll for gold." The audience has to be made aware of Mogens' pragmatic view of life and the innate selfishness which underlay his chivalrous exterior.

#### Scene 4

It is interesting to see that Bournonville recognized that some break in the plot development was necessary at this point. Not until the twentieth century was it customary to close the grand drape between scenes. A "transformation" specified that the scenery was a visible part of the entertainment. As the audience is transported into Birthe's bed chamber, Bournonville stops the action when he has her maids play "dress up" in front of the full length mirror prior to the entrance of their shrewish mistress.

With Hilda running pell-mell into the scene, Bournonville must have realized that he had to get Birthe out of the center of the action. Her bombastic character would not have willingly permitted Hilda to establish her identity and therefore take over Birthe's position as

heiress to the manor without some kind of physical confrontation. So, in the final version, Bournonville has Birthe swoon into a fit and fall unconscious, thereby permitting the all important identification of the rightful heiress an opportunity to proceed.

Hilda's loving non-violent nature, demonstrated in Act 2 when she attempts to halt Viderik's and Diderik's fits of jealous fighting, would not allow her to stand up against Birthe's fury for that defense had to be waged by the servants. Originally Bournonville had the maids exhibit open contempt for their former mistress but this was not supportable behavior (the lower class' insurrection against the upper classes was not a stance Bournonville would have taken). He knew that Birthe had to be recognized by the maids as a troll; then whatever they did to her would be beyond reproach:

Birthe awakens from her fainting spell and is furious to see the homage being paid to this strange girl. She orders that they should chase Hilda out, but contrary to her command, they try to exorcise her as a troll.

In this way, verification that Birthe was a changeling was complete.

Greater emphasis is given to Aunt Kirstene in the revised libretto. This is, in fact, the only scene in which this character has any prominence, but she is a

necessary part in the logic of this scene. Certainly, as in the first draft, Catherine and the maids could have made the appropriate identification. But, had not a noble person, someone of authority, verified the changeling status and accepted Hilda as the rightful heiress, the scene would have little credibility.

#### Scene 5

In this portion of the ballet, Bournonville made the most drastic alterations on the original conception.

In the final version, this scene opens with the trolls preparing to depart from Denmark since "their darling has returned to the Christian race." This upcoming event focuses the libretto directly on the final outcome. In Bournonville's first draft, the scene opens with Herr Mogens marshalling the troops after Birthe rushes on to the stage seeking his assistance. The meeting between Birthe and Mogens, Birthe's subsequent recognition as a troll by Viderik and her finally electing to accompany her race becomes more clearly subordinated, yet in a supportive manner.

Bournonville knew that if Herr Mogens was left behind, as in his original idea, the character would become nearly irrelevant. The rationale for his having organized the chase in scene 3 was dangerously weakened.

The culmination of the troll netherworld portion of the plot was expanded into two scenes. Originally, Birthe gives in too easily at the sight of gold, with little attention given to the need of convincing her that she is a troll. Up to that point, her acceptance of her own identity has not been firmly established.

Viderik is now given another opportunity to work his magic. This provides another moment of comic relief to contrast with the heaviness of scene 5 and to prepare the audience for the positive resolution of the plot as Birthe and Mogens choose material gain, and Junker Ove and his Hilda choose spiritual love.

#### Last Scene

Purification of the hill from trolls along with the celebration of the haymaking festival appears to have been the intended focus of the original draft. Instead Bournonville decided to emphasize the pure rustic gaiety of "midsummer madness" with its pagan origins. The religious motives have been fulfilled, so the use of the gilded cross in the first version became a redundant symbol. The revelries, led by Bacchus riding on the wine cask, and a festival highlighted by the abandoned dancing of gypsies and jugglers, brings the ballet to a logical and joyous conclusion.

Neither draft mentions the finale waltz in which the bridal couple leads the entire gathering in a procession around the stage (consisting of touchingly simple pas de basques) and culminates in a final tableaux with the maypole as the central figure. This melody quickly became a traditional part of Danish weddings and has remained so to this day.

#### Folkloric Sources

Once an understanding of the basic plot and action has been acquired, the reader can comprehend and appreciate the sources the choreographer utilized when designing the premise, plot line, and actual stage business for the ballet. Bournonville borrowed heavily from a variety of sources. Among them were: folklore, poetry, previous productions at the Royal Theatre, and literature. First are those sources Bournonville found in the rich Scandinavian folkeviser heritage. He had grown up with these stories and then, as an adult, read them again when they were used by contemporary authors.

James Frazer called folk literature faithful reflections of the world of primitive man in which important elements of life have been distilled (vol. 11, 1935, p. 96). John Greenway (1977) differentiated between

pagan myths in which fate was the dominating force as opposed to Christianized myths in which Providence was the primary influence. "The truths of myth are cultural truths, for culture knows its values through images given them" (p. 60).

As Danish authors began to evolve a nationalistic viewpoint in their writings, they quite naturally took their ideas from their own unique native treasure: Viking sagas and ballads. Oehlenschläger was the first Dane to recognize the value of the Nordic gods as "eternal symbols of an eternal, living principle in the world of nature and the spirit" (p. 159). The Danish literary circle was eager to follow Oehlenschläger's lead and the nineteenth century was witness to an onslaught of modernized collections of ballads, sagas, and folk tales.

Bournonville was introduced to folk tales as a youngster by his mother who was considered quite an expert on the subject. His mother was a strong influence on Bournonville's early cultural life. The future choreographer substantiated her role in a letter dating from 1826: "I clearly see in Mama . . . the basis of virtue, of religion and wisdom she embraces in her love which God repays both of you in His benevolence" (Bournonville, 1969, p. 139).

As an adult, Bournonville was introduced to Just Thiele's small but carefully recorded collection of folk tales by fairy tale writer, Hans Christian Andersen. The choreographer acknowledged Thiele as his primary source for many portions of A Folk Tale. Schiørring has also connected the publication of Svend Grundtvig's Danmarks gamle Folkeviser (1853) to Bournonville's libretto (Schiørring, 2, 1977, p. 282). A brief excursion into Scandinavian folk literature provides an explanation for a number of thematic devices, all well-known to Danish audiences, which Bournonville used to create his libretto. Some are unique to Scandinavian folk stories but many are common to the tales and ballads of western Europe.

Dating from 1695, "The Elf Shot" is probably the oldest recorded story related to the plot development of A Folk Tale. The beautifully rhythmic verses tell of Sir Oluf who has ridden out to invite the guests to his wedding. Instead, he encounters the elf king's daughters who make numerous attempts to entice him: "Listen, Sir Oluf, thou dance with me, a bushel of gold shall I give to thee" (Dal, 1967, p. 33).

Sir Oluf resists but this enraged the maidens who curse him with "plague and sickness." He returns home but



is found dead the next morning. Shortly thereafter both his mother and his fiancée die of broken hearts. Encountering elf maidens is extremely dangerous.

Old Catherine, Birthe's nurse, is fearful at the thought of Junker Ove remaining unaccompanied at the foot of the hill. She is probably familiar with the west Jutland ballad, "The Elf Hill," which described how a young man sleeping on an elfin hill was awakened by three maidens. They invited him to dance with them and promised to teach him to read the mystic runes. His refusal to be tempted results in threats on his life from which only the cock's crowing brings escape.

Thus counsel I, all handsome youths,  
 wherever you may ride,  
 take not the road of the elfin hill  
 and sleep not on its side. (p. 37)

Elf maidens are particularly dangerous to karl, young unmarried men. Their usual ploy is to entice men with drink. Usually, like Junker Ove, they are able to remember warnings given to them to throw out the mystical brew. Traditionally these maidens dance encircling their prey much as a spider does and enveloping him in a web of vaporous mist. One ballad, recorded by Axel Olrik, describes the scene. "Where the white mists rise from the fens near the greenwood, weaving round tree and hill,

there is the fairy dance" (Olrik, 1939, pp. 54-55), just like a scene that Bournonville constructed to end Act 1.

Although not connected with elf maidens, Bournonville used trolls, well known for their malevolent nature, as the primary cause of conflict in his plot. As early as the eleventh century, sagas recorded creatures who guarded their treasure in deep underground caverns and who tore to shreds any human attempting to gain entry and steal their loot (Rydberg, vol. 1, 1907, pp. 312-321). From then on, trolls were definitely the enemies of man. Incredibly ugly, having bumpy bodies, humped backs and long crooked noses, they were seen rarely by man. This was fortunate since it was not possible to placate trolls in any way. Trolls hated man because, as older inhabitants of the earth, the gods had demoted them and forced them to live underground. Man usurped their position so to injure or annoy man gave trolls great pleasure (Williams, 1920, p. 403).

At night, troll children were sent out to pillage farmers for food or to steal gold and silver. Trolls hoarded the precious metals (Thiele, 1819, p. 37) and any thunder heard at night was thought to be them busily working the forges. And so, in Act 2, Bournonville used

the smallest trolls in Hilda's vision to exchange the infants and steal the gold cup.

Muri's and Viderik's aversion to symbols of Christianity, she to the image of the cross and he to the clanging of church bells, are normal troll reactions. Nothing annoyed them more than human piety. Trolls were thought to be connected with the "half quenched hope of redemption" of those forefathers who had died before being converted to Christianity; they were buried, therefore, in unconsecrated earth. Their spirits, like the trolls', were "doomed to wander about the lower regions or sigh within their mounds till the great day of redemption" (Keightley, 1978, p. 79). The ringing of church bells was considered particularly annoying to trolls and became the most effective means of ridding a neighborhood of these creatures.

Numerous Viking grave mounds dot the Danish countryside. Below these hills, where even today the vegetation is allowed to remain wild, trolls and dwarves lived. A number of tales recorded by Thiele describe the hills rising on four flaming pillars to reveal what was going on within the mound. Most observers saw a magnificent banquet in progress, just as the one Bournonville concocted for the climax of Act 2.

St. John's eve, coinciding with the summer solstice, was a magical time special to both humans and trolls. For humans, the day was marked by religious significance as evidenced by miraculous cures and by bacchanalian revels of purely pagan origins. Trolls also looked to the occasion as a time of festive rejoicing, drinking, and dancing.

Trolls could appear in other forms on St. John's eve, usually as some animal. Huge bonfires were set to ward off the trolls. Special St. John's herbs, picked at midnight, would be hung at doorways and on farm animals as protection. For, if a mound or field was suspected of having been inhabited by trolls, it would have to be purified before animals could be permitted to graze for fear of their being "struck with terrible misery" (Thiele, 1968, p. 142).

Frazer (1935) wrote that "at that mystic season the mountains open and from their cavernous depths the uncanny crew pours forth to dance and disport themselves for a time" (vol. 10, p. 171).

One of Thiele's tales depicts a young man who, walking near a hill, sees it rise on the four flaming pillars and thinks he can watch the great party unnoticed.

Soon one of the troll children approaches and offers him a drink from a gold cup. The man pours the drink out before escaping with the cup in his hand. Once home, he is first eager to protect his home and livestock by hanging crosses everywhere and then eager to retell how the trolls toasted each other (they were called either Viderik or Diderik):

"Skål! Viderik!" "Thanks, Diderik!" --  
 "Skål! Viderik's wife! -- Thanks  
 Diderik's beloved!" (Thiele, 1843, p. 234)

Bournonville's Viderik and Diderik, the two brothers vying for Hilda's affections, were given the generic names for trolls. The actual names, however, did not have their origins in the folkeviser but were historically derived. Diderik of Bern was a favorite medieval hero who, as a warrior, waged battle against both human and troll enemies. Another Diderik is based upon Theoderik, King of the East Goths, a king who relied upon his knights to fight his causes. His noble deeds were performed by his various young champions, and Viderik Verlandson was one of his most able squires (Olrik, 1939, pp. 63-64 & pp. 96-98).

Hilda and Birthe signify two different images in A Folk Tale. On one level they represent the changeling

children, a theme recurring in Scandinavian folkeviser. The changeling is not necessarily a troll or elf, as will be noted later in this chapter in connection with Heiberg's singspiel Elverhøj. Not having been baptized soon enough or being a troll means that a changeling acts strangely, is never satisfied with anything and is constantly disruptive (Keightley, 1978, pp. 125-216) qualities which Birthe typifies.

Birthe is a very interesting personality, a very realistic character. Like the pioneer women in early America, Scandinavian women were strong, courageous types. Many ballads reflect admiration for the kind of woman able to maintain herself in the face of opposition. Olrik (1939) wrote:

she was by no means a super-natural beauty . . . the women of the ballads played much more of a part in everyday life, so intrepid, quick of tongue, and strong in action. (p. 28)

Medieval women whose husbands were gone for long periods of time had a high degree of responsibility and independence. Their clear-cut characters, as portrayed in sagas and ballads, directly reflected the role of women in society. "They lived in such close fellowship with their men folk that the aims and ideals of the latter largely colored their own lives" (Williams, 1920, p. 109).

That Birthe is accepted as the heiress of the manor with authority over its management is not then unseemly. By the middle ages, girls were on equal footing with their brothers with regard to inheritance laws (pp. 426-427). Danish audiences would have thought of Birthe not only as a typical troll but as a female character equal to her station. She is a believably shrewish individual.

Although more simply drawn, Hilda too represents a classic Scandinavian model: the delicate, virginal idealized woman. This type had been adopted by the middle classes of the nineteenth century as the paragon for virtue. Although thoroughly unrealistic, these women were "separated from the world and from life by a Chinese wall" (Hovde, 1943, p. 682). Usually some air of sublimated eroticism fell like a mist around these women. Excerpts from a poem to the Virgin Mary show how this kind of woman was viewed in the ballads and then idolized by nineteenth century middle class society:

Love's true worth with song and mirth  
 I shall never cease to honor;  
 a flower I know well whose name I'll  
 ne'er tell,  
 But praise I shall heap upon her.  
 Of all others she beareth the prize,  
 Prudent, faithful, virtuous, wise,  
 And loyal beyond them all.

As stars all pale in the light of  
the sun,  
So pale before this peerless one  
Women from tharp and hall,  
    Heia, Heia,  
Would that she gave me a call.  
(Steenstrup, 1968, p. 39)

Hilda was a positive, endearing character to Bournonville's audiences because she reflected their own aspirations and ideals. Her primary focus is not earthward but heavenward. Capable of great spiritual enlightenment, she was therefore an appropriate medium through which salvation could be filtered to the lost soul.

The ballads are curious in that, while highly Christianized, the Scriptures and Divine intervention are not relied upon to heal metamorphosed knights or maidens. Making a sign of a cross and praying were not sufficient remedies, according to the analysis of Johannes Steenstrup (1968, p. 30). Instruments of superstition and mysterious remedies were also necessary (p. 179). Bournonville may have been conscious that he, in effect, had combined both Christian and pagan modes of healing when Hilda first knelt in prayer next to the prostrate Junker Ove. Secondly, Hilda gave him a drink from the holy spring in her gold cup, covered with runic signs, a rite of pagan origins.



In addition to the interest and knowledge that Bournonville had of folkeviser, he was aware of two specific works, Heiberg's Elverhøj and Andersen's "The Elfin Hill," from which he quoted material first for his ballet Kirsten Piil and then for A Folk Tale.

#### Previous Theatrical Use of Similar Themes

Frequently a choreographer is able to salvage workable elements from otherwise unsuccessful ballets and finds that, given the correct setting, they have great merit. Such was the case with Bournonville's Kirsten Piil which opened in 1845 to a poor audience response.

It was not Bournonville's first ballet based upon Danish folklore (Valdemar was produced in 1835), and the specific topic, by his own admission, had been treated extensively already. His failure was the result of not giving the myth a new twist (Bournonville, 1979, p. 103). The scenario failed to create its own sense of logic for the fantasies which the magic of midsummer's eve implied. The conflicts--so necessary to provide breath and life to a plot--were not truly inherent to the essential premise from which the ballet was constructed: the rivalry over Kirsten Piil's hand between Junker Hans and Herr Tømmes, her guardian.

Important to this discussion are those elements which appeared again in A Folk Tale. Elf maidens and wild spirits are a vital part of folk literature. As early as 1801 they were referred to in Oehlenschläger's satiric play St. John's Evening Play. After their use in the 1842 triumph, Napoli, Bournonville was ready to repeat them. But here, in Kirsten Piil, their use was not terrifying as in the folk literature or as in Napoli. Their destructive power was diminished.

The legend of Kirsten Piil drinking from a magic spring, from then on named the Fountain of Kirsten Piil, was a popular part of Copenhagen summer life.

The airy beings dance for her until she feels her eyelids getting heavy. They prepare her a bed of rushes and flowers, enfold her in their veils and gently rock her to sleep.  
(Bournonville, Note 11)

During the magically induced sleep, resulting from her encounter with the elf maidens and from partaking of the special spring waters, Kirsten saw images of knights and their ladies, dancing peasants, healed cripples, and even a steaming locomotive. The novelty of a visionary cavalcade did not project the more appropriate aspect of the healing properties of the spring (a necessary element of St. John's Day folklore) until the final scene when sips of its waters restored the war-maimed Rasmus.

In A Folk Tale, however, the purpose of the holy spring at a key moment triggering the resolution of the plot is clear and defined. The audience participates in Hilda's full acceptance of Christian deliverance, first in her free offering of alms and secondly in her absolute faith in the efficacy of the spring and its healing capabilities.

Chastity and chivalrous love which results more from a harmonious spiritual union of the lovers than from intense physical passion is underscored in Kirsten Piil, as it is throughout Bournonville's balletic literature. Kirsten Piil's Herr Tømmes and A Folk Tale's Muri shared in the role of the villain attempting to prevent the union of the lovers. Yet, interestingly enough, neither was a villain as such. They act out of selfishness. Muri wants Hilda to remain with her and arranges a marriage between the beautiful changeling and her eldest son Diderik. Herr Tømmes wishes to marry his young ward, so continuously places obstacles between Kirsten and her lover, Junker Hans. Both are guilty of a failure to acknowledge the needs and desires of the heroines.

Another direct antecedent to A Folk Tale is Elverhøj, a singspiel written by the central figure in Danish

literature and criticism, Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791-1860). Written in 1828 when he was approaching his zenith, Heiberg's play secured his position as doyen of Danish culture, establishing his form of aesthetics over the Romantic school which had been depicted in the works of Oehlenschläger. It was also an instantaneous success with the public. Even today Elverhøj remains the most frequently performed production at the Royal Theatre.

Elverhøj is an adroit blending of popular Danish Renaissance history, music, and ballet into a simple yet dignified plot. Much of the credit for the endurance of this singspiel was the appealing score by Frederick Kuhlau (Mitchell, 1971, p. 138). The play revolves around a contrast between a tale of the king of the elves and one developed around the clear, noble personality of King Christian IV. Set in northern Zealand at the hut of superstitious Mother Karen and the king's Højstrup Castle, changeling children and the means by which the girls are eventually identified correctly form the basis for the action.

Mother Karen has raised Agnete, the true godchild of the king, thinking that she is really an elf maiden; she had found Agnete as a child wandering close to an elf mound. Agnete is a shy, gentle creature whereas her

peasant counterpart, raised as the king's godchild, is strong-willed and impetuous. Agnete's identity is tied to a diamond ring and when King Christian recognizes his gift, all is resolved. A concluding scene in which the rightful lovers are permitted to marry, Heiberg's denouncement (a form later copied by Ibsen), stresses, as Erik Lunding (1968) stated, "a number of Danish national beidermeier elements [were brought together] so that it [the play] . . . reached a state of representative meaning" (p. 59).

Kuhlau incorporated a number of well-known hunting, patriotic, and romantic songs into his own well-textured score which, coupled with the popular folk story theme, makes the whole production easily recognizable to Danish audiences.

Bournonville quoted Heiberg's use of the changeling children with their extremely contrasting personalities. Both Agnete and Hilda are the epitomes of the idealized woman, virginal and almost deific, the "true" noblewoman.

Dancing elf maidens, popular folkloric figures, were different from the theatrical images Bournonville first encountered in his 1842 visit to the rehearsals of Giselle in Paris. Bournonville was already familiar with

elf maidens as breathy apparitions from Heiberg's Elverhøj. An excerpt from the script illustrates their illusory effect:

I laid my head on Elfin Hill, my eyes closed  
in a trance, then two maidens came to meet me  
and enchanted me with song and bewilderment.  
Eih, how strange a dance! (Horton, 1963, p. 82)

After seeing how Coralli strengthened the elf maiden's (wilis) demonic nature as a device for the depiction of evil, Bournonville began, with the naiiads in Napoli, to return the concept of the elf maidens (as she had always appeared in Scandinavian folk literature) to a direct connotation of evil, striking down young unmarried men without mercy.

Hans Christian Andersen is another Danish author who was inspired by the troll mysteries of the elf hill. Published at the same time as "The Red Shoes," Andersen's "Elfin Hill" story is more of a pyrotechnical display than a true tale (Topsoe-Jensen, 1971, p. 109). Elias Bredsdorff (1975) considered the story, written in 1845, one of Andersen's most amusing. It takes place entirely in a world of supernatural beings, where the Elf King prepares a party honoring three prominent guests: the Norwegian Dovre Troll and his two ill-mannered sons.

In his descriptions of the various fantastic guests and their sumptuous meal, Andersen allowed his imagination to run at full tilt. Bournonville must have been motivated by Andersen's colorful description of the banquet. The dinner was bound to bring amusement: "The kitchen was crammed with frogs on the spit, snake skins stuffed with little children's fingers and salads of toadstool seeds, moist mouse noses and hemlock" (Bredsdorff, 1975, p. 204).

Emulating his revered friend's sense of humor, Bournonville's grand march entrance for the trolls and dwarves and later their drunken orgy is a purely comic construction. Andersen's amusing tales are always two-edged swords in which he made satirical comment upon his own life and times. Bournonville's messages are more universal and positive; his aim was to coax, not to chastise.

Elf maidens played an important role in Andersen's story, they "danced with long shawls, woven of haze and moonshine; and to all who like this sort of dancing, it seems pretty" (Andersen, 1933, p. 201). Bournonville may well have been imbued with the whirling images that Andersen conjured for his readers. Certainly the frantic jetés and sauts de basque that Bournonville gave his

dancers as they twirled around Junker Ove was reminiscent not only of Coralli's wilis but of Andersen's elf maidens as well:

One could not distinguish legs from arms; all was twirling about in the air like sawdust; they went whizzing round to such a degree that the Skeleton Horse grew quite sick and was obliged to leave the table. (p. 205)

When Bournonville took his daily sojourns into the parks in Fredensborg during the summer of 1853, he had a number of rich sources from which to draw for his own folk tale. He conceived the plot during these outings and, as the reader has seen, drew freely from folkeviser images, his own work, past theatrical success, and fairy tale literature.

The next chapter outlines the process whereby the libretto was transformed from the page to the stage production which has survived to this day, making its American debut in Chicago, June 12, 1980.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE BALLET COMES TO LIFE

Bournonville's ballets were recognized by the central figures of nineteenth century Danish culture as deeply thoughtful, purely formed, and of such artistic nobility that the company was considered at a higher aesthetic level than any other ballet in the world (Dagbladet, 1866, p. 20). No ballet since Napoli and Valdemar had been so warmly received by this discriminating audience as A Folk Tale. From the time of their premieres to 1889, A Folk Tale was the fifth most frequently performed ballet after Napoli, The Toreador, Valdemar, and Far From Denmark. Of these ballets, only Far From Denmark (1860) was produced after A Folk Tale. Between 1889 and 1939, A Folk Tale became the third most popular ballet after Napoli and Far From Denmark (See Appendix B, The Most Popular Bournonville Ballets). Binding together the elements of romantic love, familiar Danish elves and trolls, and folk superstitions and tales was Bournonville's characteristic light manner and theatrical acumen. He was in complete control of every facet of his productions and was in total agreement with this unsigned reviewer's discussion of the

nature of the dance:

A stage performance is a dream . . . its pictures are born and die in a moment, but in that moment, they live, impressing us more strongly than in real life, in the fantasies of the audience and inspiring them, ("Danske National Theater," 1866, p. 1)

The process whereby a ballet, having begun as a dream in the mind of one man, was brought to life through the labor of many is interesting yet complicated. The matrix of individual contributions, from those of the dancers to the scenic designer and composers, is a perplexing structure because of the span of years which separates that initial act of cooperative creativity from this present investigation. Complete diary notations or official archival records are scanty, and few authors of that time chose to comment upon that process. An attempt was made to reconstruct the progress of this fascinating process. It is based upon the Rehearsal Journal of the Royal Theater and Bournonville's personal diary. Appendix H contains the complete record dating from October, 1853 to April 5, 1874.

During the summer of 1853, Bournonville discussed his ideas for the yet untitled ballet with his friend Friedrich Høedt who proved to be a source of inspiration. Høedt, a progressive theater man, was a great influence

not only upon Bournonville's artistic development but also on the advancement of a more realistic approach to drama and the development of pre-eminent directoral control over a production.

His long morning walks in the beautiful royal gardens with Høedt helped Bournonville crystalize his perspective on romantic idealism in light of his own particular working situation. By July 29, the libretto had been submitted to the virtually dictatorial director of the Theater, Johan Ludvig Heiberg. Bournonville was impatient. He knew his concept was sound and workable. Yet, even though a number of connections between this scenario and Heiberg's Elverhøj were undisguised and should have pleased the Theater's director, Heiberg took nearly a month before sending Bournonville word that the project would be produced during the upcoming season. When the approval finally arrived, Heiberg expressed unusual enthusiasm for the idea.

#### The Music

Gade and Hartmann, Denmark's foremost composers, maintained summer residences in Fredensborg, along with Høedt and Bournonville. By the time Bournonville had to return to Copenhagen for rehearsals for the 1853-1854

season, he had already arranged with both these men to join in the project and had met with each of them on several occasions. Unfortunately, Bournonville did not record the subject of these meetings, but it can be assumed that he provided these men with details of the scenario and discussed their contributions in light of their individual compositional talents.

