THE NORDIC MINUET

ROYAL FASHION AND PEASANT TRADITION

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A New Chapter in European Dance History

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Front cover: Pierre Jean Laurent, *Veiledning ved Undervisning i Menuetten* ['Guidance for Teaching the Minuet'], ca. 1816, Teatermuseet, København. Photo: Elizabeth Svarstad. ©Royal Danish Library

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5. The Minuet in Sweden—and its Eastern Part Finland—during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries and in Sweden after 1800

Gunnel Biskop

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Finland was part of Sweden and referred to as the eastern constituent part of the state. One result of the Finnish War between Sweden and Russia in 1808–09 was that Sweden was forced to relinquish its eastern portion (now called 'Finland') to Russia. Finland became an autonomous state under the Russian rule; it became independent in 1917.

The Minuet in Sweden/Finland until the 1720s

The earliest records which discuss the minuet as a dance in Sweden, including in the eastern constituent part—Finland—are found in incidental poems and handwritten musical scores from the late seventeenth century onwards. These incidental poems or verses of tribute were written for individuals upon specific occasions, and they were reprinted frequently before weddings, birthdays, and funerals. The poet could read or sing the poems himself. However, the fact that dance names are present in some of these sources does not necessarily mean that the dances were introduced at that time; rather, these dances had likely developed far earlier in another context and subsequently happened to be mentioned in a poem at a later point. Those who wrote the poems and those who heard them must have already known the dances mentioned in them. At weddings, poems were performed after a meal but before any dancing started:

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the lyrics often described what was to come.[1] In addition, the dance from the period is even described in a eulogy and several early manuscripts.

Early Minuet References

The Royal Library of Stockholm houses collections of verses and incidental poems that have been reviewed by Nils Decker, researcher of music and local history. These verses contain information on instruments and dances from the late seventeenth century. He noted that the most popular instruments were violin, lute, dulcimer, and regal. Those considered 'folk instruments' included the *stjälkpipa* [stem pipe], horn, hummel, harp, *nyckelgiga* [key harp], and drums. The dance *sarabande* was first mentioned in 1658, the *courante*, *gavotte*, *allemand*, *galliarde*, *Kas' und Brot*, and *daldans* in 1662, *cinque pas* in 1671, and the 'Polsk dans' (Polska Dance) in 1673. The first-known minuet record in a Swedish text is part of a poem by Favonius written for a noble wedding in Stockholm 1676.[2] The poem is very long and, in the section where the minuet is mentioned, the topic is the misadventures of foolish virgins, who have contracted a disease through their conduct:

> that just while she stands and walks
> The horny jitters make her move
> her waist,
> her knee and thigh.
> She twists the neck and foot as well as Eyes and Tongue
> And sing to that as if by the Tarantula stung
> With strange wriggling and bounce
> This funny way
> They call La bocan, Courant and Minuet.[3]

The poem was not addressed to the bride but to the entire audience, including the groom, a Doctor of Medicine, who would have understood the text. These listeners must have known the minuet and its movement patterns to have grasped the poet's meaning and the comparison with the consequences of a tarantella sting. From this, we can deduce that the minuet was well known in Stockholm in 1676.

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1 Carl-Allan Moberg, *Från Kyrko- och Hovmusik till Offentlig Konsert. Studier i Stormaktstidens Svenska Musikhistoria* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1942), p. 124.

2 Favonius is a pseudonym. See Nils Dencker, 'Musiknotiser i 1600-talets verser', *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*, 12 (1930), 53–73 (pp. 53–63).

3 Stina Hansson, *Svensk bröllopsdiktning under 1600- och 1700-talen. Renässansrepertoarernas framväxt, blomstring och tillbakagång*, LIR skrifter 1 (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2011), p. 206; Dencker, p. 62; Tobias Norlind, *Dansens historia. Med särskild