In My Theater Life, Bournonville outlined his working process: first came the idea (frequently "a gift from heaven"); then the plot evolved into "groups of living pictures." Finally, the balletmaster arranged for the music employing "expressive melodies, arrangements or national themes according to the requirements of the particular ballet" (1979, p. 30). H.C. Lumbye, a composer Bournonville frequently used for his jaunty, enthusiastic finales, confirmed this process. Bournonville would not come to his composers until the story was firmly established on paper. He then usually "fed" them the quality and rhythm for the piece of music or scene. At that point the composer would improvise on these ideas, and the two would meet again. If the choreographer approved of the theme in its rough form, he took it into the studio and worked with his dancers expanding upon the

details as the movements and mimic gestures took their shapes. Only after the scene was finalized visually did the collaborator compose the final score (Skjerne, 1946, p. 284).

In 1876, Bournonville wrote on his collaborative process and mentioned further that a two violin score was prepared for his use during rehearsals. Interestingly though, only one accompanist was ever listed on the rehearsal record. The two men assigned to the ballet at that time were Holger Paulli and Edvard Helsted, both of whom were used by Bournonville as composers in addition to their normal duties as class and rehearsal accompanists [See Appendix E, Record of Rehearsals]. Bournonville wrote that "the music is composed to a written poem, and the ballet is composed afterward to its rhythms and melodies, over which both artists have united by their common efforts" (Bournonville, A., 1891, p. 167). Because of the personal styles and the eminence of each of his composers, Bournonville gave Gade and Hartmann creative liberties not usually accorded to his theater accompanists. Bournonville noted only four meetings of the three of them together; yet, the integration of musical themes throughout all three acts indicates close cooperation between Gade and Hartmann.

Prior to the first rehearsal for the ballet in late October, 1853, Bournonville had met twice with each composer. That he continued to work closely with the men throughout his important creative stage suggests that he was adhering to his usual practice of going into the studio with a musical sketch, working with it, and then returning to the composer for final details and adjustments before the themes and number of measures were put into their final form.

Following is a list of meetings which Bournonville recorded in his diary:

<u>With Gade</u>	<u>With Hartmann</u>	<u>Together</u>
Oct. 20	Oct. 22	Nov. 15
Oct. 29	Nov. 1	Nov. 28
Nov. 9	Nov. 8	Jan. 14
Nov. 23	Nov. 18	Jan. 30
Dec. 2	Dec. 3	
Dec. 5		
Dec. 7		
Dec. 10		
Dec. 17		
Dec. 24		
Dec. 27		
Dec. 28		
Jan. 5		

A number of explanations can be forwarded as to the reasons for Bournonville's thirteen meetings with Gade as opposed to his six meetings with Hartmann. The most obvious is that Gade was preparing music for two acts whereas Hartmann worked only on one. Bournonville was,

also, more familiar with Hartmann's work and vice versa; and, Hartmann wrote in a dance style. Gade, however, had not worked with the theater in over ten years and so was unaccustomed to the rigid guidelines required by the dance. Also Fridericia (1979) has indicated that Hartmann was more prompt with sending his music whereas Bournonville frequently had to fetch the music himself in order to get it from Gade when he needed it.

Contrary to the accepted practices of writing music for the ballet, neither man quoted from folk or national songs (Schiørring, Note 7), nor did they employ the leitmotif, a device introduced to Bournonville in 1842 when he viewed rehearsals of Giselle. The score, instead, heralded a new kind of nationalism which paralleled the Golden Age of romance.

Gade began from a totally idyllic standpoint as he painted a romantic nature scene and worked inward to reach the aura of mystery which encloses any folk tale. His third act with its light, pastoral music set the stage for a joyous Danish midsummer landscape. In this act, Gade employed similar tonal values to the first act and gave the material more brilliance and stronger rhythmic bases. He based his light poetics on the singspiel form

in which playful humor was combined with the naivete of various dance rhythms.

Hartmann, conversely, unloosed his energies without hesitation, yet was able to capture an idyllic state during Hilda's solo and in her dream scene. The boldly painted grotesque picture reflected the influence of past Danish composers, Schall and Frølich. Its heavy, pitching melodies and strangely baroque rhythmic patterns were typical of a Hartmann musical fantasy (Abrahamsen, 1953, pp. 470-473).

Hilda's solo during the troll banquet was an additional example of Bournonville's adoption of the formal pas de deux form--adagio, allegro, allegro. According to Fridericia (1979), he did not begin to employ this form until the middle phase of his choreographic career.

For Hartmann, the score represented a turning point in his development of the true Nordic sound with its highly detailed strength and energy. In the forge scene which opens the second act, the true national harmonies and rhythms were given a symphonic structure. Yet, in his use of the symphonic form, Hartmann never forgot that the music must dance (Hovde, 1934, p. 111).



Particularly noteworthy is the fact, as Fridericia has stated, that Gade's and Hartmann's score was a musical highpoint in the genre of writing music for the dance. Bournonville had given the men a large measure of freedom, and the results would not be matched anywhere until Tchiakovsky's work for the Russian ballet (Fridericia, 1979, pp. 320-321). Late nineteenth critic, Georg Brandes (1870), called the music "one of the great masterpieces of its art" (p. 193).

#### Rehearsals Begin

The 1853-1854 theater season began with an unusually high degree of tension. Illness and injuries plagued each of the three divisions of the theater, and open warfare existed between the pro-Heiberg and pro-Høedt forces. The amount of control to be accorded the director of a play, the increasing realism of acting styles, and the concept of ensemble acting were points of dissension. Bournonville was most definitely aligned with Høedt, and Heiberg recognized this by continually frustrating the balletmaster in his efforts to produce his new ballet.

The intensity of the situation reached a critical point in January when Høedt was removed from his leading role in Hamlet, a role with which he had achieved

tremendous accolades the previous season. He was commanded, in addition, not to rehearse any other play without a signed order from Heiberg. So disgusted was Bournonville that he, during this important creative period on A Folk Tale, wrote to Vienna and arranged for a position as guest balletmaster the following summer. He left Copenhagen for Vienna on April 10, 1854, only three weeks after the opening of A Folk Tale on the twentieth of March (Hansen, n.d., p. 22).

The first rehearsal on the new ballet took place on October 26, 1853. Of the first session the balletmaster expressed great pleasure. "The first working session on my new ballet A Folk Tale went well - God grant me good fortune with it" (Bournonville, A., Note 6, p. 23).

During November, Bournonville worked intensively on the ballet, choreographing almost every day. Most rehearsals ran between one and one-half hours and began after the 10 o'clock company class. The violin reduction was played by either Holger Paulli, not as yet promoted to director of the opera, or Edvard Helsted.

Bournonville's professed procedure was to enter the studio with specific dance patterns prepared for his dancers. He felt it the absolute duty of a choreographer

to seek moments of inspiration prior to entering the studio. He wrote:

Just as in every other form of poetry or art, one is to be lucky enough to find a good idea among the multifarious ideas mingled together in one's mind. Then one has to exercise fantasy in order to visualize it as completed. (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1952, p. 305)

Bournonville took his role as composer of ballets very seriously and criticized those dancers, who becoming "stiff-legged" with age, imagined that they could immediately re-emerge as balletmasters (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 22). Patient diligence was the most crucial part of the choreographic act, an act noted for the "handful of choice grain yielding a rich crop" (p. 75; Bournonville, A., 1891, p. 165).

The libretto was complete prior to the commencement of rehearsals, and it remained virtually unchanged throughout the rehearsal process. Bournonville had utilized his principle of alternating gaiety and seriousness within the structured plot. He kept firmly in mind both the specific talents of his dancers and the limitations of the Royal Theatre stage and equipment.

Since the technical facilities of our Theatre prevent me from dazzling the eye, I must work especially hard to appeal to people's emotions and sound taste. (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 30).

An effective use of mime was seminal to Bournonville's choreographic logic. He had learned the importance of natural mime from his father whom he felt was a "superb" mime able to transcend the "universally accepted ballet gesticulation" to reach the height of dramatic pathos (p. 657).

Through the use of fully drawn characterizations, Bournonville (1979) fulfilled one of his primary objectives: "to lure the audience onto a field where the ballet was master" (p. 116). He worked diligently to overcome the prudish Danish audience's prejudices. Leg movements were judged by it as either decent or grotesque instead of within the context of a particular ballet (Fridericia, 1979, p. 267).

Bournonville had a number of excellent mime dancers with whom to work. All of them had grown up and developed in his school and reflected his artistic ideals. The use of mimed speech and abrupt alternation of passions appears to indicate, according to Jacobsen (1972), that Bournonville was experimenting with a highly emotional style of acting (p. 107).

Although every dancer was not expected to be a gifted mime (Juliette Price was an example), any dancer not able

to mime was thought merely "legs without fantasy," according to Hans Beck (1944, p. 69). One of the first things Bournonville did with his dancers when working on a new ballet was to develop an identity with their particular characters. They needed to recognize and visualize the reasons for being asked to perform certain movements and gestures. Although leeway was given, in that the roles were assigned according to the particular strengths and talents of the dancers, there is no doubt that Bournonville held his dancers strictly to the interpretation and inflection he personally envisioned.

#### Analysis of Major Roles

Hilda, like Gennaro in the first act of Napoli, was given an expressive monologue in the second act following her dream which served to reveal her true origins and Christian nature. No technical dance movements were employed. The sequence forced Price to transcend traditional mimic gestures as she--Hilda--awoke abruptly from her dream, relived portions of it, and culminated the scene in a state of pious reverence. She even formed a cross from two sticks taken from the hearth in acknowledgement of her status as a baptized Christian.

Christianity, established as a state of grace and gentility, was a nineteenth century ideal. Bournonville, like his peers, re-shaped the grotesque characters and terrifying events found in Scandinavian mythology to suit the nineteenth century ideology founded upon the calming order of Greek classicism. "The Present must be able to throw light on itself by looking back into the Past, by absorbing it, though in a nobler form" (Jacobsen, 1972, p. 107).

As with most choreographers, Bournonville frequently worked with his soloists separately from the corps de ballet. Recorded in his diary were session with Edvard Stramboe to work out the "nonsense and cruelty" (Bournonville, Note 6, p. 27) for the role of Viderik. Stramboe went on to portray Viderik for thirty-two years until his retirement in 1876. [See Appendix A for further biographical details on the soloists for A Folk Tale.] Separate rehearsals for the soloists, including the dancers for the pas de sept (a bravura divertissement) in Act 3, were recorded on December 6, January 14, February 3, and the second of March.

Hilda

A Folk Tale gave Bournonville another opportunity to amplify the concept of the romantic ballerina he admired in Marie Taglioni. Having first met Taglioni as a fellow student in 1827 and later having the opportunity of dancing with her, Bournonville would maintain the impression--"her expression exuded gentleness mingled with poignant longing"--and seek out for his own muse those ladies who best exemplified Taglioni's harmony of motion which "lifted on up from this earth" (Bournonville, 1979, pp. 48-49). The role of Hilda was a direct reflection of Taglioni's ethereal femininity.

Juliette Price, more than any of his previous ballerinas, achieved this epitome of touching lightness and chaste poetry. Her "soulful smile, gently beauty and harmonious, floating movements" (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1961, p. 270) made her the perfect Hilda. Although she was never known for her dramatic talents, Bournonville was, nevertheless, able to shape the role in such a way that she became the paragon of Nordic womanhood. Thomas Overskou commented in 1876 that "as the noble-born Hilda, she was filled with grace and modesty through which Hilda's chivalrous origin revealed itself" (p. 186).

By his setting her as a pearl in the center of a grotesque setting consisting of hump-backed trolls and fanciful dwarves, Hilda's blond loveliness was immeasurably heightened, noted one unnamed critic in Flyveposten (March 22, 1854, pp. 3-4). In a Dagbladet (April 22, 1856) account of Price's return to the Danish stage following her rather unsuccessful season with Bournonville in Vienna, another unnamed critic wrote that:

she is full of charm and naturalness and has one of the most handsome figures that can be thought of on the stage; such lightness and grace by which she performs difficult things so that one never feels the difficulty. (p. 1)

Continuing, the reviewer noted that Price had danced more demanding technical roles but none which better captured her own unique performing qualities.

### Junker Ove

The role of the handsome, elf shot hero, Junker Ove, constituted a singular departure from Bournonville's customary use of a forceful figure who took a decisive role in the course of the action. Young Junker Ove was acted upon by outside demonic forces, by intuitions, and by the actions of the other characters, and therefore, the role has always posed a challenge to the men assigned it. Too easily, Ove can appear almost a nonentity.



Such was the case with the first two dancers to play Junker Ove--Wilhelm Funck and later Harald Scharff. Not until Valdemar Price assumed the part in 1861 did the full potential for the chivalric meaning and commentary upon the romantic hero inherent in this role come to the surface. Gade gave the part a sense of "universal truth," genuinely romantic wrote Godtfred Skjerne ("A Folk Tale," 1913, pp. 82-83).

In speaking with two contemporary dancers, Erik Bruhn and Peter Martins, both renown as noble premier danseurs, they expressed to the investigator great frustration over their initial experiences with this particular role. Erik Bruhn termed his 1952 encounter "a huge fiasco" because he felt that he was much too young at the time to convey the proper maturity without having an opportunity to perform a single dance step. (The brief solo in Act 3, following Ove's recovery, was added in 1969 for Henning Kronstam.) Bruhn added that he was bored because so little of the primary action of the ballet involved him directly. (Bruhn, Note 12) Ove does not appear at all in the second act.

Peter Martins encountered a different kind of problem with his introduction to this Bournonville hero. Prior to

performing Junker Ove in 1969 as the second cast, Martins had only danced the pas de six in the third act of Napoli. The directors for the Bournonville repertoire were of the opinion that Martins was too classical and much too tall to perform the Bournonville style properly. He felt that he was uncomfortable with Ove not only because he was not yet mature enough to establish the appropriate heroic image but also because he was unprepared for the Bournonville genre. "Today I feel differently" about the role, Martins continued. He expressed a desire to play the part again (Martins, Note 13), which he did when A Folk Tale was remounted at Tivoli in Copenhagen, August, 1979.

Contemporary authors like Erik Aschengreen (Aschengreen, Note 14) have noted that by the 1850's Bournonville did not have a good leading male dancer. He injected this part with a "serious nature" and "had a dancer walking on the stage" without performing a single step.

Very little is known about the original Junker Ove, Wilhelm Funck. Rarely mentioned in reviews, he has remained a mysterious figure in the annals of Danish ballet. The one critic who mentioned him in the opening

called his portrayal of the "cavalier lover" a success because "in a beautiful way [he] lifted the difficult, and for most dancers, the impossible, task of being gracious without becoming ordinary or affected" (ss., 1854, p. 270). Skjerne (1913) noted that Funck did not have a great classical reputation (p. 83). Recognized was the fact that this role was not an easy one to play. It is very possible that Bournonville may have intended that the role transcend the decorum of gracious chivalry to become an exposition--much as is the role of Hilda--on the ultimate Nordic hero, the consummate poetic idealist.

John Weinstock and Robert Rovinsky (1975) discussed the philosophical basis for the schooling of the Romantic hero so that he could overcome the dualistic universe in which he resided:

As soon as the hero found the right, idealistic perspective again, he would realize that nothing had been left to chance, that he had been guided, tested, punished and rewarded according to a plan. (pp. 44-45)

Høedt, so closely identified with his own conceptual portrayal of Shakespeare's Hamlet, and Bournonville enjoyed frequent intensive philosophical and aesthetic debates. It is entirely probable that Junker Ove was a product of their mutual examination of the true concept of heroism

that Shakespeare had sought to capture. His Hamlet was grounded historically to the twelfth century Amlethus who was chronicled by Saxo Grammaticus in Historica Danica. Although G.B. Harrison (1952) (the Shakespearian scholar) is emphatic that Shakespeare had written a revenge play and not a treatise on philosophy, Bournonville and Høedt undoubtedly examined the play from the standpoint of its relationship to their historic perspective on the nineteenth century model of Scandinavian heroism.

The two men may have been aware that in medieval England extreme melancholy was thought to have been brought on by the Devil and to have been the cause of hallucinations and delusion (Harrison, 1952, p. 883). Junker Ove, therefore, experienced salvation as redemption from the Devil and from the effects of being elf shot. Hamlet and Ove share a common base. As with Ove, Hamlet sensed the truth but was unable to act; a state of introspective frustration existed.

Had he the motive and the cue for passion that I have? He would drown the stage with tears and cleave the general ear with horrid speech . . . and amaze indeed the very faculties of eyes and ears. Yet I, a dull and muddy-mettled rascal, speak, like John-a-dreams, unpregnant of my cause, and--say nothing--no, not for a King . . . Am I a coward? (Shakespeare, 1952, pp. 904-905)

In *Junker Ove*, therefore, the individual is working to emerge as a dynamic personality, someone who can achieve full self-realization (Donakowski, 1977, pp. 66-67). And that does occur with the sip of the healing waters on St. John's eve. He accepted and acknowledged his Christian commitment and was ready to marry the virginal Hilda. He was a sensitive, masculine counterpart to the gentle, chaste Hilda.

#### Miss Birthe

One of the most interesting characters in *A Folk Tale* is the troll child, Miss Birthe. Her abrupt changes in personality had to be understandable and yet her shrewishness needed just enough gentility for her nobility to remain unquestioned by her aunt, Fru Kirstine. Through Birthe, Bournonville provided a two-faceted portrait of the artistic fantasy of baronial and peasant life in the late middle ages (Hansen, n.d., p. 245). Like Napoli, stated Fridericia (1979), *A Folk Tale* dealt with the conflicts between man and supernatural forces, "blending superstition and fantasy" (p. 332).

In *Petrine Fredstrup*, Bournonville found the kind of consummate dramatic dancer who through the use of mimeodrama--as opposed to mime--gave Miss Birthe's

capricious nature life. In all her roles, Fredstrup achieved success more from her intelligence and diligence than with a beautiful appearance (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1952, p. 228). What she lacked in charm and virtuosity, Fredstrup made up for in her definitive characterizations (Hansen, n.d., p. 604). Overskou (1876) remembered her "assured performances which mixed the fiery and boldly bizarre" (p. 186) qualities in the troll daughter's dance and mime scenes. A review appearing in Fædrelandet noted how her face and whole body was able to express the demonic with only the simplest gestures (April 4, 1871, p. 2).

Through Birthe's tyrannical behavior Bournonville established the aura of terror which any group living within the framework of folk superstitions might experience. Fridericia (1979) reported the Elith Reumert identified two primary elements, the tragic and the terrifying, which formulated the underlying premise for the plot (p. 316). Both of these aspects were integrated in the role of Miss Birthe.

Fredstrup's portrayal was described as an "expressive mimic performance" (Berlingkse Tidende, March 21, 1854, p. 270) in a dramatic sense, yet Kjobenhavnposten also

captured the deceiving playfulness of her nature as well (March 21, 1854, p. 270). Thirteen years later, Berlingske Tidende wrote of the "talented life in each of her movements and in her dancing" but acknowledged that at forty she had to hold back enough to upset the weighted balance between her and Hilda, and he suggested that the dancer give the role up to a younger artist (September 21, 1867, p. 2). Fredstrup did not, however, and continued to play Birthe, which "demonstrated her true artistry" (Neiiendam, R., 1935, pp. 342-343), until her retirement in 1871.

### Muri

With the secondary leading characters, Muri and her two sons Diderik and Viderik, Bournonville was not attempting to establish poetic relationships so much as providing for contrast and balance to his primary figures. Muri, the troll woman, might have been merely the prototype of the cagey old village woman who cast spells and worked magic, as Patricia McAndrew has suggested (McAndrew, Note 15). She carried a hand-held, gilt spindle in her first act appearance [see Appendix F, List of Properties] and this was the symbol for such a woman.

In more recent years, Muri has seemed to metamorphose into a queen-like figure mimed with strong and

regal gestures. This change has remained an enigma for critic Erik Aschengreen, who also criticized an over-emphasis upon Muri's drunken madness in the troll galop which concludes Act 2 (Aschengreen, Note 16).

Nothing is known of Mrs. Møller, the original Muri, except that she was in the corps de ballet, with a rank of second dancer (Kragh-Jacobsen, Note 17). Since she was never mentioned in any review, it is impossible to determine the inflection with which the role was fashioned. Hilda was seen holding the same spindle in the tableaux opening Act 2. Bournonville may have been establishing more than a familial relationship between Hilda and Muri; he was acknowledging that Hilda was her apprentice. More understandable, therefore, was Hilda's covert enticement of Junker Ove as she emerged from the fiery-pillared hill in Act 1 to offer him the magic potion, a behavior so completely opposite to her gentle, loving nature. Muri had her bewitched, and yet there was an element of emotion in her attachment to this lovely foster daughter.

Muri was no mere cartoon stereotype of the village witch. Enough depth and breadth existed in the role that it required an actress capable of reflecting the requisite qualities. She had to be the ultimate in reigning terror



as she called forth the vengeance of the elf maidens upon the hapless hero and yet attract sympathy in Act 3 as she sadly called together her subjects for their departure from Denmark. Even Muri was permitted a note of happiness when she was re-united with her true daughter just prior to the planned exodus.

#### Diderik

Fridericia (1979) has found parallels between the appealing nature of the grotesque Quasimodo in Victor Hugo's The Hunchback of Notre Dame and Bournonville's Diderik (p. 315). Kragh-Jacobsen (Note 18) viewed the role as having more amplitude than the childishly petulant Viderik.

Edvard Stramboe, [See Appendix A, Biographical Information] best remembered for his comic mime roles, played Diderik until his retirement in 1876. Whenever mentioned, Stramboe's name was linked with his success in mime roles, particularly those in comic vein. Most reviews complimented Stramboe on his performance without providing details on how he played Diderik. A critique written in 1867 focused on the breadth of conception and performance in the second act without specifically having mentioned Diderik, the brother selected to marry Hilda.

The following year Georg Brandes (1868) remarked how touching it was to see Diderik weep pitifully when Hilda rejected his suit . . . not only once (pp. 107-108). This second act scene with Hilda provided a "wonderful possibility to act" mentioned Niels Bjørn Larsen, who performed Diderik in the 1941 revival.

Since his predecessor had passed away, Larsen was unable to learn his role from an older artist (A Folk Tale had not been performed in ten years), so it is Larsen's interpretation which became the "tradition" by which contemporary mime dancers are evaluated. Larsen feels although, that as the older he does "get the girl" and does feel entitled to push Viderik around, the portrayal of Diderik should contain a certain romantic, sympathetic element. When all the trolls get drunk, it should be Diderik who is the dominant figure instead of Muri. The audience should notice how happy he becomes when Hilda offers him a drink, and when she and Viderik encourage intoxication so that they can escape unnoticed.

Larsen is also adamant that the characters in the second act should maintain a fantasy atmosphere and resemble H.C. Andersen's "The Elfin Hill." Contemporary stagings have tended to broaden the comedy in this act to the point of slapstick (Larsen, Note 19).

Viderik

Viderik, played today as a simple yet kindly pathetic hero by Fredbjørn Bjørnsson, was a role originated by Ferdinand Hoppensach. [see Appendix A, Biographical Information] Bournonville appreciated Hoppensach as a "comedian whose full worth one can come to appreciate only by seeing what is offered in this direction at theatres abroad." He was an artist who brought to his roles a sense of "taste and moderation" along with "originality and genuine humor" (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 169).

Both Stramboe and Hoppensach were given a mention for their outstanding performances in the opening night reviews which appeared in Kjobenhavnposten and Dagbladet. Flyveposten called the roles of the troll sons an important element in this ballet which the critic called a "harmonious national portrait" (Flyveposten, March 22, 1854, pp. 3-4). Brandes (1868) felt that of all the scenes in the ballet, the second act touched the edges of tragedy with its accompanying aura of terror more closely than any other Bournonville ballet (p. 107). Furthermore, he felt that Bournonville had not complicated the plot by conjuring "long winded stories which are impossible to

indicate with the arm and leg" (p. 108). In 1874, twenty years after A Folk Tale opened, Hoppensach was the only member of the first cast to perform in the totally remounted version of A Folk Tale which celebrated the opening of the new Royal Theater. It was the only ballet to be so sumptuously treated during the inaugural season.

### Herr Mogens

As Birthe provides a theatrical contrast for Hilda, thereby further amplifying her demure, Christian personality, so did Herr Mogens present the audience with personality qualities in direct opposition to Junker Ove. His motivations emanated from personal greed and a self-conscious awareness of others' weaknesses. In his scenes, emphasized by "sparkling witty mimeo-plastic dialogue" (Jorgensen, 1918, p. 76), Mogens gave the audience moments of laughter as he floundered blind-folded around the stage in Act 1 hoping to make the ultimate good impression by snatching Birthe's hand for a gallant kiss. Birthe thrust out Ove's hand instead, and the hapless Mogens was justly rewarded for his miscalculated gamesmanship.

Hilda and Ove, on the other hand, set their sights heavenward and are themselves rewarded for their pure idealism. Birthe and Mogens seek their reward in worldly,

material gain. They take their booty and accept the consequences. In so doing, they relinquish the keys to salvation, the ultimate reward and achievement possible to man. Illustrated to the audience, through Herr Mogens (a slightly pompous fop) is The Average Man who, faced with choices between lust or love, between selfishness and idealism, chooses the former. That decision ultimately costs him everything of true and noble worth.

Ludvig Gade, [see Appendix A, Biographical Information] played Mogens until his retirement as a performer in 1871. Bournonville (1979) felt that he was "unquestionably one of the finest talents of the Danish Ballet" (p. 169). According to Neiiendam (1935), Bournonville made good use of Gade's tall, strong figure and especially his expressive face. So "full of fantasy" were his various characterizations that his performances became definitive models for younger generations and for a number of different roles.

Berlingske Tidende (March 21, 1854) described Herr Mogens as being a "highly starched" (p. 1) snob. He was a clever manipulator of men and circumstances. Dagbladet (April 22, 1856) included Gade in a listing of fine performances in A Folk Tale crediting the mime dance with helping to create "one of Bournonville's most

brilliant works" (p. 1). Brandes (1868) mentioned the high comedy and heartfelt laughter which the chase scene engenders as Mogens makes a futile attempt to capture Viderik and Hilda. The author felt that little scene was one of the high points of Act 3. As he grew older, Gade unfortunately grew stale in the role and a Berlingske Tidende (1887) reviewer remembered his portrayal as a "little too stylized and stereotyped, not fresh and true enough, but nevertheless still a worthy representation" (p. 1).

#### Rehearsals Proceed

Once rehearsals got underway on October 26, Bournonville worked on the ballet almost every day. In his diary (Note 6), differentiation was made among composing sessions, presumably by himself, indstudering rehearsals in which he set pieces of choreography and mime, and prove rehearsals in which the dancers perfected what they had learned previously. [see Appendix E, Record of Rehearsals]

In the studio, with its floor raked like the stage, he prepared and required the dancer to memorize each step and gesture of the ballet in relation to the music

whose melodies and rhythms are transmitted from the ear to the trained body . . . to become movement in its truest sense . . . with each movement so joined that the whole gradually emerges as though a long lost treasure. (Bournonville, A., 1891, p. 168)

In addition, Bournonville was astute enough to recognize the importance of timing and pacing as devices to heighten an audience's waning interest and attention or in the underscoring of a significant theatrical event within the scene. Each scene built to a logical conclusion and each act had its climax which in turn served as support for the climax for the whole ballet.

Bournonville selected his dancers carefully so that their natural talents effected the goals he set out for the ballet and their abilities were shown to best advantage in their roles. He worked with these dancers individually, developing their characterizations out of their own personalities.

It is important to make him or her acquainted en particulier with the plan of the ballet and to focus her attention upon the principal episodes in which she is intended to take part, without reference to what others will have to do. (p. 33)

Visual imagery, like costume or scenery sketches, were also utilized to excite the dancer's imagination. Total role identification was a primary tool in

Bournonville's method of constructing first the individual's role and then the complete ballet on his company.

Although the choreographer did not record what occurred in his working sessions with his dancers, he did in My Theatre Life (1979) recount briefly the manner in which he conducted his rehearsals. The libretto was not to be read to the cast for fear that dancers assigned those roles (which were not really important yet appeared so in the plot) would be overly influenced by the written word and not do what Bournonville directed.

One example of this situation was Catherine, the old nurse, played by Miss Julie Fredstrup. Although she appeared to be prominent in a number of scenes in the libretto, she did not precipitate action; rather, she served as amplification and emphasis for specific events and situations. Fru Kirstine was an even more minor character who might have seemed more important from the libretto alone.

Jacobsen (1972) asserted that Bournonville's creative method was firmly connected to that of his predecessor and teacher Vincenzo Galleotti. Since reproduction of the passions was considered more important than a



cultivation of dance virtuosity (p. 108), Bournonville's handling of A Folk Tale represented a solution to his search for a true "mimeodrama" (Fridericia, 1979, p. 320). Later restagings by Bournonville's followers replaced this with a more conventional stylized mime. This ballet incorporated a variety of roles, from the purely academic dancing of the seven gypsies in Act 3 to the mimed character role of Muri, all indicating his experimentation with a new balletic dramaturgy.

Mimespiel, such an integral part of the ballets, was never considered an easy narrative device with which to work. About the audience, the balletmaster sensed that the "people are inclined to ask too much of pantomime, which for the general public can only be an easy means of tying together the events" (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 97). He also was acutely aware that many in his audience did not come to the theater for "mental exertion" (p. 148) but rather for sheer entertainment. [Refer to Chapter Two for a discussion of the social aspects of Danish cultural life.] This awareness did not prevent his grieving that an audience could be "dazzled by tinsel and all too often [the audience] flatters caprice and vanity" (p. 150). Instead of ignoring these

salient problems of Danish theater, Bournonville accommodated his audience by giving it "something to laugh at" and winning interest by gathering situations "from events of the day" (p. 149). Fridericia (1979) has observed that Bournonville made close observations of how everyday people reacted to life (p. 294). This man was not an inhabitant of an ivory tower. Instead, as previously reported, he was a full participant in a number of different social activities throughout his long life. The misé en scene was colored by visual remarks from his social observations.

Bournonville recognized, for instance, the tremendous impact that the simple yet endearing finale bridal waltz from Act 3 would have on an audience. The composer's wife called it banal, and it embarrassed Gade himself so much that he argued vigorously to throw it out. Bournonville's astute judgment prevailed, and the melody soon became a traditional part of Danish weddings.

Setting the ballet on St. John's eve, a time of maypoles, use of flowering St. John's wart for decorating, and merrymaking (Frazer, 1950, pp. 139-141) provided the choreographer with numerous traditional superstitions and observances of this "mystic season" (p. 724) around which

to develop the more serious issues of religious conversion, commitment, and renewal of life through marriage.

The dance segments--with the exception of the academic virtuosity in Hilda's second act solo and the exuberance of the third act pas de sept, related directly to the successful pas de six in Napoli--grew out of the demands of each dramatic situation; this demonstrated a marked departure from the choreographic conventions of the day. In Act 1, the household help and young farmers, commanded to dance by Birthe, perform with an air of rustic simplicity. Immediately following a stylized formal contradance for the gentry serves to demarcate clearly the class differences. The elf maidens' dance, closing Act 1, is purely demonic in structure and motion without any semblance of academic beauty. The troll galop in Act 2, another example of movement based upon a dramatic situation, fully immersed itself in the progressive drunkenness of the dwarves and trolls to provide the logical moment for Hilda's escape. During Birthe's toilette preparations in Act 3, she chastises everyone around her and then, studying her expressions in the mirror, performs these heretofore unexplained abrupt changes in personality. Fridericia (1979) described the dance as "a soul in combat with itself" (p. 319).

Bournonville was concerned about the appropriate use of children in the theater. He did not want them to resemble trained animals or to be used as a diversionary cover-up for a poorly written or acted scene. They were only an asset to the ballet when they were allowed to remain childlike, "with that primitive awkwardness which it would take an outstanding comedian to reproduce and which is at once so funny and yet so moving" (Bournonville, A., 1979, pp. 101-102). Eleven children (Note 20) were naturally and logically used in A Folk Tale at moments when they could be focused upon without being in competition with the adults. During Hilda's vision, in Act 2, scene 3, children exchanged the infants and stole the vital gold goblet. They returned in Act 3, scene 5 to assist Viderik in a purely comic situation as he caused the farmhand army troops to stop in their tracks. And one of the boys entered the final scene riding atop a wine cask portraying Bacchus to preside over the St. John's eve merriment.

By the time Bournonville felt the ballet had sufficient structure in order to invite Gade and Hartmann to a showing, he had held twenty-six rehearsals and had conferred with Edvard Lehmann, costume designer, the

scenery painters, and machine master Weddén concerning the various production aspects of the new work. Of Gade's and Hartmann's reaction to the December 23 rehearsal, Bournonville noted that "they were delighted. It all goes superbly and promises well" (Bournonville, Note 6, p. 31).

Only a short break for Christmas was taken with rehearsals resuming on the thirtieth of December. On January 3 another full company rehearsal took place, this time with Bournonville's own family as guests. They too were delighted with the new ballet. Buoyed with enthusiasm, Bournonville dived into the work and finished composing the troll galop on the twentieth of January, 1854. The very next day he recorded having completed the ballet. Even he, his own most exacting critic, was pleased. "God has granted me good fortune with it," he commented (p. 37). His mother, his wife Helene, and H.C. Andersen attended the rehearsal on the 24th; they were equally jubilant, and Bournonville treated the small gathering to coffee and wine afterward.

The second act was taken into the theater for a placing rehearsal on January 25. The following day, both Acts 1 and 2 were rehearsed on the stage. On January 27

more visitors observed rehearsal, and the first and second acts were rehearsed on the stage again on the thirtieth of January.

Focus was given to Act 3 on February 2, with a special rehearsal for the pas de sept the following day. A three-hour rehearsal (one of the few times Bournonville recorded the length of a rehearsal session) for Act 3 took place on the fourth of February. It was the first time that this act was taken into the theater.

On February 9, three days after Bournonville began to rewrite the libretto for the publisher, the complete ballet was run through on the stage. Considering the complexity of the production, Bournonville was satisfied with the results. "It went remarkably well," he observed (p. 39). Høedt attended this rehearsal and made a few unrecorded comments and suggestions. That the choreographer respected Høedt's artistic and aesthetic judgment is seen in Bournonville's comment that he would take his observations "ad notam." Bournonville also completed rewriting the program on the ninth of February, 1854.

Høedt returned to the February 14 stage rehearsal accompanied by Gade and Hartmann. Høedt brought champagne; it was a time for rejoicing! On February 16th,

technical rehearsals began. Bournonville was pleased with the scenery and the orchestration. By the end of the month, the ballet was ready for performance, but that was not to occur for another month.

During March, rehearsals appeared to dip into a slump of depression as nervous tension increased. Bournonville noted that on March 6th both Petrine and Juliette appeared apprehensive, not even bothering to put on practice clothes for the run-through. "The whole thing went rather half-heartedly," he wrote disappointedly (p. 43).

On March 17, Lehmann's wonderful costumes were ready, and the ballet had its first full dress rehearsal. "It was splendid," wrote Bournonville (p. 44). His enthusiasm takes on the air of poignancy when one considers that at this time Bournonville was experiencing a tense home condition. His wife, Helene, had just left on March 14 to visit their newly married daughter Augusta in Jutland. She did not attend the opening nor did Bournonville record her having visited any of the last rehearsals prior to her departure. Since his "nearest and dearest arbiter of taste" was not to be present at the March 20 premiere, he was not able to accept the tumultuous applause for

A Folk Tale as a sign of unconditional victory (Fridericia, 1979, p. 323). He was cheered by the warm reception though, for he recorded that the celebration party he hosted lasted until 1:00 a.m. Finally retiring after a hectic exciting day, he recorded having received a letter from Helene. Typically, he concluded the diary entry by expressing gratitude to God for His goodness (p. 45).

#### Technical Aspects of the Ballet

Until only recently, programs for the Danish Ballet specified only the names of the solo artists. The corps de ballet did not receive personal credit, so there was no real way for the casual observer to determine the size of a particular cast. Such was the case for A Folk Tale.

On January 25, 1858, four years after the premiere, theater director Thorup signed a cast list for this ballet (Note 20). Since the names of the principals were the same as the premiere, this investigator will theorize that the number of dancers was the same also. One exception was the number of gypsies listed. The monumental display of abandoned virtuosity called for four women and three men dancers. In this list, only



three ladies names appear; they were Mrs. Kellermann and Misses Garlieb and Bills. Bournonville did use seven originally, so the absence of one lady and the three gentlemen may have been an oversight:

Hilda - - - - - Miss S. Price	Fru Kirstine - Miss Holm
Muri - - - - - Mrs. Møller	Hr. Mogens - - Mr. Gade
Diderik - - - - - Mr.	Catherine - - Miss
Hoppensach	Fredstrup
Viderik - - - - - Mr. Stramboe	Morten (cook) -
Froken Birthe - Miss P.	Mr. Fussel, Jr.
Fredstrup	Else - - - - - Mrs.
Junker Ove - - Mr. Funck	Stillmann
	Dorthe - - - - - Miss Garlieb
Gypsies - 3	Older Men - 3
Gentlemen - 3; Ladies - 3	Women - 2
Farmhands - 15; Girls - 17	Elf Maidens - 12
Angels - 7 (ladies)	Trolls - 14
Strand Trolls - 4	Forest Trolls - 2
Old Dwarves - 6	Aristocratic Trolls - 4
Troll Women - 11	Children - 10 (for Act 3)
Bacchus - 1 child	

Twelve principals were used in A Folk Tale. In addition, the following number of dancers were involved in the various acts: Act One - fifty-five, Act Two - forty-eight, and Act Thre - fifty-four. The repetition of Danish surnames makes it impossible for this writer to determine accurately whether one dancer was doubling in roles or whether two separate dancers were being used in this performance, which also marked the debut of Miss Sophie Price, Juliette's cousin. The following list represents the names of male and female dancers who were

employed by the Royal Theater for the 1855-1856 season. (Note 21) With no figures available for the 1853-1854 season, it can only be theorized (since Juliette Price's name appeared on this list even though she spent the season in Vienna with Bournonville) that this is an accurate representation of the dancers who probably appeared in the premiere of A Folk Tale:

## Number of Men - 27

F. Hoppe	E. Stramboe	Carpentier
W. Funck	F. Hoppensach	H. Scharff
Lund	A. Fussel, Jr.	Møller
A. Fussel, sen.	A. Fredstrup	Paets
G. Brodersen	Andersen	V. Price
L. Gade	Nehm	C. Price
Dusch	Ring	E. Hansen
Stendrup	A. Price*	F. Gold*
A. Gabe*	E. Holst	T. Klyver*

## Number of Women - 35

C. Kellermann	P. Fredstrup	J. Price
L. Stillmann	Miss Rostock	Miss Borup
S. Price	Miss Garlieb	Miss Bills
Miss Larcher	J. Fredstrup	Miss Eggensen
S. Møller	Miss Andersen	Miss Werning
Miss Holm	C. Eiderup	Miss Hammer
Miss Olsen	Miss Nielsen	Miss Walbom
Miss Juel	Miss Larsen	Miss Giodesen
Miss Thorberg	C. Hansen	J. Tardini*
J. Petersen*	J. Thorberg*	E. Bryde*
A. Møller*	M. Bjørnsen	H. Nielsen*
K. Jansen		G. Stauning*

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\* Listed as children in A Folk Tale cast list, 1858.  
(Note 20)

Until 1861, the year Bournonville began a three-year residency in Stockholm, Edvard Lehmann designed most of the costumes for his ballets. It was because Lehmann, a poor artist who earned what he could by drawing sketches of dancers, designing theatrical costumes, and by painting a few portraits, was devoted to the Royal Theatre that pictorial records of a number of dancers, ballets, and theatrical costumes exist. The only known painting of Bournonville in a role, Paul and Virginia (1835), was executed by this artist. The young balletmaster supported Lehmann and secured his appointment as costume designer for the Ballet (Neiiendam, K., 1979, p. 9).

Lehmann designed the new costumes that were required for A Folk Tale. According to Viben Bech (1972, p. 103), all soloists received a costume for their role. When a dancer assumed another's role, as when Sophie Price first performed Hilda in 1858, a new costume was constructed for that artist. If the previous dancer gave up the part, his or her costume went into the general wardrobe where it might be redone for another production. This situation was unique in the Royal Theater where costumes were usually handed down from one actor or singer to the next. Few soloist ballet costumes have survived, because of thrift.

Corps de ballet costumes, conversely, were often assembled by borrowing pieces from other ballets. Such was the case with the corps costumes for A Folk Tale. In a one page fragment of a list--written by Bournonville--delineating costumes for the men in Act 1, Bournonville borrowed the suits from The Kermess in Bruges with a few changes in the footwear for the three gentlemen. For the two leading farmhands, he combined jerkins and breeches from both The Kermess in Bruges and Valdemar. Those two ballets were also the sources for costumes for the four children. (Note 22) Danish audiences accepted such makeshift attire with aplomb. They were just as much caught up in Denmark's frequent economic crises as the Theater. In "Reflections on the Theater" (1891), written in 1879, Bournonville noted that the financial conditions of the Royal Theatre necessitated costuming shortcuts.<sup>a</sup> Different nationalities and eras were mixed and matched according to need instead of historical accuracy (p. 43). Various stage effects were orchestrated by Bournonville for his own well designed scenic purposes. Considered more important than costumes and scenery, though, was the

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<sup>a</sup>See Frederick Marker's Hans Christian Andersen and the Romantic Stage, pp. 80-85, for discussion on use of stock costumes and sets at the Royal Theater.

fulfilling perfection of the composition itself. Fantasy and illusion were experienced:

when I had presented my compositions for a select group in the studio with its own four walls for decoration and the personnel in practice clothes . . . [than] down on the stage with the whole completely furnished.  
(p. 45)

Costumes, as well as scenery, were under Bournonville's direct supervision, and until he deemed a ballet completely ready, no one scheduled it for performance (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 33). In this respect, Bournonville adhered to the concept of the romantic theater as a "living picture gallery" (Marker, F. and Marker, L., 1975, p. 145).

He recorded having met with Lehmann two times, December 15 and December 24, 1853. On January 2, 1854, he met with Mrs. Ruge, wardrobe mistress, to discuss his costuming needs for the ballet. Although the ballet was ready for performance by the end of February of that year, the first full rehearsal in costume did not take place until the seventeenth of March. (Bournonville complained that Theatre Director Johan Heiberg usually forced the premieres of new ballets toward the end of the season--the theater closed for the summer on June 1--when audiences had lost their enthusiasm.)

That costumer Lehmann, machine master Weddén, and scenery painters Lund and Christiansen were not permitted by Heiberg to observe the preliminary rehearsals was viewed as a deep personal attack by Bournonville (1979, p. 207). Throughout the production phase, he continuously complained about the haggling and impediments shoved in his direction by a fuming Heiberg. It bordered on open warfare, especially after the embarrassing financial dispute Heiberg waged with Gade and Hartmann when their score fell a few minutes short of regulation length (p. 207).

Maskinmester, the master of the scenery, A.P. Weddén,<sup>a</sup> who had taken over from F.C. Gynther in 1851, was not brought in to Bournonville's arrangements until January. On January 2, February 17, 22, and 23, 1854, Bournonville noted the single word "arrangements" in his diary. According to P. Hansen (n.d., 2, p. 433), such a meeting referred to planning scenery, theatrical effects, and props for a specific production. The only other mention was noted on the January 26th run-through of Act 2. "It went very well and," wrote Bournonville of the stage rehearsal, "I am very happy with Machine Master

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<sup>a</sup>Name also spelled Wedén.

Weddén" (Note 6, p. 37). On February 16, the balletmaster was again very pleased with the first full stage rehearsal involving music and scenery. The dress rehearsal which took place the following month was, according to P. Hansen (n.d.), treated like a performance; it went equally as well.

For the results of these deliberations, the Maskinmester-Protokol<sup>a</sup> (Note 23) notated by Weddén must be consulted. Two stage effects were used in Act 1. To demonstrate her capriciousness, Birthe took a ride on a swing during scene 2. It was secured upstage left near the fourth wing. The audience must have been highly amused and surprised since the swing had been effectively hidden by a tree set piece which stood in front of the swing until that time.

The second effect was the rising of the hill drop cloth behind the fifth wing to reveal Muri, Hilda, and her two sons at work at their anvils. Marker (1971) has established that gas lighting was not introduced to the Royal Theatre until four years after the premiere of A Folk Tale, so the basic format of the eighteenth century stage operation was still in use until that time.

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<sup>a</sup>See Marker, F. (1971), pp. 65-66 for explanation of early production records at the Royal Danish Theatre.

The Kongens Nytorv stage was set up for eight wings (#1 downstage and #8 the farthest upstage). Wings and borders, set pieces, and drop cloths constituted the kinds of scenery in use at the time A Folk Tale was first produced. [see Appendix I, Floor Plans for A Folk Tale, 1854 and 1874] The hill drop extended fully across the stage which, in 1874 the new theater was constructed, extended eighty-eight feet.<sup>a</sup> A smooth raising of that drop cloth was not easy to achieve. Bournonville recorded having scheduled a special decorations rehearsal for the hill raising scene on the seventeenth of February. Although the device had been known since the Renaissance, a flame suddenly shooting up from the stage floor could surprise even contemporary theatergoers. The bluish flame, a result of Ove having poured out the magic potion which a mesmerized Hilda had offered him, was a relatively simple commedia dell'arte illusion, explained Niels Bjørn Larsen (Note 19). Dried mushroom powder was ignited in a long necked container fitted into a hole in the stage floor. A stagehand then blew through an attached tube which shot the safely cool bluish flame upward.

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<sup>a</sup>Exact dimensions for the old stage were not available.



In the 1874 production, Weddén added the use of fog machines to heighten the mystery of the hill rising and cover the entrance of the three lead elf maidens up through the center trap door located on the level of the fourth wing. [see Appendix I, Floor Plan for Act One] (Note 24)

Weddén's true mastery was evidenced in Act 2, Scene 2--Hilda's vision. Cloud wagons were drawn on to the stage carrying seven angels to form a tableaux centering upon Catherine and the infant Hilda.<sup>a</sup> With this scene set up behind a drop cloth at the fourth wing, the hearth was dropped down into the basement as the downstage lights were hoisted up into the fly loft thereby dimming that section of the stage. Oil-burning Argand lamps were set in a channel across the stage to illuminate the upstage dream scene. This channel could be uncovered and covered again to produce a black-out effect. Colored and treated taffeta was placed in front of the lamps to give rudimentary lighting effects.

As recorded in the 1874 notes, reds were used during most of Act 2, for instance, until Hilda began her solo. Then pink taffeta lights were added to soften the effect

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<sup>a</sup>In 1874, a wagon was flown in slowly in addition to the two scenic wagons which were drawn in from either side of the stage.

upon her dancing. In Act 1, full daylight prevailed until Ove was left alone on the stage. Blue flares were added, and fog was pumped onto the stage. Red border lights were brought in on the hill located behind the fourth wing. The only other lighting cue listed for Act 1 in the 1854 Protokol was the flame effect which followed when Ove poured out the contents of Hilda's goblet. [see Appendix G, Stagehand's Notebook] The 1874 notes indicate further that the lights began to lower slowly when Mr. Gade (Herr Mogens) had covered his eyes--for blind man's bluff. The downstage lamps were to come in with light blue taffeta while those upstage were colored with deep blue taffeta.

The high point of Act 3 was the changement, a complete change of scene in full view of the audience, accomplished downstage bringing the audience into Birthe's sitting room where the true origins of both girls was revealed. This manner of handling a change of scene, using a shallow section of the downstage while another scene was set up behind the drop cloth, was a common feature of Royal Theatre productions.

Ten years before, a public complaint had been voiced over the amount of time needed to make a complete

scenic change. The writer had remarked that "the wings which should change as with a magic wand, move in the same tempo as sacks of flour being hoisted in a warehouse" (Marker, F., 1975, p. 75). Presumably repairs were made, as no such complaint greeted this effect in 1854.

A number of properties were in use throughout this ballet. Almost every character held some sort of object to help establish a natural sense of action and mime.

[see Appendix G, Stagehand's Notebook]

The curtain opened in Act 1 to reveal a beech forest with a round table center stage at wing #3 with a stone (borrowed from St. Oluf) upstage right, and a set piece tree covering a swing which was secured at the fourth wing. Ten high-backed chairs were carried on by the dancers along with a basket with napkins, plates, knives, and forks to prepare the table for Birthe's party. In addition, silver pitchers, goblets, a tureen, and platters of stage food were brought onstage by the maids. Cook-master Morten's large ornate breakaway kranselage was also listed. That moment when he was bumped into by Else and the cake fell on the floor in pieces was one of the numerous comic highlights in this act.

The score contained two specific effects: the call of French hunting horns and the snap of riding whips. Those sounds were supported by four hunters who entered carrying horns and eight boys holding dog whips. Birthe also entered carrying a horse whip; her entrance had been heralded by the crack of a whip. One primary hint of the proper characterization for Herr Mogens was his use of white gloves and a white scarf. One can clearly imagine how this flashy character must have been played by Ludvig Gade.

Previously examined was the relevance of Muri's being revealed in scene 3 clasping a golden hand spindle. Her capability to cast spells was an important fact to establish, particularly because of the potion she directed Hilda to offer Ove and then the lethal hex she was to cast over Ove later in that scene. Her sons were occupied at their anvils and required the necessary tools and gold objects in order to establish that these were indeed trolls and not some other sort of netherworld creatures.

Very interesting was the complete description of Hilda's goblet. Seen in contemporary stagings as a large gold cup decorated with runic symbols, it was--in the

1854 and 1874 productions--most definitely a large goblet "ornamented with letters and symbols," and was crudely sketched out in the 1854 Protokol. (Note 23)



In Act 2, the upstage center section of the stage was dominated by a hearth set on the elevator trap. Included with the hearth were cooking implements, leather pancakes (plus real ones which Muri stuffed into the mouths of her two sons), and two sticks for Hilda to fashion into a cross at the conclusion of her vision. A couch, covered with a red throw rug, was set middle stage left for Hilda to recline upon during her dream. The downstage sides of this scene were set with forges, one for each brother, and the requisite smithy implements plus golden objects and anvils set in front of foot stools. In the 1874 Protokol, mention was made that Diderik's forge was lit to give the appearance of a wood fire. Viderik's forge on stage left was set on a machine so that it could be whisked up to allow for Viderik's and Hilda's escape at the end of scene 3.

This effect has been eliminated in current stagings. Viderik and Hilda now merely grand jeté up on top of the forge and disappear into the wing.

The two chests filled with gold service brought on by assistants and slammed shut to underscore Viderik's temper tantrum are effects still in use today. But, whereas contemporary versions place more emphasis upon the rowdy drunkenness in the troll galop finale of the act, Bournonville originally intended for it to be the natural culmination of a sumptuous banquet. This was noted in a previous chapter in the discussion of accepted practices for troll life. Properties for this scene included two tables laden with stage food, cups, and casks of wine.

In Act 3, scene 1,<sup>a</sup> two stage properties were used: a newly-constructed St. John's spring set stage right between wing #3 and #4 and a tall new tree set piece placed behind a stone and behind which was set a ladder. Viderik, as he cast the spell over the makeshift farmhand brigade, would later climb into the tree to heighten the impact of that comedic event.

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<sup>a</sup>Descriptions for Act 3 scenery are from the 1874 Protokol. 1854 production notations do not seem to exist.

Scene 4, Birthe's chamber (refer to scene 2 in Appendix G and Appendix I), was set up downstage in wings #1 and #2 so that the spring and tree set pieces remained undisturbed behind the drop cloth depicting the interior of a Gothic salon. Stagehands carried on a table, large easy chair, and another chair from stage left while maids carried on a dressing table with mirror, another easy chair, and a foot stool from stage right. Two vases of flowers plus clothing (a feathered hat, cloak, fancy dresses, and shoes) were carried on in a laundry basket as the scene was acted.

At the conclusion of this scene, the stage returned to the original setting with the addition of a treasure chest laden wheelbarrow brought up on the center elevator trap door for the trolls' departure from Denmark. In current settings, this wheelbarrow is pushed on to the stage by trolls as part of a procession. It was at this point in the ballet that later productions, perhaps dating from Hans Beck's restaging in 1892, consolidated scenes 5 and 6.

For the closing scene, a may pole finalized the wedding tableaux with its promise of renewed life. Two gilded throne-like chairs, and two high-backed "Isabella"

chairs were placed downstage right between wings #1 and #2 so that the bridal party could observe the festivities of midsummer's eve (specifically the pas de sept). [Refer to scene 3 in Appendix I, Floor Plan for 1874 Production]

The ballet concluded, as noted by Aschengreen (1974), on a strong note of poetic optimism pictorially displayed. "The antagonism between idea and reality is abolished, and harmony is achieved" (pp. 45-46), and all aspects of the production--from the mimespiel to the costuming scenery, and lighting--were planned to support the highly didactic moral tone of the finale tableaux.

### Scenery

The Royal Theater employed two scenic artists at the time A Folk Tale was produced. Troels Lund, (1802-1867) a specialist in architecture, enjoyed productions which gave outlet to his historical interests.<sup>a</sup> The Gothic interior for Birthe's chamber and the mysterious hill in Act 2 were assuredly his conceptions. Christian F. Christiansen's (1805-1883) talents lay in the direction

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<sup>a</sup>See Øyvind Anker's Den Danske Teatermaleren Troels Lund og Christiania Theater (1962) for scenic analysis of Bournonville's Valdemar and Fantasy Island or From the Coast of China.



of romanticized landscapes executed in bright warm tones. The first work he did for Bournonville had been for Festival in Albano (1839).

The fact that scenery for most new productions at the Royal Theater consisted primarily of stock flats, drops, wings, and borders riled Bournonville. In 1849, he complained about how the mandate to use "hand-me-down" spoiled the freshness of his compositional ideas (1891, pp. 28-29). A running battle was waged throughout his career on this single issue; A Folk Tale was no exception. Repeatedly Heiberg forced cutbacks on the production budget (Bournonville was even required to pay for the printing of the libretto with personal funds) in order to keep expenses to a minimum.

For Act 1, stock beech forest wings with accompanying green borders were used in wings #1 - #4. Because the hill dropcloth, extending the eighty-eight feet width of the stage, was numbered, it too was presumably in stock, perhaps from Heiberg's popular "The Elfin Hill." After rising for scene 3, the interior of the hill was revealed: four flame columns were covered with frames and set off by solid cavern wings masking wing #7. Another stock drop cloth, that of a cavern, extending

across the stage at wing #8, and the background was completed by another stock dropcloth depicting a distant heath. [see Appendix I, Floor Plans from 1854 and 1874]

In Act 2, the downstage area was dominated by the troll hall set. New drapes were constructed for wings #1 to #4. Stalactite borders were hung across wings #1 to #3 with a "companion" border across wing #4. Fireplaces flanked either side of the stage in wing #1. The stage left fireplace was set on an elevator so that it could be raised. A couch, covered with a red throw rug, stood on the stage right side near wing #3, and a large hearth was placed on the elevator trap door located center stage, opposite wing #4. The cavern drop was raised as Hilda reclined on the couch to reveal a back drop of the troll hall blocked off by two unnamed wing drapes. So that the cloud wagons were not impeded, no other drapes were used to cover the wings. In a comparison of the floor plans for Acts 1 and 2 between the original production and the 1874 restaging Bournonville did for the opening of the new theater, the increased number of details in the 1874 plan is readily apparent. Simplicity was definitely the rule on the older, smaller stage.

In Act 3, the stage was opened up to wing #6 in order to accommodate not only the chase scene and the closing pas de sept but to allow for the downstage changement into scene 4. No specific wings, borders, or drops were named other than in highly generalized terms. Bournonville's own description of the scene must be relied upon with the hope that his verbal sketch presented an accurate picture. [Refer to the libretto for this description in Chapter VI]

Again for scene 2 (scene 4 in the libretto), no descriptive labels were used for the wings or back drop. Seen, though, on the stage left part of the back drop is the doorway through which Birthe made her bombastic entrance. Today that entrance is made through the drop at center stage.

The final setting, scene 3 in the floor plan, which was used for the remainder of the ballet, is a return to Act 3, scene 1 with the indication of where the elevator trap door, at center stage, will rise with the wheelbarrow and the downstage left section of the stage where the riser and chairs will be placed for the bridal party in the closing scene.

Movement and Music<sup>a</sup> Analysis of Act One,  
Scenes one and two

The earliest notation of A Folk Tale which exists today was done by Emil Hansen (Note 25), director of the Ballet from 1890 to 1894 [see Appendix A, Biographical Information], presumably in conjunction with a new staging mounted in 1892. An unnamed writer for Berlingske Tidende (1887) had called this ballet:

one of the distinguished exercises in Bournonville's balletic poetry fully wedded to Danish aesthetic culture at the middle of the century, and, if only for its cultural meaning, it should be seen frequently in the repertoire of the Royal Theater. (p. 1)

Hansen took the advice to heart and probably adhered as closely as possible to the restaging the elderly Bournonville had done twenty years earlier for his 1892 production. Beck, therefore, felt the need to modernize the ballet when he set it again only two years later in 1894 (Note 27). Surprisingly, the two scenes examined exhibited only minor variations between Hansen's and Beck's notes. The third written source, and the one adhered to in contemporary productions, is the notes of Valborg Borchsenius upon which she based her staging of the

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<sup>a</sup>Assisted by Susan Myatt, dance accompanist at Texas Woman's University. (Gade and Hartmann, Note 26)

ballet in 1941. Originally recorded during rehearsals on the backs of calendars and envelopes, these notes are only complete through Act 2, scene 4<sup>a</sup> and do not accurately denote the steps for Hilda's solo which takes place in this scene (Note 28).

The following analysis of Act 1, scenes 1 and 2, is a compilation of the notes from these three existing written records accompanied by a brief profile of Gade's accompaniment.

#### Act I, scene 1

As the curtain rises, following a brief overture, the major theme in 6/8 is introduced to accompany the maids working, under old Catherine's directions, to set the table and chairs in order. As is substantiated in the 1874 floor plans, older versions included setting the chairs around the round table; Borchsenius did away with this particular bit of business. Borchsenius gives Catherine greater importance in that everything carried in for the table must be given to her to set in place. (Gade used a loose song form in this pictorial section.) Morten, who enters carrying a large brimming tureen and

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<sup>a</sup>Note that some of the scenes in Act 3 had been revamped by this time.

two girls each entering with a plate of cakes, is a bit of business dating from Hansen's notes which has disappeared in Borchsenius'.

Morten's romantic overtures to Else are more brash and menacing in the earlier versions. He tried to pinch her cheek, but Else slaps his hand sharply. When her rightful lover embraces her, Morten tears him away and turns to threaten Else. "I will absolutely not come with you," Else affirms. The rest of the young men join Else's boyfriend in shoving Morten around the table and offstage upstage left.

The second major theme, written in C minor, underscores old Catherine's warning the girls about the trolls and hill folk on midsummer's eve. The words "terror" and "fear" are the foci of Catherine's warning. Whereas Hansen's and Beck's notes spoke of this scene in general tones:

The hill over there -- opens -- (and small pixies) looking down quickly, here and there and here and there, shakes her head in terror -- folds her hands in front of her breast and curtsies  
(Note 27)

Borchsenius is more specific in actual stage business:

Nurse points with right hand forward and then left hand forward shaking hands; small trolls and brownies come out. Now draws her hands to her breast and shakes her head: "God preserve us." (Note 28)

Following a short fanfare, Birthe rushes in cracking her whip and agitating all the servants with her open ridicule of their arrangements. She changes everything as a variation on the original musical theme builds steadily in intensity throughout the remainder of this scene to finish with a defined climactic moment:

Birthe walks forward between the girls and commands them--"You there (on stage right) go over there (to stage left)--and you there (on stage left) go over there (to stage right)." She turns to face the table--the girls remain as they were told.

Birthe

o o

o o

o o

As they run to the opposite side, they bump into each other in the middle. Else runs over to the stage left and Miss Birthe threatens them menacingly.

Two youths enter from the third wing, each with a large tray full of pitchers, and run into each other falling over backwards while Miss Birthe stands raging over them. They scramble up quickly and run on their way. (Note that although Borchsenius also indicated the use of trays loaded with tankards and pitchers, current productions employ baskets filled with bread instead.)

Else laughs at the sight. Miss Birthe discovers it and rushes menacingly over to her (stage left) grabbing Else's right hand with her own right one and pivoting her around to stage right and threatens her.

Cookmaster: Enters upstage left with a krandskage and comes around the table to center stage. Else tumbles into it as she spins out of Birthe's grasp and the cake tumbles down in pieces. (Hansen, Note 25, p. 5)

At this point Borchsenius indicated that Birthe vented her anger by grabbing Else's ear with her right hand. Hansen notes that Birthe pushes Else over to stage left before pulling her ear. Both recorders agreed that when the music attempts to soothe Birthe, the changeling instead turns her wrath on old Catherine thus bringing the scene to an end with a sharp angry stamp on the thirty-fifth measure.

Act I, scene 2

A French horn fanfare and a brightening of the lighting heralds the entrance of Birthe's guests. The original theme modulates into a softer, gentler, and slower melody line as the hunting party is greeted by an amiable Birthe. All versions of the notes agree that the entrance is made downstage from wing #1, but only in Hansen's notes was the exact order of entrance specified:

- |                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Aunt Kirstine | 5. two ladies              |
| 2. Herr Mogens   | 6. one knight and one lady |
| 3. Junker Ove    | 7. four hunters carrying   |
| 4. two knights   | horns                      |



A short four-measure contrasting phrase plus an additional six four-measure phrases involving a reworking of the previously introduced themes support the mimed greeting Birthe gives her gathering and the invitation to join her at the table for the repast. Special note is made of Mogens' overly polite attitude towards both Birthe and her aunt while Ove, although performing his courtly duties, remains slightly distant from the group:

Ove bows in a melancholy manner to Birthe while Mogens makes a courtly gesture of going over to Birthe and kissing her hand. Birthe nods to Ove, and after Mogens has kissed her hand, she goes over to the table and turns to face forward. (Borchsenius, Note 28, p. 9)

At this point the pictorial music ceases as Birthe calls together the farmers and servant girls to perform for the party. The eight couples begin a "clumsy" schottische to a 2/4 in D<sup>b</sup> in an ABA form. Hansen included no notes for the dance, but Beck and Borchsenius did attempt to record some rudimentary movement cues.

Birthe interrupts the dance, with an eight-measure bridge, asking if there is anyone who could dance better? "One of the young clods" (current stagings use Else) points to one of his friends, and that youth is shoved into the center for a ten-measure solo. Beck wrote that

Birthe cannot stand his dancing and reacts to it in a ten-measure section in which she illustrates a few jig steps.

A two-measure pick up, as though a fiddler is warming up, introduces an old-fashioned reel. Beck recorded the floor patterns with a few general directional and movement cues for this reel. The couples danced around and in front of the big round table. Seventeen different figures, with figures seven to ten being a repetition of figures three to six are notated. [see Appendix J, Floor Patterns for Farmers Dance, Act 1, scene 2]

At the close of this rondo-like fifty-four measure dance, an additional sixteen measures was added, a long orchestral improvisation on a single chord much like a country fiddler would play. The form evaporates gradually in diminuendo as the cookmaster leads the dancers off into the right upstage wing.

The knights and their ladies take their turn with a courtly minuet highlighted by horn fanfares. The music has longer, smoother lines and it is not generally as angular as the farmers' dance. A twelve-measure interlude centers around a toast offered to the bridal couple in

which Ove fails to participate. This action sends Birthe into a fit of rage, and she throws her tankard to the ground:

Miss Birthe (to Ove): "You -- me -- despise."  
Ove does not respond, but turns away from her. Mogens quickly offers Birthe his hand and some of the guests take their places for a contradance. (Hansen, Note 25)

Not as stately as the minuet, the moderately gracious 6/8 music changes key in order to build audience suspense for the next bit of action, a twenty-four-measure solo for Birthe followed by her ride on the swing upstage left. Gade's use of a key upward swing immediately followed by an arpeggio directly supports the action of the swing. Using a motif from Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream," (a number of moments in Gade's first act remind the listener of Mendelssohn's phrasing style) Gade's next sixteen measures, to support Birthe's suggestion of a game of blind man's buff, acts as a bridge back to the original theme introduced in scene 1.

While Mogens is being blindfolded and is acting out his game with the guests in the upstage section of the stage, Birthe and Ove walk together downstage center and converse:

Ove comes over to Birthe and asks her forgiveness for what has happened earlier; she is happy about that and takes hold of his hand,

and he kisses hers. Mogens has come close to them and grabs Ove's hand thinking it is Birthe's. Discovering his mistake, Mogens moves off crestfallen. (Beck, Note 27)

In current stagings, Birthe pushes Ove's hand out to Mogens, but this bit of action is not delineated in the older manuscripts.

Darkness comes so Birthe invites her party back to the manor house. All exit upstage left as the music gradually ritards and Ove is left alone sitting on the stone middle stage right except for Catherine who vainly attempts to convince him of the danger of his remaining alone next to the hill on midsummer's eve. The scene ends with a repetition of Catherine's warning theme as a bridge into the rising of the hill and scene 3.

### Discussion

A review of the action in scenes 1 and 2, as compiled from the three existing written sources, makes one aware of the shortcomings of Bournonville's printed libretto. Written poetically to assist the viewer, it was never intended to be a basis for future reconstructions and cannot be used as such. Hansen's notes were the most explicit in that he numbered the pieces of stage business and these numbers correspond to numbers written

into an accompanying score. Beck may have only intended his quickly sketched words and phrases to assist his own memory; they are the most difficult to decipher. When Borchsenius rewrote her own cursory notes, it was with the idea of establishing a firm written record. I am not aware whether reconstructors today refer to Hansen's notes, but I noticed that where Borchsenius' notes (considered the standard for the Royal Theatre) were incomplete for a bit of stage business, Hansen's were usually more fully written and vice versa.

The primary disappointment with all the written notes centers around the recording of the dance sequences: the farmers' schottische and reel, the minuet and contra-dance for the ladies and gentlemen, and Birthe's short solo. Hansen simply skipped that section or made a general reference to the fact that the dance was occurring. French and Danish words are interwoven making it difficult for one unfamiliar with the dances to "see" the movements. Each recorded codified the steps in a personalized manner which makes a reconstruction based upon these records practically impossible.

The scenes are a delight of contrasting energies, moods, kinds of stage business, focus, and the building of

climactic moments. The care with which the notes were made demonstrates the ability of a written record to describe and clarify stage business yet remain ineffective as an explanatory vehicle for actual dance movements.

Hans Beck himself complained of the problem of reconstructing a ballet with little more than the program notes as an aid. Most people, he noted, assumed that music, dance, and text had been preserved. Even by 1902, only twenty-three years after Bournonville's death, all that remained of a number of the ballets was the "little wretched resume which was sold as the program. In many instances only a single note remained of the dances and the music." The primary ingredient in the preservation of the ballets, affirmed Beck, was the "tradition" within the bodies of the dancers, an admittedly difficult and uncertain method (Koppel, 1902, pp. 83-84).

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSION

The Royal Danish Ballet was an entity clouded by obscurity for balletomanes until a small group of artists brought a number of Bournonville's bubbling, fresh divertissements to Jacob's Pillow in 1955. Up to then, few dance history books had given more than a cursory note of either this venerable nationalistic company or of its most famous choreographer, August Bournonville. Twenty years later, an information gap concerning the historical heritage of the Royal Danish Ballet still remained a problem to the researcher. Little documented information was available in English concerning the source of its primary tradition, the existing ballets choreographed by August Bournonville.

The purpose of this study was, therefore, to extend the literature dealing with the history of this company and its unique contribution to the romantic era as exemplified by its choreographer-director, Antoine August Bournonville. The study focused upon one ballet, A Folk Tale, which was seen for the first time in its entirety outside of Copenhagen in Chicago, June 13, 1980.

The significance of this particular ballet is seen in Bournonville's own comment about it written in 1865:

I . . . think back on the planning and execution of this compositon, with its humorous and serious scenes into which both graceful and fantastic dances are woven. I must acknowledge it to be my most perfect and finest choreographic work, especially as regards its Danish character. (1979, p. 210)

The need to define this concept of Danishness for those not acquainted with Denmark, Danish history, society, aesthetics, and music necessitated the development of essays on those specific topics. Although no Danish blood flowed through Bournonville's veins, he felt he was a Dane, and his audience represented a wide spectrum of Copenhagen social classes. The tenuous position of the Ballet in the three-sided structure of the Royal Theatre mandated that his compositions attract and hold his diverse audience's attention. Vaughan (1978) has written that "art, however lofty its intentions and however sound its theoretical basis, still does not convince by argument, but by evidence of the eye" (p. 120). Bournonville was first and foremost an articulate man of the theater. Because he was a keen observer of all facets of life, he had learned his craft well. Bournonville clothed his romantic concerns, as is



evidenced in A Folk Tale, with a "lively, fertile fantasy" (Overskou, 1876, p. 186) of Scandinavian folkloric details as they had been interpreted by the nineteenth century tastes. In his upward social aspirations, Bournonville felt himself truly representative of this biedermeier middle class society whose ideals centered upon four loves: religion, family life, positive idealism, and nation.

The various premises upon which Bournonville formulated the plot structure for A Folk Tale are therefore inherent to the understanding and full appreciation of this ballet by a contemporary, non-Danish audience.

What exactly was the Copenhagen milieu in which Bournonville lived and worked for most of his life? As a part of that society, he suffered as a youth through a period of galloping inflation following Denmark's disastrous support of Napoleon. He flourished as a man in the period of prosperity as the country retained its economic and social stability. Nearing the end of his own performing career in the 1840's, Bournonville found himself caught up in the social issues of the day, demonstrating his devotion to the essence of Christian

charity, for example, when he opened his Copenhagen apartment as a temporary hospital during the 1853 cholera epidemic.

Life in nineteenth century Copenhagen was harsh. Constructed within defined ~~par~~imeters of the city's walls, the city did not protect one class from another; all intermingled physically if not socially. Raw life had to be filtered before its essence was used as dramatic source material. Bournonville was careful, as were his artistic peers, to preserve the dignified scope of romantic idealism in the selection of theatrical material to be mounted upon the sacred boards of their national theater.

"Here upon earth all human happiness is its wants and longings. Death in the arms of Fame is the highest and the best the hero and the artist can hope to achieve" wrote Bournonville (1979, p. 113). In this succinct statement, the balletmaster revealed his true and ultimate aim in life: success. A man with a volatile temper, a dictatorial manner, and bouts of depression, Bournonville nevertheless kept his goals and aspirations firmly in view throughout his seventy-four years. His work, unlike so much of the creative works produced during the Golden Age, did not fade from the public eye as he had feared.

In addition to the romantic tendency of the ballet-master's intellectual peers, members of his family, particularly his father, represented an influential force upon the development of his manner of thinking, acting, and feeling. Bournonville's unusually articulate philosophy of art and his choreographic credo never strayed far afield from the Noverrian foundations he developed as a youth under the tutelage of his father, and the director of the ballet, Vincenzo Galleotti. Both were exponents of Noverre's precepts.

Following the national crisis of establishing a democratic constitution with the accompanying dilemma of the nationalization of the Royal Theatre and the ballet-master's own mid-life retirement as a performer, A Folk Tale represented a tremendous personal triumph.

Two years earlier, The Wedding Festival in Hardanger had given Bournonville an opportunity to develop a more natural gestural pantomime. He felt strongly that both the dancing and mime should evolve from the demands of the dramatic situation. With A Folk Tale he achieved that goal, having made fully the transition from choreographer to the role of poet of the dance.

The ballet was a popular success. Brandes commented in an 1868 review that "A Folk Tale fleetingly calls forth all feelings in identical moods and reconciles all the conjured spirits" (Fridericia, 1979, pp. 107-108).

Bournonville had, with material so familiar to his whole audience, reached out to the foundations of fearsome superstition and demonstrated how Christian faith could reconcile the "conjured spirits".

That this ballet was the last one performed in the old theater and was the first one to be restaged by Bournonville for the new theater in 1874 is a clear indication of its importance and its general popularity with Danish theatergoers. Although the Dags-Telegraf reviewer complained that the new machinery was noisy, the new Jutland landscapes were not Danish enough, and the intermissions were too long, he nevertheless praised the ballet's "solid and poetic artistry" (1874, p. 1). Faedrelandet called A Folk Tale "a pearl among ballets" (1874, p. 1). In his conception of the ultimate Nordic heroine, Hilda, Bournonville created a role which was used, beginning during his lifetime, as the debut role for a number of rising ballerinas from Sophie Price in 1858 to Ulla Poulsen in 1921, and Liz Jeppesen in 1977.

One of the single most important elements in the construction of this ballet was the music. At a time when theater music consisted primarily of hodge-podge arrangements of popular music, folk melodies, and nationalistic themes, Niels W. Gade and Johan P. Hartmann (the foremost Danish composers of the nineteenth century) created a sonorous score which even today remains a treasure in the genre of nineteenth century ballet music.

As a trained musician (Bournonville and Hartmann were fellow students under Wexschall), he aligned his choreographic inspiration totally within the framework of his music. Even contemporary dancers will speak of their allowing the rhythms of the music to carry them through an especially difficult sequence of technical virtuosity. In a poem, dating from 1841, Bournonville wrote:

In dance the melody loud shall speak  
And through Beauty's chain its bright way wend.  
(1979, p. 125)

Another unique facet in Bournonville's creative method was his procedure for developing a scenario. With no librettist employed for that purpose, Bournonville's creative act began with the initial inspiring thought. His first step was to exercise his acute intellectual insight on the writing of the libretto. He had found through experience that transposing novels or specific

historical incidents to the stage was rarely successful. Instead he called upon such elements as personal insight and experience, Danish folklore, superstitions, popular images, and holiday traditions as building blocks for this stage of the inventive process. A Folk Tale was just such a collage; Bournonville had included a number of different elements, and in order to fully appreciate their integration into the final plot, an examination of many of them was necessary. That the ballet was a favorable venture was verified in the following comment:

Bournonville's new ballet, A Folk Tale, gave new proof that this talented ballet composer's rich fantasy is far from empty. His newest work is created . . . with a newness of invention, with a poetic perception, and with accomplishment in its use of the chosen material. (Flyveposten, March 21, 1854, pp. 3-4)

The discussion of the actual ballet was based upon those written sources available in the Royal Library, the Royal Theatre Library, the Royal Archives, the Theatre Museum, newspaper and periodical sources at the library of the University of Copenhagen in Copenhagen, Denmark. This portion of the report is limited to the time span during which Bournonville maintained control over the ballet, 1853 to 1874, with primary emphasis given to events leading up to the premiere on

March 20, 1854. Additional information, necessitated by gaps in the literature, was taken from selected sources in the early years of the twentieth century.

Various elements beyond the development of the libretto are discussed in light of the available sources: dancers in the major roles, costuming, lighting, properties, scenery, and rehearsal preparations.

Throughout the process of bringing the relevancy, literacy, and the process of creating A Folk Tale into proper perspective, a number of unavoidable problems remained unsolved. One of the most obvious is that of language. It was necessary for this investigator to learn to read Danish in both its printed and written forms. I am indebted to the few scholars able to read older, archaic script forms for their assistance in this study.

A second limitation is the actual absence of documented information on the creation of A Folk Tale. Bournonville was a highly literate contributor to the philosophical and theoretical literature on dance. He enjoyed expounding upon the artistic premises for his beloved art. Yet, like so many other creative artists throughout time, when it came to the moment of creating the actual images of stage movement and mimespiel, he

remained mute. What he designed for his dancers was carried within their minds and bodies, and in those receptacles the legacy of A Folk Tale was passed from one generation to the next. Not until 1892, with the notes of Ballet director Emil Hansen (forty-eight years after its premiere), do records begin to emerge which have survived.

Because this writer resided in Copenhagen for a relatively short period of time (first for seven months and then again for two months), relevant data may have been overlooked. Included within the framework of this third dilemma is the general inavailability of documented information in English prior to the commencement of this particular study. Interest in August Bournonville and his legacy to the Royal Danish Ballet has mounted steadily over the past few years, not only in the United States but in Denmark as well. The change in the investigative environment may enhance the thoroughness and efficiency of future historical research projects.

#### Conclusions

A Folk Tale is indeed a product of Bournonville's personal experience and his interaction with a broad spectrum of life in Copenhagen. The middle class, with



its aesthetic taste, cultural heritage, literary antecedents and interests, social and religious values, was fully represented in the libretto and stage business devised by Bournonville.

#### Recommendations for Further Research

During the research conducted for this report, topics for additional studies on the history of the Royal Danish Ballet in the nineteenth century emerged:

1. A comparison between A Folk Tale and other ballets choreographed by August Bournonville which have used Scandinavian mythological or folkloric themes.
2. An intensive examination of the creative process for another ballet selected from the Bournonville repertoire.
3. An analysis of the relationship between Bournonville's life and the ballets and divertissements produced during a specified time period.
4. A study of the intellectual relationship between Frederich Høedt, noted Danish actor-director, and August Bournonville.
5. A tracing of A Folk Tale from 1879 to 1980.
6. An examination of the causes for the deteriorating relationship between Johan Heiberg and August Bournonville from 1848, when Heiberg assumed directorship fo the Royal Theatre, to Heiberg's forced resignation in 1856.
7. A study of Bournonville's misé en scène in relation to its use by other European choreographers of the time.

8. A comparative analysis of the appearance of wilis, naiads, elf maidens, et cetera as choreographic devices by nineteenth century choreographers.
9. A tracing of the evolution in Bournonville's use of dance movement requiring technical virtuosity in his ballets.
10. An examination of Bournonville's role as a director for the opera at the Royal Theatre.
11. A study of the influence of Royal Theatre scenic painters Lund and Christiansen on Bournonville and his ballets.

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## APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Biographical Information

## BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

### Hans Beck (1861-1952)

"Hans Beck was a unique dancer who, with meticulous care, placed his feet in fifth position before dancing. He was a dancer of God's grace, unaffected and free." So wrote Robert Schyberg (1937, p. 515) of this young phenomenon, a vigorous new breed of virtuoso. He so entranced the aged Bournonville that he regretted that he was not young enough to create new dances for him. That Bournonville witnessed Beck's successful debut only days before his death in one of Bournonville's own divertissements, "Polka Militaire," was emblematic of the transitional role the dancer was to play in the survival of both the Bournonville tradition and repertoire during his tenure as director of the ballet, 1894 to 1915.

After beginning his career as a student of Georg Brodersen in 1869, Beck was immediately pinpointed as an exceptional talent. Bournonville's widow, Helene, likened Beck's technique and abandoned performing style to that of her own husband. You "have the same floating suspension" (Beck, 1944, p. 47), she wrote. His jovial spirits often put him at odds with prevailing pedagogues Gustave Carey and Ferdinand Hoppe, both of whom attempted to remain



dogmatically faithful to the principles of their idolized mentor. Their reluctance to change fed into the hands of detractors of the ballet who wished to see the end of the company. When Beck reluctantly assumed directorship of the company from an ailing Emil Hansen, he brought to his post a reverence for Bournonville's creative artistry coupled with a recognition that in order to survive the ballets had to live for the new generation of Danish theatergoers.

An abundance of good humor and an even disposition inspired the cautious older dancers with his respect for the traditions and captured the eager younger dancers with his exuberance (Neiiendam, J., 1953, p. 350). In a short time, for example, the corps was doubled in size (at one time there had been only twelve elfmaidens instead of the requisite twenty-four) so that the misé en scene returned to its former pre-eminence in the choreographic flow of Bournonville's ballets (Erslev, 1920, 2, p. 236). In other major developments, Beck and other retired dancers reconstructed some of Bournonville's class material and soli into what is now called "The Bournonville Schools," around which the dance training at the Royal Theater was structured.

Beck reshaped Bournonville's ballets by carving away much of the mimeo-drama and by simply eliminating a number of his seminal dramatic pieces from the repertoire. Beck saw

the need to make the Ballet more attractive to the new working class audiences who craved entertainment. Between 1899 and 1911, The Lay of Thrym, From Siberia to Moscow and Ponte Molle were seen for the last time. A conscious effort was made to lighten all dramatic episodes, to heighten comic effects and to decrease or eliminate adagio sections (Cohen, November 1979, p. 77). These efforts were not greeted entirely without criticism for although today we recognize that, as Danish critic Ebbe Mørk (1979) stated, this "was decisive for the development of the Bournonville tradition" (p. 10), the total conceptual approach to Bournonville's art was "seriously molested" (Fridericia, 1979, p. 366). Many Danes, like author P.S. Lange-muller, having grown up on the ballets, mourned the loss of Bournonville's developmental scenes. In a letter to Holger Drachmann, he criticized Beck's restagings because they allowed audiences to "taste little of Bournonville's Dannebrog-tableaux" (p. 365).

By 1915, Diaghilev's Ballet Russe had thrust the concept of ballet into an entirely new direction, one with which Beck was totally uncomfortable. Remaining absolutely true to himself and his art, he retired from his directoral post and as a performer to open a prestigious social dance academy in Copenhagen.

Valborg Jørgensen Borchsenius (1872-1950)

Perfectly at home on the stage, little Valborg was only six when she got her first part as one of Nora's children in A Doll's House. Like her favorite partner, Hans Beck, her talents were discovered early by her teachers, solo dancer Paul Krumm and ballet director Emil Hansen. Following her debut in 1891 as the Sylphide, Valborg immediately assumed many of the major female roles in the Bournonville repertoire. Her quiet, blonde demeanor and winning smile were key ingredients to her early success.

During the 1890's, she was "the Bournonvillesque ideal of brilliant precision, captivating wholesomeness and Danish femininity" (Neiiendam, J., 1953, p. 346). In 1895, she was elevated to the rank of solo dancer where she proved her respect and fidelity to the Bournonville tradition in her representations of Hilda in A Folk Tale, Astrid in Valdemar, Kirsti in The Wedding Festival at Hardanger, Svava in The Valkyr, and Celeste in The Toreador. Her less than outstanding abilities as a mime were compensated for by technical strength and brilliance. Hans Beck's restagings, diminishing the importance of the mimed scenes, helped camouflage these inadequacies.

Following her retirement in 1918, Borchsenius taught in the children's school until Harald Lander made use of her

impressive memory and administrative skills when he decided to refurbish the sagging Bournonville repertoire with new productions. Over the years as a performer, Borchsenius had made copious notes on a number of the ballets. These proved to be invaluable tools in Lander's attempt to carve away many barnacles of age and personal amendments which had crept into the productions. It is upon these unpublished notes that present day Bournonville repertoire directors, Kirsten Ralov and Hans Brenaa, both former students of Borchsenius, determine the authenticity of their stagings.

Georg Brodersen (1819-1908)

Emil Hansen, director of the ballet from 1890-1894, found his dearest childhood memories linked to his first teacher, Georg Brodersen. His inspiring attitude and generous heart instilled many dancers, so closely associated with the "Bournonville style," with a sense of joyous purpose.

Brodersen entered the theater in 1830 at eleven years and achieved the rank of second dancer in 1842. Even Bournonville could only describe him as being a "modest dancer" so his performing activities, although continuing until 1871, were confined to minor mimic roles. This did not prevent Bournonville from recognizing the true capabilities of his

lifelong friend, that of teacher and rehearsal director. When he retired as a dancer in 1848, Bournonville turned the training school completely into his hands. In an 1846 report to the director of the theater, Bournonville proclaimed Brodersen as an outstanding pedagogue, "supervising" and fully "guaranteeing" his work (Fridericia, 1979, p. 307).

During Bournonville's season in Vienna (1855-1856), Brodersen shouldered the responsibility of directing the ballet with "skill and energy" (Hansen, n.d., 3, p. 254). Bournonville appreciated the good influence Brodersen had on the moral fiber of his charges in addition to the strong technical foundation he laid. "It especially pleases me to recognize in my disciple and good friend the same striving for all that is noble and beautiful in art" (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 70). When Bournonville decided to retire in 1877, Brodersen did also. He had provided Bournonville with a strong corps de ballet for thirty years.

#### Petrine Fredstrup (1827-1881)

When Petrine Fredstrup retired from her role as Frøken Birthe, she was one of the last members of the original cast still performing A Folk Tale. For seventeen years she had created a solid model for the demonic undertones to Birthe's presumed nobility. A "spiritual air . . . combined with

her quick humor" (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1953, p. 286) within each part she undertook were the hallmarks of her artistry.

At the early age of six, little Petrine took her first steps in the private dancing school of Pierre Larcher. Her father, H.C.J. Fredstrup, the ballet's regisseur, wanted her to begin early. She did enter the Royal Theater where she made her debut in 1839 with a solo in the singspiel, Babu. Charm and beauty were lost from her as was technical virtuosity so her primary value to Bournonville was as the strongly characterized second lead. Bournonville (1979) greatly appreciated the intelligence, "care and correctness" (p. 169) with which she infused her unique portrayals.

In 1851 Fredstrup was promoted to the rank of solo dancer and created the roles of Kirsti in The Wedding Festival at Hardanger (1853) and Elna in The Mountain Hut (1859). It was, however, Fredstrup's definitive portrait of Frøken Birthe for which Bournonville bestowed upon her the supreme compliment of being a "true artiste" (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 169). In den knogelige Danske Skueplads, Thomas Overskou commented upon her assured portrayals and of the fiery, bizarre boldness which permeated the troll daughter's dance and mime scenes. Upon her retirement, she continued influencing future artists as a teacher in the children's school until shortly before her death in 1881.

Wilhelm Erik Funck (1824-?)

By the time Funck created the role of Junker Ove, he was considered at thirty past his prime. This fact has often been used to justify the role having been devoid of any technical demands associated with a more youthful approach yet having made heavy demands upon a mature mimic rendition.

Bournonville made no mention of Funck in his treatise, My Theater Life, nor was he listed in the dansk Biografisk Leksikon. Svend Kragh-Jacobsen has noted that there was a slight physical resemblance between Bournonville and Funck (1953, p. 310).

At some point, Funck suddenly emigrated to the United States and never returned to Denmark.

Ludvig Harald Gade (1823-1897)

As Bournonville's acknowledged second-in-command, no one else had as much direct influence over the ballet in the last portion of Bournonville's life and after his death than this individual. He was one of Bournonville's very first pupils following his return to Copenhagen in 1830. Gade remained a strong model and stalwart friend throughout Bournonville's life.

In 1844, Gade made his debut in a pas de deux in The Festival at Albano and was accepted into the company in 1857. Oddly enough the rank of solo dancer forever eluded him. Bournonville exploited Gade's tall, strong figure and facial expressiveness in many of his pivotal character roles: Herr Mogens in A Folk Tale, Farmer Ole in The Wedding Festival on Hardanger (1853), and Svend in A Mountain Hut (1857). His most outstanding role was Bjørn in The Valkyr (1861) in which "he gave a sensitive portrait both of the savagery of berserk fury and of comedy in the tumbling dance he did with the baccante girls" (Neiiendam, R., 1935, p. 561). In 1865, Bournonville noted his tremendous talent for "strongly defined roles" (Bournonville, A., 1979, p. 169).

From 1861 to 1864, while the balletmaster was the Intendant at the Royal Theater, Stockholm, it was Gade who Bournonville appointed as director of the ballet. Throughout those years Gade conferred frequently with his mentor, as is evidenced in a weighty packet of their correspondance on file at the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Bournonville (1979) was satisfied with his work of maintaining the ballets with "a certain measure of freshness and interest" (p. 169). From that time it became more and more Gade's responsibility to rehearse the company so that by the time Bournonville retired completely in 1877, Gade was the logical successor.



Never a choreographer, Gade assumed the posture of "keeper of the flame" but, although cheerful and knowledgeable, he was unable to deal effectively with the political forces. He was forced to retire in 1890 and was succeeded by Emil Hansen.

Frederik Ferdinand Hoppensach (1817-1878)

One of the comic highlights in the first act of Napoli is the impromptu mimed aria by an itinerant street singer. Ferdinand Hoppensach was such a virtuoso mime that the development of this show-stopping moment was undoubtedly a part of his own conception. His Mr. Dufour, in The Conservatoire (1849) was also considered "irresistably droll" (Hansen, n.d., 606).

Although primarily associated with comic roles, his characterization of Diderik was imbued with a menacing spirit both malevolent and emotionally insecure. He was considered a mime of the first order. Like Petrine Fredstrup, he took part in the performances of A Folk Tale, restaged for the opening of the new theater, and retired only two years before his death at sixty-one, 1878.

Sophie Møller (1811?-1880)

This research was unable to obtain any information about this artist except that she was known solely as a mime. It is possible that she was an actress with the theater who performed occasionally in Bournonville's ballets. Her rank in the ballet was second dancer, equal to the corps de ballet in contemporary companies.

Elise Juliette Price (1831-1906)

After Marie Taglioni and Carlotta Grisi, Juliette Price was Bournonville's favorite heroine. It was around her feminine gracefulness and her special form of poetry that the choreographer created a treasure of roles. From the moment the fresh sylph-like sixteen-year-old stepped onto the stage as Eliza in the 1849 premier of La Conservatoire she became Bournonville's star.

Her life, highlighted briefly in Tom Veale's The Dancing Prices of Denmark (1961), began as a dancer when she, her cousins Sophie and Amalie, and her brother Valdemar were brought to Bournonville's private dancing school by their parents, the James and Adolf Prices. Long famous as performers (Juliette first appeared with the troupe in 1839), the family was nearly destitute following the losses their theater, The Casino, and an unsuccessful Scandinavian tour

from 1843 to 1847. By entering the children into Bournonville's school, the parents hoped to gain financial security. They were accepted into his classes where he immediately recognized Juliette as a diamond in the rough. She amazed not only him but his other students as well.

Calling the three girls his "Scandinavian graces," Bournonville pushed them hard in his school for seven months before petitioning the director of the Royal Theatre to accept them into the ballet program. This letter, dated March 22, 1848, mentioned the parental desire that their talented offspring be allowed the opportunity to better their lives (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1953, p. 268). Once they were members of the Royal ballet school, Bournonville continued to coach the three girls even on summer vacations when they traveled up to Fredensborg where Bournonville lived. The balletmaster took special interest in Juliette, often referring to her as "my daughter" in his diaries. That friendship extended to her parents; the families frequently saw each other socially.

Her actual birthday as an artist, according to Bournonville, occurred a few months after her debut when she executed a clean entrechat six for the first time (Fridericia, 1979, p. 306). By 1851 she had been elevated to the rank of solo dancer and the following year all the Princes accompanied

Bournonville on his Norwegian guest appearance. The season following Juliette's triumph as Hilda, she accompanied the Bournonville family to Vienna where her talent, unfortunately, was not particularly appreciated by the Viennese audiences, who had come to expect more flashy showmanship in their ballerinas.

If she had any great failing it was her emptiness as a passionate, dramatic mime and her lack of technical polish. To be fully appreciated, she needed to be viewed from a specific aesthetic viewpoint. Her art transcended frivolity and for that reason Bournonville called her a "priestess of Terpsichore" (Bournonville, 1979, p. 170). Her cool delicacy made her a perfect Celeste in The Toreador (1840), her chaste, soulful innocence was exactly right for Ragnhild in The Bridal Festival at Hardanger and her Hilda "was filled with grace and modesty through which her chivalrous origin revealed itself" (Overskou, 1876, p. 186). Arthur Aumont called her the "paragon of the Danish ballerina" (Erslev, 1920, p. 233), and Meier Goldschmidt said that Juliette danced like the ultimate vestal priestess, "young without being childlike, mature without being grown up" (Neiiendam, R., 1935, p. 595).

Juliette's career ended tragically in 1866 at the height of her powers when she sustained a severe ankle

injury during the first act of The Kermess in Bruges. She convalesced for several months but was never able to dance again and left the theater the following year to lead a quiet spinster life. Only once was she coaxed into the dance scene and that was to coach her neice, Ellen Price, for her own debut as the Sylphide in 1895. Since Miss Price was Bournonville's special muse, it is upon her peculiar Nordic artistry that the standard for the Bournonville heroines has been firmly founded.

#### Valdemar Price (1836-1908)

Not until his parents brought him to August Bournonville's private school, at thirteen years, did Valdemar Price begin formal dance training. Although he had already performed extensively at his family's popular theater on the outskirts of Copenhagen, he was a late bloomer. His debut in 1857 passed unnoticed and he was usually relegated to the last row, only getting solos when someone was ill. On just such an occasion, Price substituted for ailing Ludvig Gade in 1860 as Ola in Wedding Festival at Hardanger. From then on he was assigned more leading roles. The year 1864 marked his major break when he assumed the role of Junker Ove from Harold Scharff. Over the years, he continued to develop his characterization to such perfection that no one could think

of any other dancer in that part. Anna Erslev (1920) wrote:

He interpreted the romantic lover: so manly, so pure, so beautifully, so eloquently! His eyes spoke, his movements were composed, plastique, beautiful and expressive . . . Anyone with eyes to see will never forget the knightly tenderness and respect with which Price led his beloved in the bridal waltz. (p. 233)

Reviewers called his interpretation "wordless beauty" and the "personification of romantic yearning and erotic adoration in a clean and beautiful form" (Neiiendam, 1935, pp. 595-596).

Price never did attain the rank of solo dancer due to his rather mediocre technique. Nevertheless, when Bournonville returned from his Stockholm years in 1864, he had become intently interested in strong, dramatic male characterizations. Price was the perfect exponent and he became the Ballet's most "significant romantic lover" (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1935, p. 310). By the time Harald Scharff was forced to retire in 1871, the audience readily accepted Price as his heir (Daniel Krum took over the virtuoso dancing roles).

Another ballet firmly connected to Price was Valdemar. His first triumph was as Valdemar, then, at fifty-seven, he took over the part of King Svend to triumph a second time. Finally, in 1901 at sixty-five, Price was forced to retire and, as the audience paid its tear-filled respects, it

recognized that this was more than a farewell to a masterful artist but to the whole era of Danish romanticism (Veale, 1961, p. 50).

Price was best known as Junker Ove and, following his retirement, Christian Gulmann discussed his interpretation in Illustreret Tidende:

He created for us a living picture of Junker Ove's love. Not a role, not a figure, no, much more an aesthetic of love, a worship and a religion. His love burned not, it craved not, it assaulted not. There was a glow in it, but in the way that a man is tenderly cherished by his love . . . There was in that love a respectful obeisance for the holy mystery of womanhood--a bearer of the cross bending himself more for the Madonna but not with any deeper emotion than that given romantically to the woman of his heart. (Kragh-Jacobsen, 1953, pp. 311-312)

#### Harald Scharff (1836-1912)

Bournonville classified Harald Scharff as a "mimic dancer" and acknowledged him as "unquestionably" the best leading man to come along since the balletmaster himself. From an early age he dabbled in acting but following his debut as Mr. Mortensen in April Showers, in which his mimic talents were criticized, Scharff decided to remain a dancer.

His debut as a dancer in 1856 was much more successful. As James in La Sylphide, he exuded a confident expression, and his youthful, handsome physique made him naturally suited

for the deeply romantic leads. Two years later, Scharff took over Junker Ove from Wilhelm Funck and danced it until he was forced to retire in 1871 because of a ruptured knee cap, an injury sustained during performance of a divertissement in the operat Il Trovatore.

Edvard Stramboe (1825-1895)

Right from the start, Stramboe excited audiences with his impish quality and natural comic timing. His cupid role, the child lead, in The Tyroleans (1835), at the age of ten, won for him a secure place in the hearts of Danish theatergoers. Like his father, Adolph Stramboe, and his sister, Laura Stramboe Stillmann, he was a vital link in the family dynasty of mime dancers who proved to be an important part of the success of Bournonville's ballets.

One of his most memorable roles was as Viderik, a part he portrayed from 1854 until his retirement in 1876.

Maria Westberg (1853-1893)

When Betty Schnell decided to give up the rigors of the dance to become an actress, Bournonville was hard pressed to find a new ballerina. Help came from his longtime student, Sugurd Lund, the balletmaster of the Royal Ballet in Stockholm. He mentioned that a young Nordic beauty showed



a lot of promise. Bournonville traveled up to Stockholm and returned to Copenhagen with a new star, Maria Westberg.

Bournonville groomed Westberg privately for her debut in 1871 as the Sylphide. She was an immediate success but had to return to Sweden to complete the season. The following year she joined the Danish Ballet being elevated to the rank of solo dancer in 1875. Some reviewers at first felt that she gave uneven performances but allowed that her zest and delicate mime improved with each appearance ("Teatrene," December 22, 1872, p. 131).

Tall, thin, and blonde, Westberg was the quintessent Nordic heroine with her tranquil expression. Her dramatic abilities remained subdued throughout her twenty-year career with the Royal Danish Ballet while her technique was sure, her body ever lithe and her will power strong (Neiiendam, R., 1943, p. 387). Jan Neiiendam (1953) described her dancing in the Nordic roles as "correct and cool, without temperament and hardly avoiding, especially in her later years, a tinge of the boring" (p. 346).

Following Bournonville's death, known as the 'dead' period, Westberg carried on as the company's ballerina. With slowly eroding health, her performances became more narrow, correct, and uninteresting. Illness caused her retirement in 1890 and she returned to Stockholm to die tragically young only three years later.

**Appendix B: The Most Popular Bournonville  
Ballets Until 1939\***

\*Atlung, 1942.

THE MOST POPULAR BOURNONVILLE  
BALLETS UNTIL 1939

Ballets	Before 1889	1889- 1939	Total Performances
<u>Napoli</u> (1842)	219	175	394
<u>Far From Denmark</u> (1860)	155	205	360
<u>A Folk Tale</u> (1854)	119	149	268
<u>The Toreador</u> (1840)	167	84	251
<u>The Volunteer Corps on Amager</u> (1871)	99	140	239
<u>Valdemar</u> (1835)	171	62	233
<u>The Sylphide</u> (1836)	104	92	196
<u>The Wedding Festival in Hardanger</u> (1853)	116	64	180
<u>La Ventana</u> (1854)	114	60	174

Appendix C: Scenes From Act Three of the First Draft  
Of A Folk Tale<sup>a</sup> Dated July 16, 1853

<sup>a</sup>Transposed from manuscript and translated for the author  
by Patricia McAndrew. (Note 29)

#### Scene Four

Frøken Birthe's chamber in the manor house.

A dressing scene in which the Frøken's caprices are conspicuous; nothing suits her. She strikes and scolds her maid, tears her clothes to pieces, throws the finery around on the floor, and is dreadfully impolite to old Catherine. Hilda comes running into the room just as the Frøken is at her most vehement. Coming to a standstill, the strange girl timidly approaches the distinguished young lady and is about to pour out her troubles to her when she discovers that this place reminds her of her dream. She hears once again the lovely cradle song. Catherine, who has noticed with astonishment that the maiden possesses the cup she knows so well, grabs her hand and apprehensively looks for a mark on her shoulder. It is there! Now, when Birthe tries to chase the young girl away, several elderly servants enter and all declare Hilda to be their rightful mistress who was exchanged as a child.

The Frøken tugs on the bell pull, but all the farmhands are in the field and no one in the house will obey her. Her rage mounts in proportion to the abhorrence and contempt that are shown her, and, fuming and threatening, she rushes off.

## TRANSFORMATION

Scene Five

Herr Mogens sends his people to the right and left to seek out the supposed witch. He rests under an oak tree for a moment and daydreams about his relationship with the wealthy Frøken.

Birthe, still in a state of stormy emotion, enters and asks him to help her against her rebellious servants. He promises to punish the insolent folk and hopes that, as a reward for his efforts, she will give him her hand, especially since there can no longer be any question of her marrying her deranged cousin. But Viderik interrupts their conversation and treats the Frøken in too familiar a manner. Birthe flares up, and Herr Mogens sounds his horn in order to have the bold creature captured. New pursuit. But Viderik is sly as a fox. He thwarts all their efforts and ends up sitting on a branch of the oak tree, where, ridiculing his exhausted pursuers, he plays them a piece on his dulcimer. In the meantime, a gathering storm has broken. The peasants flee, and the hill once again rises on the flaming pillars.

Led by Muri and Diderik, the trolls emerge in solemn procession. They are dressed for traveling and indicate to Birthe that, as a member of their race, she must go with

them to distant lands. The astonished Frøken tries to object, but when her brothers flatter her and place the golden ring upon her head, she pulls herself together and gaily accompanies her kinsman.

Herr Mogens tries to detain her, but, in parting, the trolls poke fun at the old nobleman, dance about him, and retire only after having taken his helmet and sword. The storm ceases, and daylight returns.

Appendix D: Selected Cast Lists, 1854-1977<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Only leading roles are included.



## Selected Cast Lists

1854

Hilda	Miss Juliette Price
Muri	Mrs. Sophie Møller
Diderik	Mr. Ferdinand Hoppensach
Viderik	Mr. Edvard Stramboe
Frøken Birthe	Miss Petrine Fredstrup
Junker Ove	Mr. Vilhelm Funck
Herr Mogens	Mr. Ludvig Gade

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1858

Hilda	Miss Sophie Price
Muri	Miss Lauritse Juel (Mrs. Frederiksen)
Diderik	Mr. Ferdinand Hoppensach
Viderik	Mr. Edvard Stramboe (Axel Fredstrup assumed role in 1859.)
Frøken Birthe	Miss Petrine Fredstrup
Junker Ove	Mr. Harald Scharff
Herr Mogens	Mr. Ludvig Gade

---

1874

Hilda	Miss Maria Westberg
Muri	Mrs. Frederiksen

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Diderik	Mr. Ferdinand Hoppensach (Johannes Fluver assumed role in 1877.)
Viderik	Mr. Axel Fredstrup (Adolph Lense assumed role in 1877.)
Frøken Birthe	Miss Laura Stillmann (Miss Athalie Flamme, later Mrs. Reumert, assumed role in 1877.)
Junker Ove	Mr. Valdemar Price
Herr Mogens	Mr. Carl Price

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1894

Director, Hans Beck  
Decor, A.F. Ahlgrensson

Hilda	Miss Valborg Jorgensen (Mrs. Borchsenius)
Muri	Mrs. Anna Harboe
Diderik	Mr. Christian Christensen
Viderik	Mr. Adolf Frederik Lense
Frøken Birthe	Mrs. Athalie Reumert
Junker Ove	Mr. Valdemar Price (Hans Beck assumed role in 1896.)
Herr Mogens	Mr. A.A.C. Walbom

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1922

Director, Gustav Uhlendorff  
Rehearsed by, F. Lense

Hilda	Miss Ulla Iversen (Mrs. Poulsen)
Muri	Miss Ragnhild Christensen

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Diderik	Mr. Christian Christensen
Viderik	Mr. Svend Aage Larsen
Frøken Birthe	Miss Lili Sørensen
Junker Ove	Mr. Gustav Uhlendorff
Herr Mogens	Mr. Richard Jensen

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1929

Director, Kai Smith  
Rehearsed by, Georg Høberg, assisted by  
Elna Jørgen-Jensen

Hilda	Miss Gertrud Jensen
Muri	Miss Ragnhild Rasmussen
Diderik	Mr. Poul Witzansky
Viderik	Mr. Aage Eiby
Frøken Birthe	Miss Elna Lassen
Junker Ove	Mr. Kaj Smith
Herr Mogens	Mr. Richard Jensen

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1941

Director, Harald Lander, assisted by  
Valborg Borchsenius  
Decor, Ove Christian Pedersen

Hilda	Kirsten Elsas/Lillian Jensen
Muri	Gerda Karstens
Diderik	Niels Bjørn Larsen
Viderik	Poul Witzansky
Frøken Birthe	Else Højgaard

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Junker Ove	Leif Ørnberg
Herr Mogens	Hans Brenaa

---

1952

Director, Niels Bjørn Larsen, assisted by  
Gerda Karstens  
Decor, Ove Christian Pedersen

Hilda	Kirsten Simone
Muri	Gerda Karstens
Diderik	Niels Bjørn Larsen
Viderik	Svend Erik Jensen
Frøken Birthe	Kirsten Ralov
Junker Ove	Erik Bruhn
Herr Mogens	Jan Holme

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1969

Director, Hans Brenaa, assisted by  
Kirsten Ralov  
Decor, Svend Johansen

Hilda	Sorella Englund/ Anna Lærkesen
Muri	Lillian Jensen/ Lizzie Rode
Diderik	Niels Kehlet/Johnny Eliassen
Viderik	Fredbjørn Bjørnsson/ Hans Jakob Kølgaard
Frøken Birthe	Vivi Flindt/Mette Honningen
Junker Ove	Henning Kronstam/ Peter Martins
Herr Mogens	Kjeld Noack/Aage Poulsen

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1977

Director, Kirsten Ralov, assisted by  
Lillian Jensen  
Ensemble dance in act two after mise'  
en scene of Hans Brenaa  
Decor, Svend Johansen

Hilda	Sorella Englund/Lis Jeppesen
Muri	Lillian Jensen/Lizzie Rode
Diderik	Niels Kehlet/Johnny Eliassen
Viderik	Fredbjørn Bjørnsson/ Hans Jakob Kølgaard
Frøken Birthe	Vivi Flindt/Linda Hindberg
Junker Ove	Henning Kronstam/ Arne Villumsen
Herr Mogens	Kjeld Noack/Aage Poulsen

Appendix E: Record of Rehearsals  
1853 to 1874

APPENDIX E - RECORD OF REHEARSALS

1853 to 1874

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
1853 <sup>a</sup>					
Oct. 26	new ballet	studio	balletmaster	11-1	Paulli
27	" "	"	"	11-12:30	"
28	" "	"	"	"	"
Nov. 9	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11-1	Helsted
NB:	Remainder of official journal is blank until the following season, 1854-1855. The following rehearsal notations are taken from Bournonville's diary. <sup>b</sup> It can be assumed that these entries may not be as accurate as the rehearsal journal maintained by the Royal Theater.				
Nov. 2	composed.				
4	short rehearsal on <u>A Folk Tale</u> .				
5	composed.				
6	composed.				
9	composed and rehearsed. (see above Journal entry)				
10	rehearsal.				
11	composed and rehearsed.				
12	composed and rehearsed.				
13	composed and rehearsed.				
14	composed and rehearsed.				

<sup>a</sup>The Royal Theater, Rehearsal Journal, register for rehearsal held by the ballet personnel from August 20 - March 28, 1855, Royal Archives. (Note 31)

<sup>b</sup>The Royal Library, NKS 747, 8°, #3. Author expresses gratitude to Patricia McAndrew for transliteration from the handwriting. (Note 6)

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
Nov. 15	rehearsal.				
16	composed dance to the wedding (?) . . .			rehearsed at theater.	
17	rehearsal.				
18	composed, rehearsal from 10-12:30				
19	composed and rehearsal . . .			talked with painters.	
21	composed . . . rehearsal on act 1 and a part of act 2 of the new ballet;			worked out nonsense and cruelty with Stramboe.	
22	composed.				
23	composed.				
24	rehearsal at 12:00				
Dec. 1	composed				
6	worked with <u>A Folk Tale</u> soloists.				
7	short rehearsal on <u>A Folk Tale</u> .				
8	composed and rehearsal.				
10	rehearsal on new material . . .			letter and recommendations to Heiberg.	
11	composed.				
12	composed and rehearsal.				
14	rehearsal.				
15	decorations . . .			worked with Lehmann. <sup>a</sup>	
16	composed.				
17	rehearsed <u>A Folk Tale</u> . . .			conference with Heiberg.	
20	rehearsed <u>A Folk Tale</u> .				
21	rehearsed <u>A Folk Tale</u> .				
23	large rehearsal on the ballet for Hartmann and Gade. They were delighted. It all goes superbly and promises well.				

<sup>a</sup>Edvard Lehmann designed the costumes for this ballet.



APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
Dec. 24	costumes with Lehmann.				
26	composed.				
27	Music at Gade's.				
28	Music at Gade's.				
30	rehearsed and choreographed.				
31	rehearsed.				
January 1854					
2	arrangements <sup>a</sup> . . . costume meeting with Mrs. Ruge.				
3	large rehearsal on <u>A Folk Tale</u> . My family saw it and was delighted.				
4	composed.				
9	composed.				
10	composed.				
11	composed.				
12	talked with theater painters, disagreement with T. Lund. It ended well but is a good lesson for the future on holding my tongue . . . composed.				
14	rehearsed dances to <u>A Folk Tale</u> .				
16	rehearsed dances . . . costume meeting.				
17	large rehearsal on the ballet . . . composed.				
18	short rehearsal.				
19	rehearsal.				
20	rehearsal. troll galop finished.				
21	rehearsed the finale to the ballet and thus completed the composition of my new work, as God has granted me good fortune with it.				
23	practiced the ballet.				
24	large run through in the conservatory on the largest part of the ballet. Composers and H.C. Andersen along with H.E. and Mamma were admitted; after the rehearsal, we had a little ceremony as I stood for coffee and wine. There was dancing and much good cheer.				

<sup>a</sup>Refers to the scenic and property preparation.

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
Jan. 25	preparations for a run through in the theater			11:00.	Arranged the whole second act.
26	run through of the first and second act of the ballet in the theater.				It went very well and I am very happy with <u>Maskinmester</u> Wedén.
27	different visitors to the ballet.				
30	rehearsal in the theater of the first and second act.				
31	wrote and arranged.				
Feb. 2	ran through third act.				
3	rehearsed the dances.				
4	wrote and arranged. Ran through the third act in the theater from 11:00 to 2:00.				
6	rewrote my program.				
8	rehearsal in the theater on act three.				
9	rehearsal on all three acts in the theater. It went remarkably well. Høedt was there and made a few observations which I will take <u>ad notam</u> . . . wrote and completed my program.				
11	short rehearsal on the ballet.				
13	short rehearsal.				
14	music rehearsal on the ballet. A beautiful work by Gade and Hartmann. Høedt treated with champagne in the parket.				
15	rehearsal on the ballet.				
16	large rehearsal on the ballet with music and scenery. It went wonderfully.				
17	arrangements to the ballet . . . short decorations rehearsal in front of the hill.				
22	arrangements.				
23	arrangements.				
24	some visitors to the ballet. Read, wrote and arranged.				
26	arranged.				
27	scenery rehearsal on the ballet.				

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
March 2	rehearsal on <u>A Folk Tale</u> . Gave an hour to Juliette, who is emerging in energy.				
6	rehearsals on <u>A Folk Tale</u> 12:00. Both Juliette and Petrine were in street clothes and outwardly apprehensive, so the whole thing went rather half-heartedly. The ballet was again sober in its vagueness and rather heavy humor.				
9	Juliette alone in the school.				
16	big rehearsal on <u>A Folk Tale</u> .				
17	general rehearsal with costumes, it was splendid. <sup>a</sup>				
19	last rehearsal on the ballet 12:00 - 2:00.				
20	preparations for the first performance this evening. The whole family in the theater. <sup>b</sup> <u>A Folk Tale</u> for the first time. Distinguished performances from all sides and received with extraordinary applause. I thanked God for all his goodness to me. The Dresens, Helsteds, Prices, Høedt, Jacobsen and accidentally Gundersen came to my house and we celebrated together until 1:00.				
21	the day brought sheer happiness.				
<u>1854-1855</u>					
Aug. 30	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11-12	Pauli
31	" " "	stage	"	11-2	orchestra
Oct. 14	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11-11:30	Paulli

<sup>a</sup>full dress rehearsal.

<sup>b</sup>with the exception of Helene who had left March 14 to visit their daughter, Augusta, in Sønderborg.

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
Nov. 18	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	12-12:30	Helsted
NB: Entries for this season ceased on March 28 and do not commence again until September 7, 1855, the 1855-1856 season.					
1855-1856 <sup>a</sup>					
March 7	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	Brodersen <sup>b</sup>	11:30-12:30	concertmaster
8	" " "	"	"	11:30-1	"
10	" " "	"	"	"	"
14	" " "	"	"	"	"
17	" " "	"	"	"	"
April 11	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	Brodersen	11:30-12:30	Concertmaster
14	" " "	"	"	11:30-1	"
15	" " "	"	"	10:45-12	"
16	" " "	"	"	11-1:30	Helsted
17	" " "	stage	"	10:30-1	orchestra
19	" " "	"	"	11-1:30	"
24	" " "	studio	"	11:30-1	concertmaster
28	" " "	"	"	11:30-12:30	"

<sup>a</sup>Rehearsal Journal, September 1855 - June 1880, Royal Archives, The Royal Theater, #7.

<sup>b</sup>Bournonville was on leave of absence as guest balletmaster in Vienna during this season.

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
<u>1856-1857</u>					
Sept. 19	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11:30-1	Helsted
24	" " "	stage	"	10-12	orchestra
Nov. 3	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11-12:45	concertmaster
Jan. 13	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11:30-1	concertmaster
March 11	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11-1	Helsted
12	" " "	"	"	11-1	concertmaster
14	" " "	"	"	11-1	Helsted
26	" " "	"	"	11-1	concertmaster
28	" " "	"	"	11-1	"
April 24	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11-1	concertmaster
27	" " "	stage	"	11-1:30	orchestra
<u>1857-1858</u>					
Jan. 8	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11-1:30	Helsted
13	" " "	"	"	11-1	"
15	" " "	"	"	11-1	concertmaster
18	" " "	"	"	11-1	Helsted
19	" " "	"	"	12-1:30	concertmaster
20	" " "	"	"	12-1	Helsted
25	" " "	"	"	12-1:30	"
26	" " "	stage	"	11:30-2	orchestra

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
Feb. 1	A. Price, P. Fredstrup elf maidens J. Price Mr. Price	lge. room	Gade	12 <sup>a</sup>	concertmaster/ Lembke
2	same persons	" "	"	12	concertmaster/ Lembke
4	Price, Juel, Iversen, Hoppansach Stramboe farmers & scenes to act 1	" "	"	12	concertmaster
5	troll gallop act 2	studio	Ludvig Gade	11:30	concertmaster/ Carlsen
6	acts 1 & 2	lge. room	" "	11:30	Carlsen
8	act 3	" "	" "	11:30	"
9	act 3	" "	" "	11:30	"
10	act 3	theater	" "	7:00	"
11	act 3	lge. room	" "	11:30	Holm
12	act 3	theater	" "	11:00	orchestra
25	Fredstrup & Price elf maidens dance	lge. room	" "	11:45	concertmaster
26	toilette scene	" "	" "	12:00	Carlsen
				12:00	concertmaster

<sup>a</sup>No ending time was given for the following rehearsals.

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
March 2	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	studio	balletmaster	11-12	Helsted
May 25	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	Brodersen	11-1	Helsted
June 10	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	Brodersen	11-12	Helsted
<u>1858-1859</u>					
Aug. 31	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	11-1	concertmaster
Sept. 3	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	11-1	Helsted
7	" " "	" "	"	11-1	concertmaster
8	" " "	stage	"	12-2	Schørring & Helsted
10	" " "	lge. room	Hoppe	11-11:30	Helsted
Oct. 4	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	11-1	Helsted
Nov. 4	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	6-8	Helsted
5	" " "	" "	"	10:30-12:30	"
22	" " "	" "	Bordersen	11-11:30	"
April 26	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	12-1:30	concertmaster
27	" " "	" "	"	10:30-11	Carlsen/ Helsted

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
<u>1859-1860</u>					
Sept. 26	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	11-12:30	Helsted
28	<u>A Folk Tale &amp; The Mountain Hut</u>	" "	"	11-1:30	"
29	<u>The Mountain Hut</u>	" "	"	11-1:15	concertmaster
30	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	stage	"	10-12	orchestra
Oct. 1	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	10-12	Carlsen/ concertmaster
14	" " "	" "	"	10-12	Helsted
Nov. 23	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	12-1	Helsted
Dec. 5	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	11-12	Helsted
March 1	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	10-11	concertmaster
<u>1860-1861</u>					
Dec. 6	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	11-12:45	concertmaster/ Carlsen
7	" " "	" "	"	12:15-1	Helsted
Jan. 2	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	5-7	Carlsen
3	" " "	" "	"	11:30-1:30	concertmaster



APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
<u>1861-1862<sup>a</sup></u>					
Sept. 18	<u>A Folk Tale</u> soloists	lge. room	balletmaster	11-12	Helsted
19	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	" "	"	11-1	Carlsen
Oct. 29	acts 1 & 2	lge. room	Ludvig Gade	11:30-1	Carlsen
Dec. 5	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	Gade	11-1	Carlsen
6	" " "	stage	"	11:30-1:30	Helsted
13	" " "	lge. room	"	11:30-1	"
<u>1862-1863</u>					
The ballet was not performed during this season.					
<u>1863-1864</u>					
Jan. 30	Miss Price	lge. room	Gade	12-1	concertmaster

<sup>a</sup>From 1861 to 1864, Bournonville was the Intendant for the Royal Theater, Stockholm, Sweden. Directing the company was left in the hands of his faithful student, Ludvig Gade.

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
March 4	<u>A Folk Tale &amp; Wedding in Har- danger</u>	lge. room	Ludvig Gade	12:00	Holm
<u>1864-1865</u>					
Oct. 12	solo dances: Hoppe & Hansen	lge. room	Ferdinand Hoppe	10:30	Carlsen
Dec. 19	acts 1 & 2	lge. room	Ludvig Gade	11:30	concertmaster
20	troll gallop	" "	" "	11:30	"
21	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	" "	" "	11:00	Holm
22	<u>Napoli act 2</u> <u>A Folk Tale</u>	" "	" "	11:30	concertmaster
	pas de quatre	" "	" "		"
23	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	" "	" "	11:30	"
24	" " " "	theater	" "	11:00	orchestra
29	C. Healey, Hansen, pas de quatre	lge. room	Hoppe	10:00	Carlsen
30	toilette scene & The Sylphide. act 2	" "	Gade	11:30	concertmaster
May 24	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	Gade	11:30	Holm/Carlsen
26	" " "	" "	" "	11:30	concertmaster
27	<u>A Folk Tale &amp; Napoli</u>	" "	" "	11:30	"

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
<u>1865-1866</u>					
The ballet was not performed during this season.					
<u>1866-1867</u>					
The ballet was not performed during this season.					
<u>1867-1868</u>					
Aug. 27	Muri, Hilda, Ove Schnell, M. Price	lge. room	balletmaster	5:00	Holm
30	same as above	" "	"	11:00	"
Sept. 3	<u>A Folk Tale</u> roles	lge. room	balletmaster	11:00	Holm
4	Hilda Hilda, Ove, Viderik & Diderik	" "	"	11:00	"
5	elf maidens, farmers' dance troll galop	" "	"	5:00	"
6	roles for act 2 & 3	" "	Gade	11:00	Carlsen
7	roles for act 2 & 3	" "	balletmaster	5:30	Holm
		" "	"	11:30	Carlsen

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
Sept. 9	Miss Juel M. Price Mr. Stramboe Hoppensach Price	lge. room	balletmaster	5:30	Holm
11	Schnell pas de sept	" "	"	10:30 11:00	" "
12	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	" "	"	10:00	"
14	" " "	stage	"	11:00	"
16	" " "	lge. room	"	11:00	Carlsen
18	" " "	stage	"	11:00	orchestra
19	pas de sept & solos	lge. room	"	11:00	Tafte, Holm & Carlsen
Oct. 9	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	11:00	Holm/Carlsen
10	Morten, Else, farmers	stage	"	11:00	Carlsen
Nov. 1	elves' dance pas de six, elf maidens	stage	(no listing)		
2	ensemble dances	lge. room	Gade	11:00	Holm
29	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	" "	balletmaster	11:00	"
Jan. 6	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	Gade	11:00	Holm
April 25	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	Gade	11:00	Carlsen

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
<u>1868-1869</u>					
Nov. 4	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	10:30	Carlsen
Dec. 7	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	10:30	Carlsen
8	Hilda, elf maidens, troll galop	" "	"	"	"
11	Schnell	stage	Gade	11:30	orchestra
12	Hilda, pas de sept	lge. room	balletmaster	10:30	Carlsen
14	elf dance, farmer dance troll galop	" "	Gade	11:00	"
<u>1869-1870</u>					
The ballet was not performed during this season.					
<u>1870-1871</u>					
Nov. 26	roles	lge. room	balletmaster	11:00	Carlsen
28	farmers & elf maidens	" "	"	11:00	"
20	pas de six, act 1	" "	"	12:00	Holm/Carlsen

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
Dec. 1	act 2	lge. room	balletmaster	11:30	Holm
10	Miss Price	" "	"	10:30	Carlsen
13	roles	" "	"	11:00	"
14	roles	" "	"	11:00	Holm
16	Stillmann, Gade, Hansen, Thygesen	" "	"	11:00	Carlsen
19	whole cast	" "	"	11:00	Holm/Carlsen
21	" "	" "	"	11:00	" "
Feb. 3	roles & scenes	lge. room	balletmaster	11:00	Holm
March 6	elf maidens, trolls pas de sept & Hilda	lge. room	balletmaster	6:00	Carlsen
7	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	" "	"	11:00	Holm/Carlsen
23	dances	" "	"	11:00	" "
28	Miss Price & pas de sept	" "	"	11:00	Holm
April 1	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	stage	balletmaster	11:00	orchestra
3	whole cast	lge. room	"	10:00	Holm
May 22	pas de sept tableau	lge. room	balletmaster	10:30	Holm
		" "	"	11:00	"
23	elf maidens & Ove	" "	"	11:00	Carlsen

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
<u>1871-1872</u>					
Oct. 30	whole cast	lge. room	balletmaster	11:00	Holm/Carlsen
31	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	stage	"	11:00	orchestra
Nov. 15	pas de sept, Gade, Hoppensach C. Price, Scholl Thygesen	lge. room	balletmaster	11:00	Carlsen
April 4	whole company	lge. room	balletmaster	11:00	Holm/Carlsen
22	" "	" "	" "	11:00	Holm
<u>1872-1873</u>					
The ballet was not performed during this season.					
<u>1873-1874</u>					
April 9	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	12:00	Holm/Carlsen
18	act 2	" "	" "	11:00	Holm
May 11	act 1	lge. room	balletmaster	11:00	Holm/Carlsen
15	act 3	" "	" "	11:00	" "
16	whole cast	" "	" "	11:00	" "
19	roles	" "	" "	11:00	Carlsen

APPENDIX E--Continued

Date	Journal Entry	Place	Person in Charge	Time	Accompanist
May 20	whole cast	lge. room	balletmaster	11:00	Holm/Carlsen
23	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	stage	"	11:00	orchestra
29	" " "	"	"	11:00	"
June 1	<u>A Folk Tale</u> performed at special performance marking the close of the old theater, "Farewell to the Old Theater."				
<u>1874-1875<sup>a</sup></u>					
Oct. 6	<u>A Folk Tale</u>	lge. room	balletmaster	10:30	Holm
		stage	"	11:30	Holm/Carlsen
8	dances	lge. room	"	11:00	Holm
9	"	" "	"	11:00	"
	"	stage	"	6:00	Holm/Carlsen
12	whole cast	lge. room	"	11:00	" "
13	" "	" "	"	11:00	" "
16	whole cast	" "	"	11:00	" "
17	" "	" "	"	11:00	" "
19	" "	" "	"	11:00	" "
29	" "	" "	"	11:30	" "
30	" "	stage	"	11:00	orchestra
March 30	whole cast	lge. room	balletmaster	12:00	Holm/Carlsen
April 5	whole cast	lge. room	balletmaster	11:30	Holm/Carlsen

<sup>a</sup>First season in the new theater on Kongens Nytorv, now known as the gamle scene. Construction delays forced postponement of the opening until late October. Rehearsals did not begin until October 1, for that season.



Appendix F: List of Properties  
For A Folk Tale<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> (Note 32)

List of Properties for A Folk Tale

ACT I

<u>Catherine</u> Jfr. J. Fredstrup	A little round hamper containing 10 silver plates. Knitting. A babe in swaddling clothes. A bunch of keys.
<u>Morten</u> Hr. Fussel, Jr.	A platter with a roasted show dish. A tall cone-shaped pile of almond cakes, designed to be smashed to pieces. A stone bottle with silver lid. A bill of fare. A kitchen knife. A pot lid. Not decipherable.
<u>Else</u> Md. Stillmann	A large silver tray with 10 goblets and 2 silver jugs. 2 brown lunch baskets containing 2 wooden bottles. A few cups on a silver plate.
<u>2 Maids</u>	2 covered vegetable dishes.
<u>2 Men</u>	2 round brown hampers containing stone bottles and stone tankards with silver lids. 2 large pewter jugs. 2 staves with flowers.
<u>3 Men</u>	Dog whips.
<u>4 Huntsmen</u>	4 large hunting horns.
<u>A Lady</u> Jfr. Amundin	A white kerchief for playing blind man's buff.
<u>Muri</u> Md. Moller	A gilt spindle.
<u>Jfr. Birthe</u> Jfr. P. Fredstrup	A horsehip (or a riding crop)

Hilda  
Jfr. J. Price

A golden cup with letters and ornamentation. A gold arm ring, designed to be broken into 4 pieces. Received from Mr. Hoppensach on stage.

Hr. Mogens  
Hr. Gade

A hunting horn on a chain. A fine, white handkerchief. A pair of white gloves.

12 Little Trolls

12 hammers and 12 pincers. 4 golden pitchers (ewers), 4 censers, and 4 not decipherable.

A Waiter

A silver salver with some goblets.

## ACT II

Muri  
Md. Moller

A frying pan. A ladle. A fork. A bowl and a black earthenware dish. A wash bowl of the same material with a sponge. A large birch rod. 2 chests with gold plate.

Diderik  
Hr. Hoppensach

Shiny hammer, file, and pincers. A casket containing 2 gold arm rings, a ring, and a gold necklace.

Viderik  
Hr. Stramboe

Shiny file, hammer, and pincers. A gold chain. A dulcimer.

Hilda

The golden spindle from Act I.

2 Trolls  
Hr. Moller and  
C. Price

2 pairs of cymbals. A glockenspiel and a cross flute.

Wood Trolls

2 clubs.

Strand Trolls

4 axes.

Older Brownies

6 white staves.

The Troll Party

Dishes and cakes, drinking horns; jugs, goblets, plates and tureens of gold.

An Angel  
Jfr. Walbom

A gilt Cross.

Albert Price

A babe in swaddling clothes.

ACT III

Poor Folk

A pair of crutches. 1 pewter tankard.  
3 walking sticks. 2 bags of unbleached  
linen.

Harvesters

2 scythes with strickles. 3 rakes.

Diderik

A sooty copper kettle on a chain.  
4 (illegible) saucepans on his belt.  
2 slender bunches of kelp. A handful  
of magic seed.

The chambermaid  
Jfr. Garlieb

A hamper containing 2 silken robes, a  
bonnet with feathers, a fan, a pair  
of shoes, a comb, a fur-trimmed cloak,  
a silken sash.

2 Maids  
Jferne. Werning  
and Olsen

2 bouquets.

All The Men

Axes, pitchforks, flails and cudgels.  
Later on, spears, broadswords, spiked  
maces, helmets, and not decipherable.

Muri

15 crude sticks for pilgrim staves.  
a lur.

Trolls

12 money bags.

Md. Kellerman

A zither. A bouquet.

A Gypsy Dancer  
Hr. Hoppe

A tambourine.

Jferme. Rostock  
and S. Price

2 St. John's wart.

Children

A number of small flags.

3 banners, 4 copper milk tubs.  
R(illegible) 4 instruments. Some  
flowers. Green branches. A large,  
flat hamper containing stone mugs and  
tankards with silver lids. 2 small  
round hampers with (illegible) and  
tin goblets.

Copenhagen. March 16, 1854

Respectfully,

signature not decipherable

Appendix G: Stagehand's Notebook<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Translated by Hanne Westergaard. (Note 33)

Basic Action, Properties and Lighting Cues  
for A Folk Tale, 1854

Act One

Stage represents forest in the wings. In the back-ground, a hill rises on which grow shrubs. Queen's side #4 - a high tree with a swing. King's side #4 - stone. Ten high-backed chairs, footstool, a round dining table, a basket with napkins, plates, knives, and forks.

scene change

Hill rises--throne out of boxes in the middle. two anvils on each side and an iron anvil with hammer in the wings.

Props: a tray with goblets, a pitcher, a silver tureen, a large almond cake (kransekage) on a platter.

Else - silver platter with ten goblets and two silver pitchers.

two maids - two silver dishes with food.

eight boys - dog whips

two boys - two brown flat baskets with handles filled with goblets and pitchers.

four hunters - hunting horns.

one lady - white scarf.

Muri - hand-held spindle.

Hilda - a goblet ornamented with letters and symbols.

trolls - hammers and tongs, four gold pitchers, four bowls for incense.

Birthe - riding whip.

Mogens - white gloves and white scarf.

Act Two

In side the hill

D.S. and K.S.<sup>a</sup> #1 - bellows, box, and hearth. The hearth on D.S. is constructed to go up.

In the middle of the stage is a forest stone which can sink on the elevator trap door.

---

<sup>a</sup>D.S. refers to queen's side or stage left; K.S. refers to king's side or stage right.

K.S. #2 and 3 - a bench or sofa.

K.S. and D.S. - anvil and foot stool.

From the sides two treasure chests filled with gold service are moved on to the stage.

Two tables laid with decorational food as though for a state dinner.

Six blue and other cushions.

Fire in the chimney and on the hearth.

Cross fashioned from small sticks.

scene change in the back

Clouds rise and lower.

Background represents a Gothic hall.

Two cloud chariots on which Katrine [sic] and cradle with baby.

A table with lamp and chair stand on the stage.

One cloud wagon with angels.

The clouds rise and thin out again to return the background as it was before.

Props:

Muri - a pan with long handle, pancakes made out of leather and real pancakes.

Large spoon and fork, bowl, crockery dishes, a whisk and bowl for water and a sponge.

Diderik - hammer, file and tongs, golden bracelet, brass chest into which are two bracelets, necklace, and ring for the finger.

Viderik - hammer, file, tongs, necklace, cutting board, and two sticks.

two trolls - two pair cymbols, flute or piccolo, bells.

four trolls - four axes and daggers.

old men - six white staves.

forest trolls - two clubs.

Katrine - one knitting.

### Act Three

Meadow with trees.

K.S. #3-4 St. John spring.

D.S. #4-5 tall tree with a ladder behind it and placed in front of a stone.



## scene change

Gothic salon, three pillows.

Waiters carry on a table, easy chair plus one more chair from D.S.

Maids carry on a dressing table and mirror, an easy chair and foot stool from K.S.

To the right of this are two vases - D.S. (NB. They may have been carried from K.S. to D.S.)

## scene change

Same decor as first scene.

D.S. #4 - a wheelbarrow in wings.

In basement - a chest with golden treasure.

Twelve sacks with money.

D.S. - maypole ready in the wings.

Props:

poor people - two crutches, two walking sticks, two pewter goblets.

harvesters - two scythes, three rakes.

Else - two brown baskets with handles, two wine glasses, bread and butter, one plate with cup and saucer.

Viderik - cauldron, four pots and pans, two white walking sticks, chopping board, and tongs.

Mogens - hunting horn on a string, pocket mirror.

Junker Ove - Hilda's goblet.

young bachelors - playing cards.

helmets, swords, lances, and axes.

Morten - helmet, kitchen knife, pot with lid, torch, menu card.

Hilda - breakable arm ring.

Birthe - table bell.

Muri - fifteen walking sticks and one lur.<sup>a</sup>

two waiters - two poles covered with flowers, two pewter pitchers.

young man - flat basket with pitchers and goblets.

two girls - two baskets with goblets.

gypsies - one tambourine, two sitars, two St. John's brooms.

three boys - three banners.

---

<sup>a</sup> A long-necked Scandinavian horn of Viking origin.

young bachelors

three boys - three banners.

four boys - four rakes decorated with flowers.

four boys - two violins, two oboes.

four boys - a barrel decorated with flowers drawn  
on a sledge.

child - small flags.

bachelors - ten flowered baskets.

girls - green wreaths.

two girls - two flower vases with detached flowers  
inside them.

Dorthe - one laundry basket with two silk dresses and  
one overcoat, one fan, one pair shoes, one scarf, one hat  
with feather, and one comb.

### Lighting Cues

#### Act One

1. Full daylight.
2. Twilight with blue flares, fog below bellows.
3. Blue flames.
4. Red lights on the hill.
5. Flame comes up from the floor when the goblet's  
contents are spilled out.

#### Act Two

1. Not much light.
2. Red light during Hilda's monologue.
3. Background clears during the dream.
4. Strong light while angels pass.
5. Full light when tables are carried in.

#### Act Three

1. Full light.

scene change

2. Full light.

scene change

3. Twilight in gray.
4. Full light when all the trolls have left the stage.

Appendix H: Performances by the Royal  
Danish Ballet, 1854 - 1975

APPENDIX H

PERFORMANCES BY THE ROYAL DANISH BALLET, 1854 - 1975

Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets	Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets
1853-1854 <sup>a</sup>	13	41	1864-1865	4	39
1854-1855	11	48	1865-1866	0	44
1855-1856	6	44	1866-1867	0	47
1856-1857	8	57	1867-1868	9	41
1857-1858	4	44	1868-1869	3	53
1858-1859	4	55	1869-1870	0	48
1859-1860	5	44	1870-1871	4	50
1860-1861	3	60	1871-1872	5	52
1861-1862	1	51	1872-1873	0	60
1862-1863	0	58	1873-1874	1	61
1863-1864	0	28	1874-1875 <sup>b</sup>	8	

<sup>a</sup>Arthur Aumont & Edgar Collin, 1899, 2.

<sup>b</sup>A Folk Tale was the first ballet to receive new decor for the opening of the new theater.

APPENDIX H--Continued

Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets	Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets
1875-1876	4		1888-1889	0	17
1876-1877 <sup>a</sup>	0	55	1889-1890 <sup>b</sup>	0	17
1877-1878	5	65	1890-1891	0	28
1878-1879	1	53	1891-1892	0	29
1880-1881	4	73	1892-1893	0	35
1881-1882	0	53	1893-1894	9	28
1882-1883	0	52	1894-1895	9	62
1883-1884	4	46	1895-1896	5	65
1884-1885	1 (only Act 2)	35	1896-1897	6	56
1885-1886	0	51	1897-1898	0	66
1886-1887	4		1898-1899	0	66
1887-1888	3	20	1899-1900	9	38

<sup>a</sup>The Royal Theater, Journal 6, Royal Archives. 1876 - 1880 Inclusive.

<sup>b</sup>Georg Leicht & Marianne Hallar, 1977.

APPENDIX II--Continued

Season	Performances of A Folk Tale	Total # of Other Ballets	Season	Performances of A Folk Tale	Total # of Other Ballets
1900-1901	8	41	1912-1913	7	26
1901-1902	3	49	1913-1914	0	49
1902-1903	3	48	1914-1915	4	36
1903-1904	3	45	1915-1916	0	34
1904-1905	3	64	1916-1917	4	24
1905-1906	3	55	1917-1918	0	22
1906-1907	0	55	1918-1919	0	18
1907-1908	3	64	1919-1920	4 1(Act 1)	21
1908-1909	5	16	1920-1921	0	36
1909-1910	0	64	1921-1922	3 1(Act 3)	43
1910-1911	10	19	1922-1923	12 <sup>a</sup>	24
1911-1912	10	25	1923-1924	10	42

<sup>a</sup>New production.

APPENDIX H--Continued

Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets	Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets
1924-1925	11 <sup>a</sup>	29	1934-1935	0	100
1925-1926 <sup>b</sup>	0	104	1935-1936	0	86
1926-1927	0	24	1936-1937	0	116
1927-1928	0	12	1937-1938	0	146
1928-1929	0	97	1938-1939	0	118
1929-1930	5	46	1939-1940	0	
1930-1931 <sup>c</sup>	0	33	1940-1941 <sup>e</sup>	10	
1931-1932 <sup>d</sup>	13	74	1941-1942	10 1(Act 3)	48
1932-1933	0	58	1942-1943	0	
1933-1934	0	71	1943-1944	11	28

<sup>a</sup>Celebration of 250th performance of A Folk Tale.

<sup>b</sup>Michael Fokine in residence. He staged Prince Igor, Petrushka and Chopiniana.

<sup>c</sup>George Balanchine in residence. He staged Scheherazade and Apollon Musagete.

<sup>d</sup>New production.

<sup>e</sup>New production.



APPENDIX H--Continued

Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets	Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets
1944-1945	2	35	1956-1957	0	174
1945-1946	0	48	1957-1958	0	122
1946-1947	0	42	1958-1959	0	99
1947-1948	0	61	1959-1960	0	125
1948-1949	0	53	1960-1961	0	149
1949-1950	0	100	1961-1962	0	61
1950-1951	0	99	1962-1963	0	86
1951-1952	0	119	1963-1964	0	33
1952-1953 <sup>a</sup>	17	34	1964-1965	0	48
1953-1954 <sup>b</sup>	5	72	1965-1966	0	88
1954-1955	0	42	1966-1967	0	70
1955-1956	0	81	1967-1968	0	64

<sup>a</sup>New Production.

<sup>b</sup>2 performances of A Folk Tale in Edinburgh, Scotland.

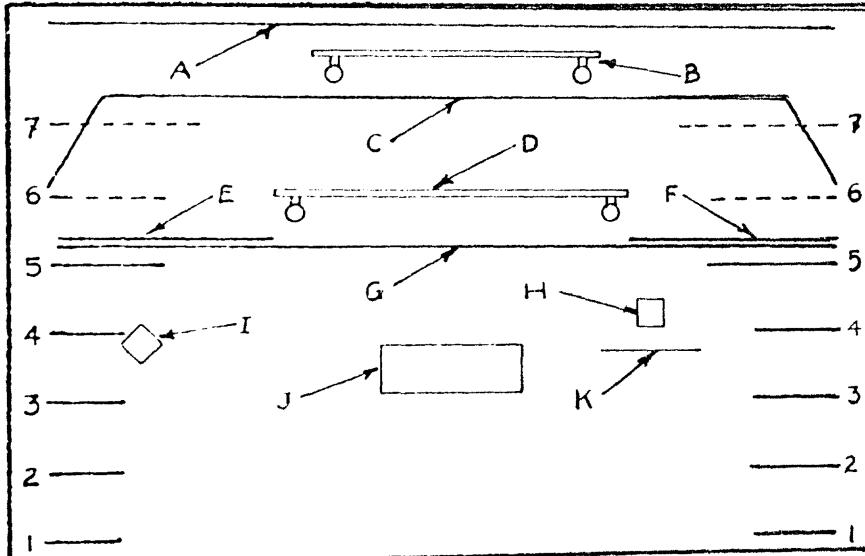
APPENDIX H--Continued

Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets	Season	Performances of <u>A Folk Tale</u>	Total # of Other Ballets
1968-1969	0	69	1972-1973	0	107
1969-1970 <sup>a</sup>	24	56	1973-1974	0	46
1970-1971	10	61	1974-1975	0	57
1971-1972	0	90			

<sup>a</sup>New Production.

Appendix I: Floor Plans for A Folk Tale,  
1854 and 1874

1854<sup>a</sup>



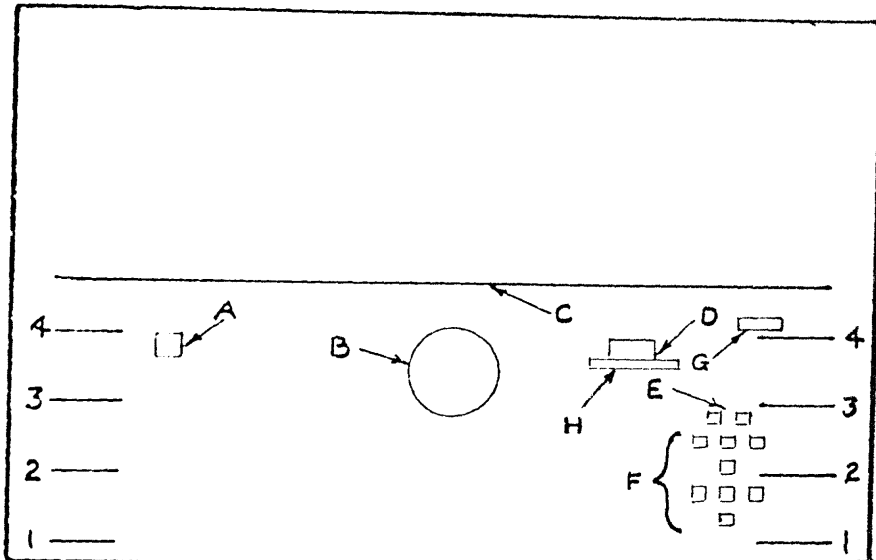
ACT I - A Folk Tale

Æ

- |                                  |                       |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| A - heath curtain                | G - hill drape        |
| B - small column frame           | H - swing             |
| C - cavern curtain and wing legs | I - stone from "Oluf" |
| D - large column frame           | J - provisions        |
| E - } set pieces                 | K - tree              |
| F - }                            |                       |

forest wings and green border, wings 1-4

<sup>a</sup>Maskinmester Protokol, Note 23.

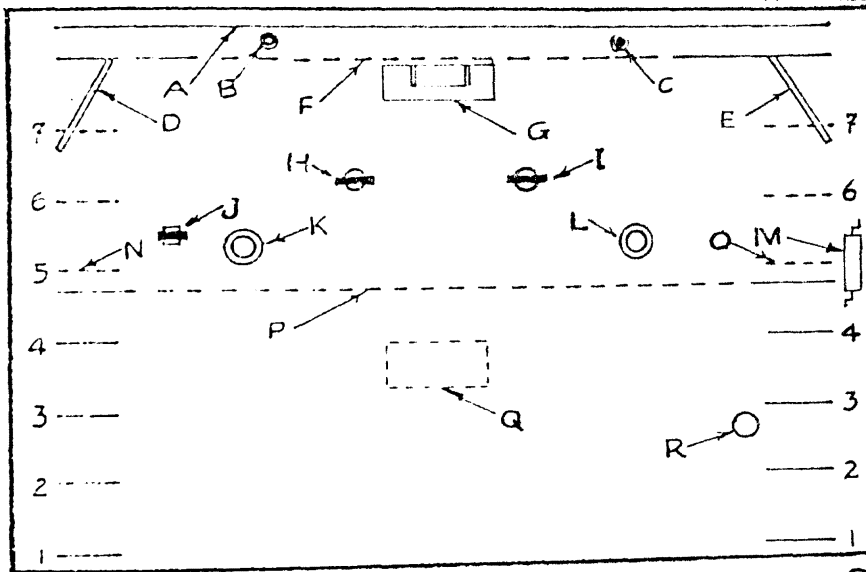
1874<sup>a</sup>ACT I-SCENE 1- A Folk Tale

AP

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| A - set stone  | E - 2 high-backed gilded chairs |
| B - large, covered table                                 | F - 8 "Isabella" chairs         |
| C - new hill drop cloth with bottom fixed into new canal | G - swing                       |
| D - tall stool   | H - tree trunk                  |
- Forest legs in wings 1-4

<sup>a</sup>Maskinmester Protokol, Note 23.

1874<sup>a</sup>

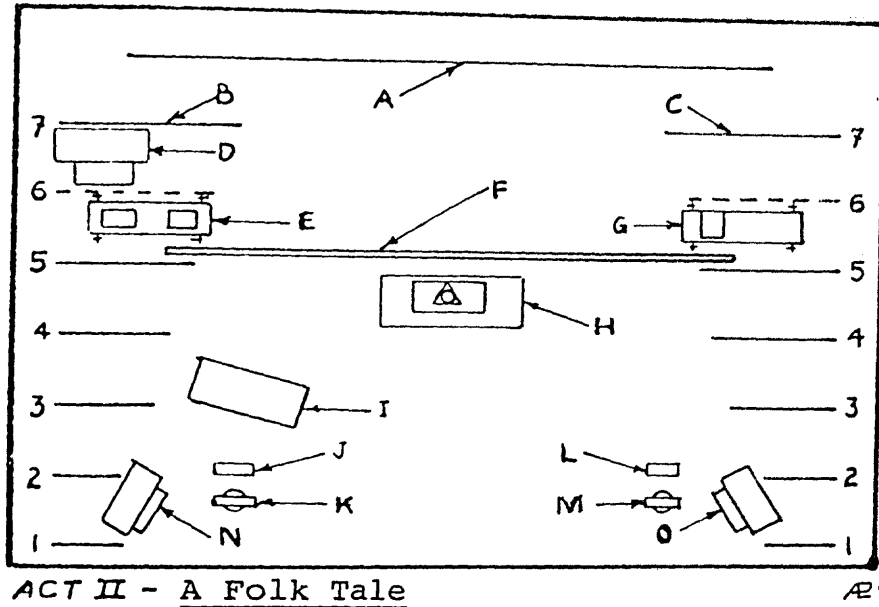


ACT I - SCENE 2 - A Folk Tale

Æ

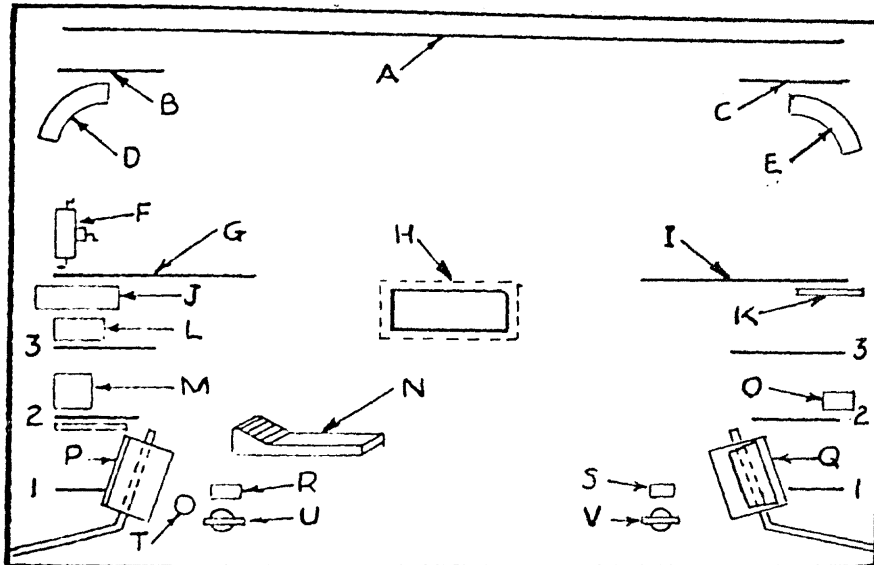
- |  |                          |                      |
|--|--------------------------|----------------------|
| A - cavern backdrop                                      | K -                      | } columns            |
| B -  | L -                      |                      |
| C -  | M - wind machine for fog |                      |
| D -  | N -                      | } new rock wing legs |
| E -  | O -                      |                      |
| F - 2nd cavern drop cloth                                | P - new hill drop cloth  |                      |
| G - 2 large boxes on which sets a smaller one on its end | Q - elevator trap door   |                      |
| H -  | R - flame                |                      |
| I -  |                          |                      |
| J -  |                          |                      |

<sup>a</sup>Maskinmester Protokol, Note 24.

1854<sup>a</sup>

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| A - troll hall                        | I - couch covered with red rug                  |
| B } - wings                           | J - foot stool                                  |
| C } -                                 | K - anvil                                       |
| D - cloud wagon set piece             | L - foot stool                                  |
| E - moveable cloud wagon with 2 seats | M - anvil                                       |
| F - cavern curtain                    | N - fireplace with chimney                      |
| G - moveable cloud wagon              | O - fireplace and chimney with lifting machine. |
| H - heath over elevator trap door     |   |

<sup>a</sup> Maskinmester Protokol, Note 23.



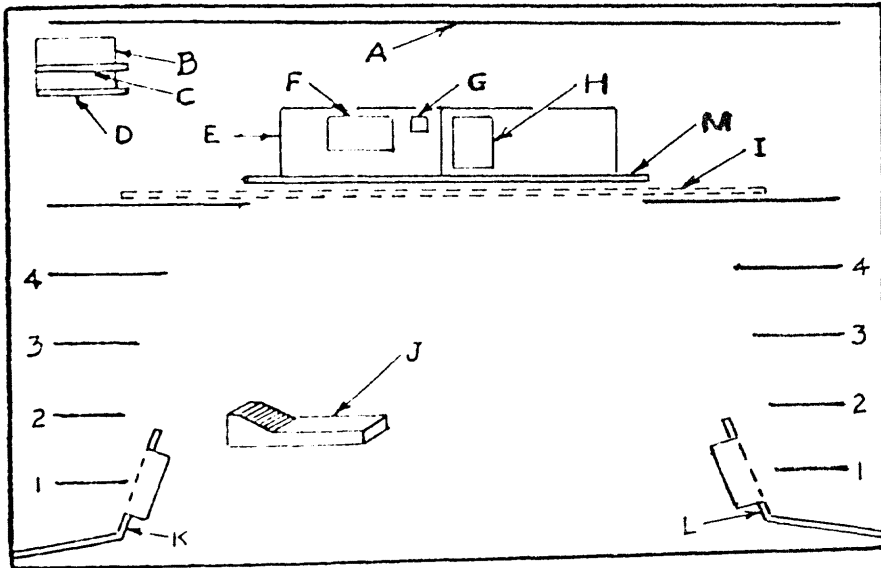
ACT II - SCENE 1 - A Folk Tale

Æ

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| A - new backcloth                                      | K - small cushion                                     |
| B - } new wing legs                                    | L - table already set                                 |
| C - }  | M - hoist from "Brama"                                |
| D - } table  | N - couch covered with a red throw rug                |
| E - }  | O - table already set                                 |
| F - not labled, presumably apparatus for cloud chariot | P - forge with fire                                   |
| G - double wing legs with matching stalactite borders  | Q - forge with fire equipped with a hoist to raise it |
| H - wood hearth on large elevator trap door            | R - } foot stools                                     |
| I - double wing legs with matching stalactite borders  | S - }   |
| J - table covered with cloth                           | T - small stone                                       |
|  | U - } anvils  |
|  | V - }   |

<sup>a</sup>Maskinmester Protokol, Note 23.

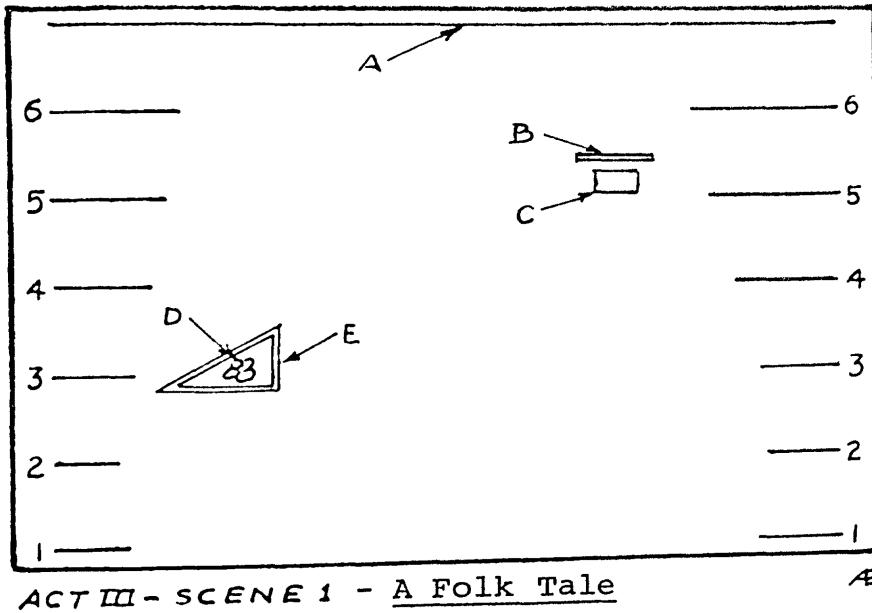


1874<sup>a</sup>ACT II - SCENE 2 - A Folk Tale

Æ

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| A - new back cloth                                       | G - chair                |
| B - 2 high wagons  | H - cradle               |
| C - cloud wagon  | I - canal                |
| D - sky set piece  | J - low couch            |
| E - empty tall wagon with<br>cloud set piece in<br>front | K } - tormenter & hearth |
| F - table to the back;<br>short lamp                     | L } -                    |
|  | M - cloud set piece      |

<sup>a</sup> Maskinmester Protokol, Note 24.

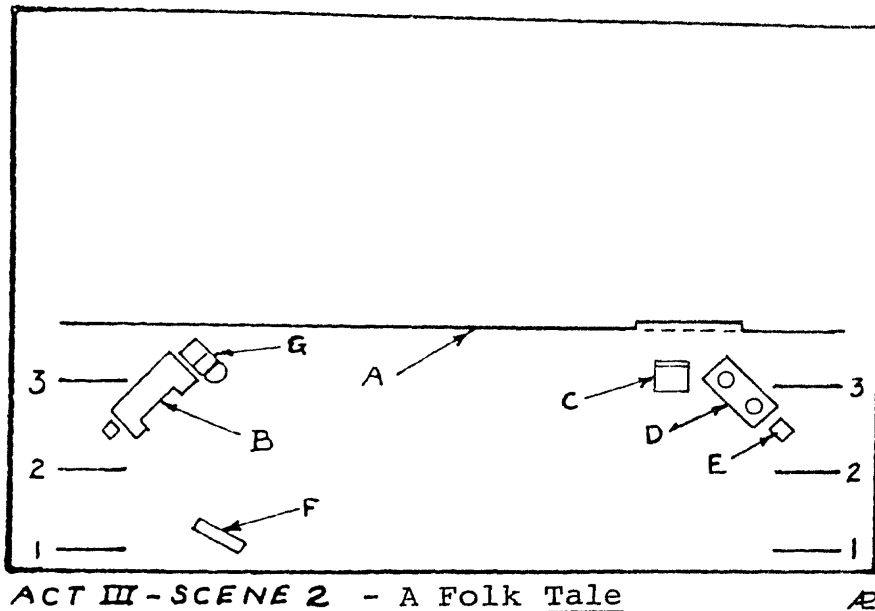


- A - new drop cloth                      E - railing  
 B - new tree trunk  
 C - set stone from "Stella"  
 D - new spring

forest wings and green borders on wings 1-5;  
 heath wing and border on wing 6.

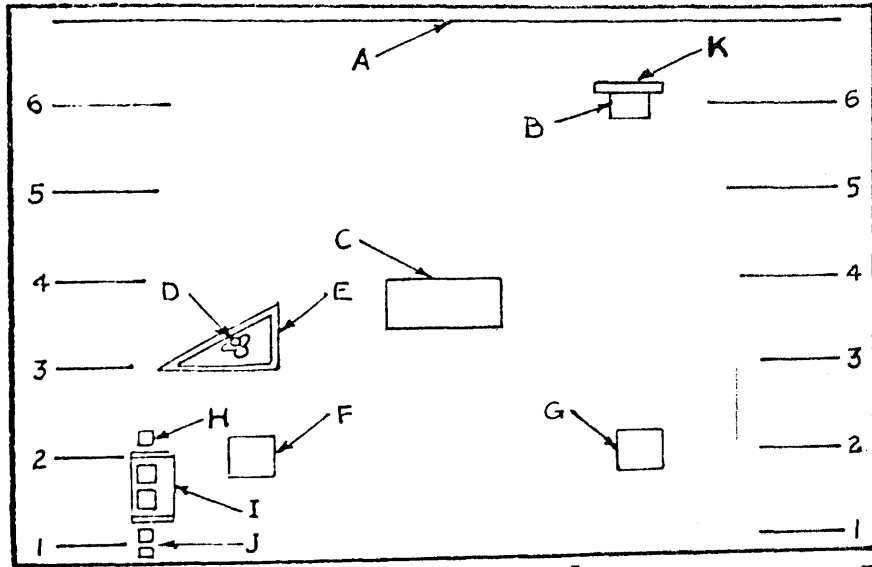
<sup>a</sup>Maskinmester Protokol, Note 24.

## Changement



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| A - drop cloth with masked entrance drape | E - Isabella chair   |
| B - Swiss cabinet at 2nd wing             | F - mirror   |
| C - lounge chair from "Farinella"         | G - lounge chair from "Farinella" with foot stool in front |
| D - table from "Hugo" with 2 flower vases |  |

<sup>a</sup> Maskinmester Protokol, Note 24.

ACT III - SCENE 3 - A Folk Tale

AR

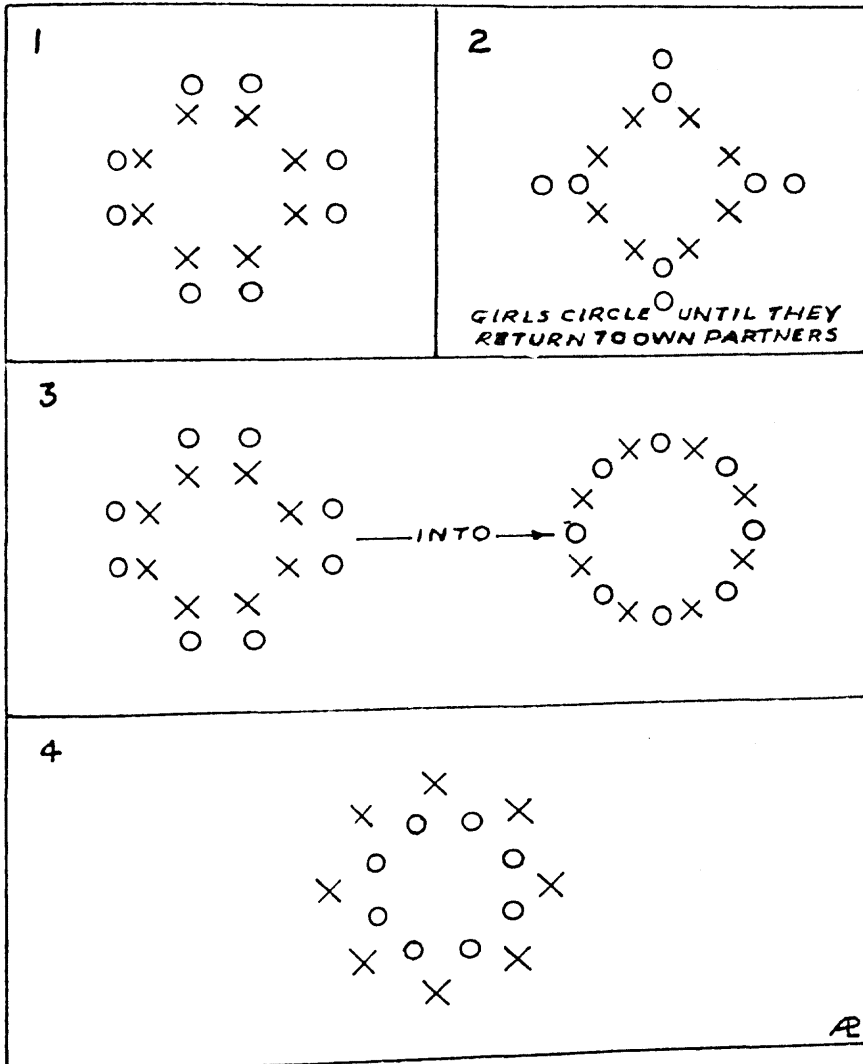
- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| A - back drop from Act 1 | H - Isabella chair                     |
| B - set stone            | I - riser with 2 gilded court chairs   |
| C - elevator trap door   | J - 2 Isabella chairs carried on stage |
| D - new spring           | K - set tree with ladder behind        |
| E - railing              |  |
| F } - trap doors         |  |
| G } -                    |  |

<sup>a</sup>Maskinmester Protokol, Note 24.

Appendix J: Floor Patterns for Farmer's Dance,  
Act I, Scene 2 Recorded by Hans Beck

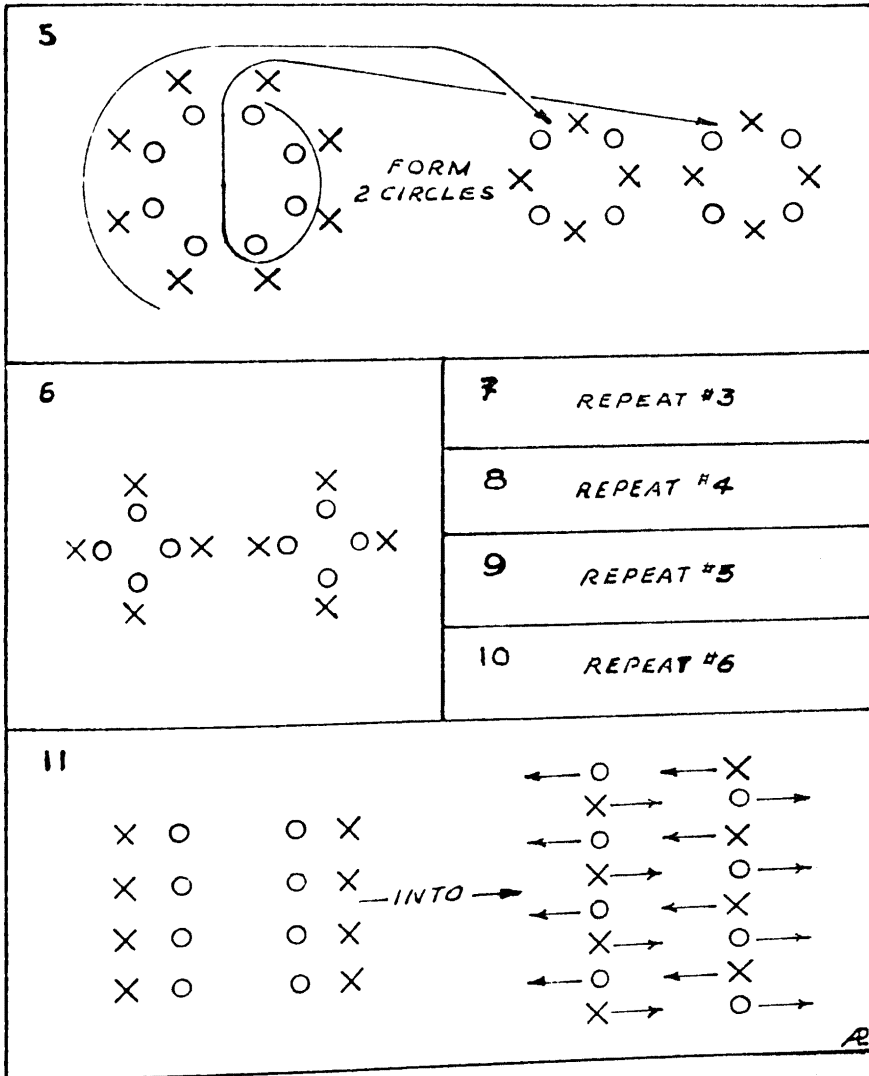
<sup>a</sup>(Note 27)

A Folk Tale



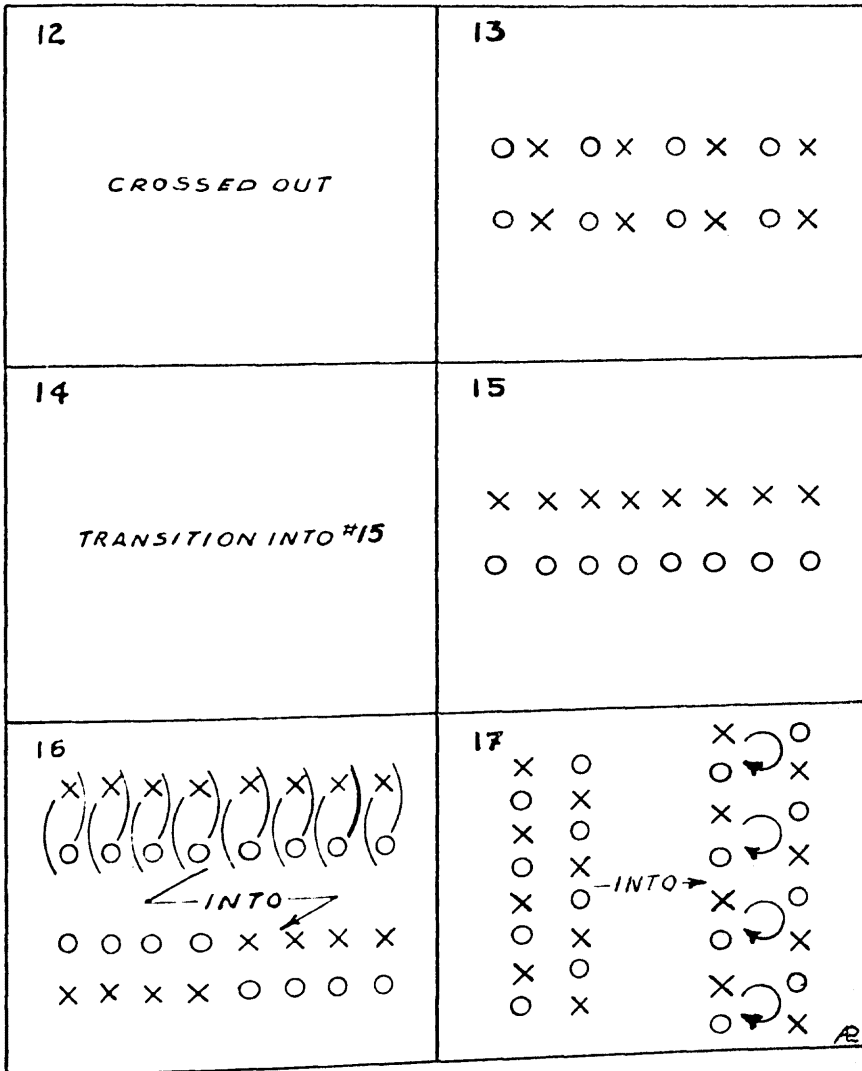
Floor Patterns for Farmer's Dance, Act I,  
Scene 2 Recorded by Hans Beck

A Folk Tale



Floor Patterns for Farmer's Dance, Act I,  
Scene 2 Recorded by Hans Beck

A Folk Tale



Floor Patterns for Farmer's Dance, Act I,  
Scene 2 Recorded by Hans Beck



Appendix K: Photographs of A Folk Tale  
1921 to 1969

ACT ONE

Birthe (Margot Lander) toasts the arrival of her guests. Herr Mogens (Hans Brenaa) looks on at the right while Birthe's intended, Junker Ove (Leif Ørnberg) accepts a cup from Catherine's tray. From the 1941 production.

© Rigmor Mydtskov, Copenhagen, Denmark.



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Act 1: Birthe Greets Her Guests

ACT ONE

Junker Ove (Henning Kronstam) is mesmerized by the elf maidens intent upon capturing his soul. From the 1969 production.

© Rigmor Mydtskov, Copenhagen, Denmark.



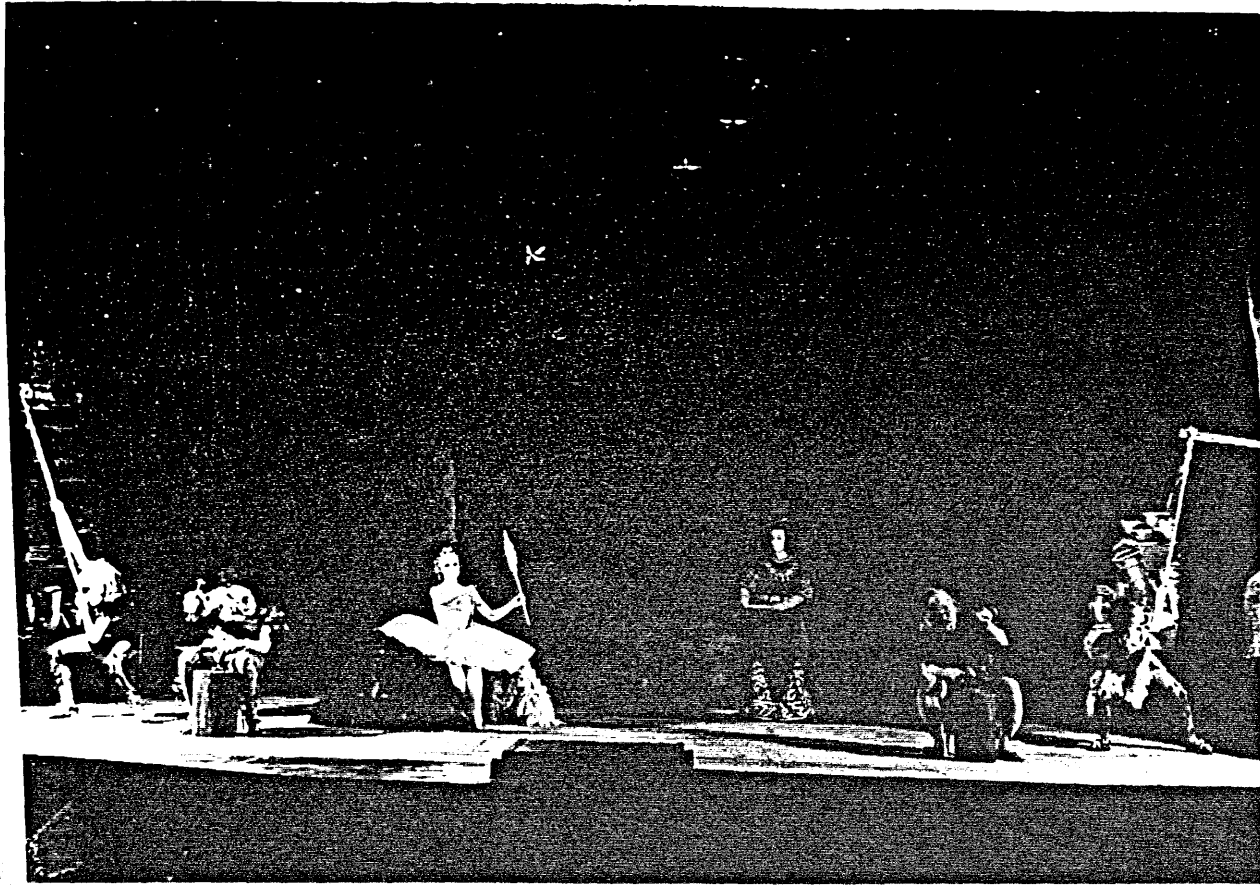
369

Act 1: Junker Ove Is Surrounded by Elf Maidens

ACT TWO

The scene opens upon this tableaux with Hilda (Kirsten Elsas) spinning while Muri (Gerda Karsten) makes pancakes at the hearth. Flanking them are Diderik (Niels Bjørn Larsen) on stage right and Viderik (Poul Witzansky) on stage left. From the 1941 production.

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Act 2: Opening Tableaux

ACT TWO

Hilda (Anna Laerkesen) attempts to stop the squabbling between Diderik (Niels Kehlet) on stage right and Viderik (Fredbjørn Bjørnsson) on stage left. From the 1969 production.

© Rigmor Mydtskov, Copenhagen, Denmark.





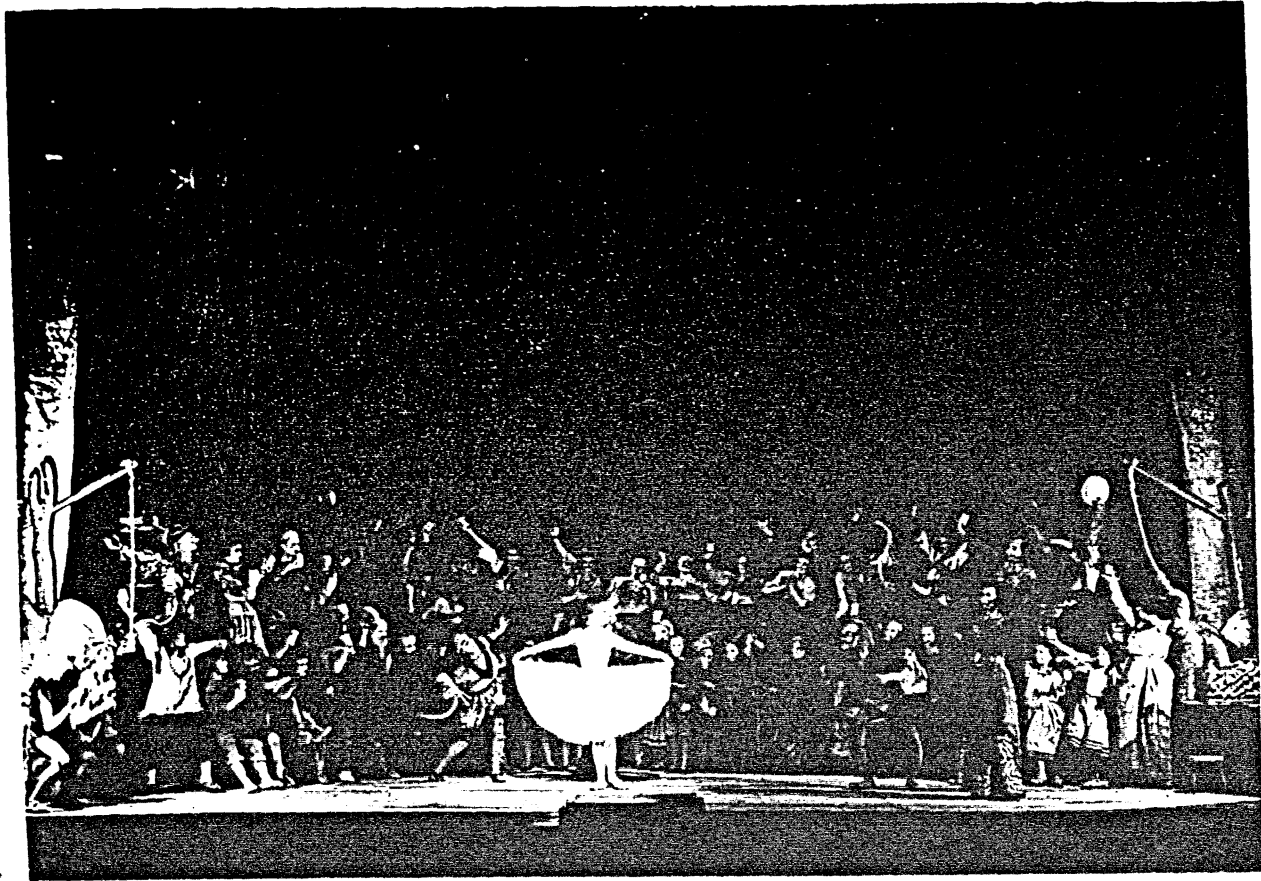
373

Act 2: Hilda Breaks Up an Argument

ACT TWO

Hilda (Lillian Jensen) is made to dance for the assembled trolls and dwarves as part of her nuptial celebration. From the 1941 production.

© Rigmor Mydstkov, Copenhagen, Denmark.



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Act 2: Hilda Dances for the Troll Guests

ACT THREE

Birthe (Petrine Fredstrup) is posed in a studio shot as she appeared in her dressing room scene. From the 1854 production. This photograph, taken around 1858, represents one of the first photographs taken in Denmark.

Teatermuseet, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Act 3: Birthe in Her Boudoir

ACT THREE

Hilda (Kirsten Elsas) is recognized and acknowledged to be the rightful heiress to the manor while Birthe (Else Højgaard) sits nearby in a swoon. From the 1941 production.

© Rigmor Mydtskov, Copenhagen, Denmark.



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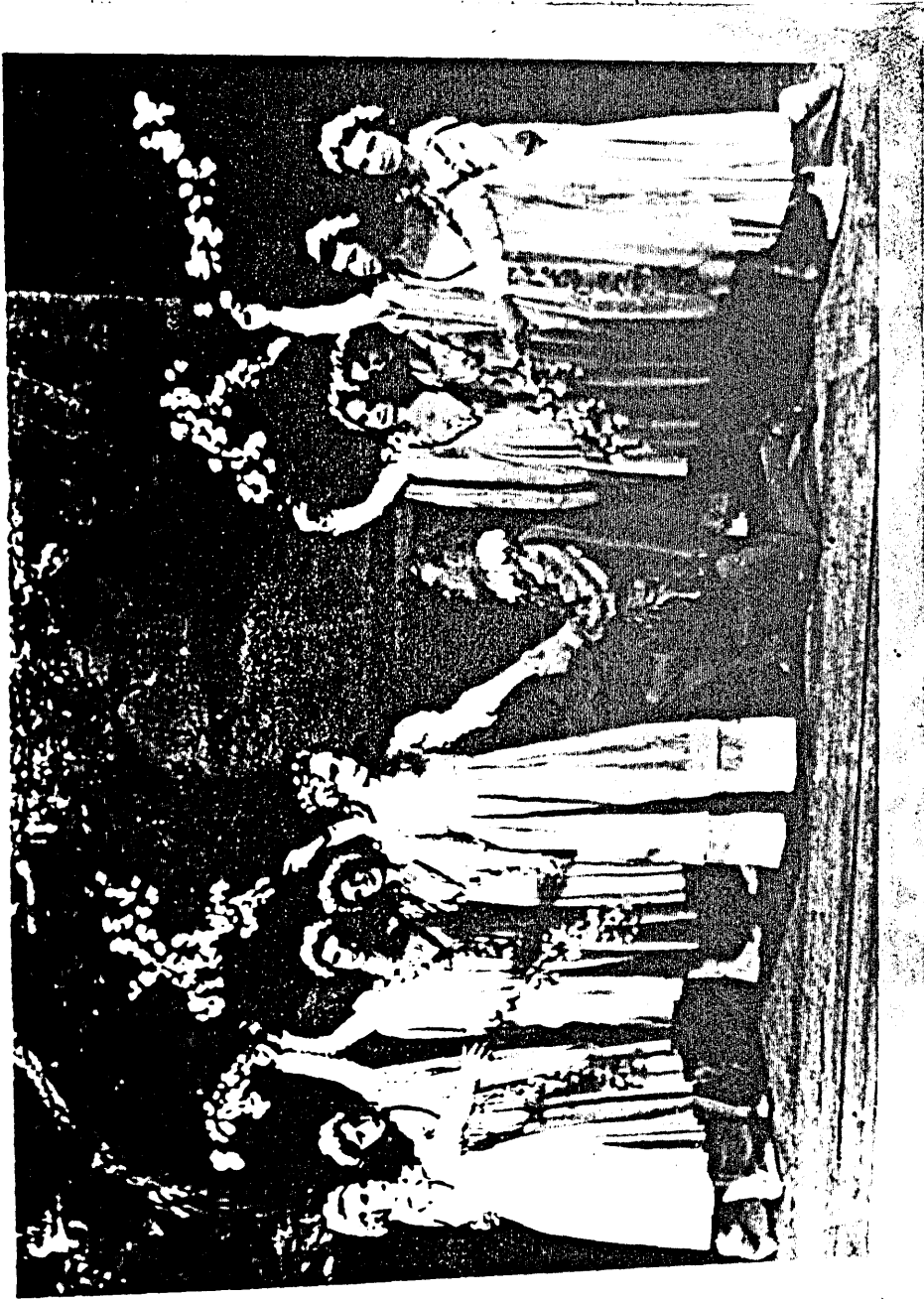
Act 3: Hilda Acknowledged by Household Servants

ACT THREE

Junker Ove (Leif Ørnberg) and Hilda (Ulla Poulsen) lovingly plight their throth to bring the story to a happy conclusion. They are surrounded by their bridesmaids. From the 1922 production.

© Rigmor Mydtskov, Copenhagen, Denmark.





Act 3: Hilda, Junker Ove & Bridesmaids

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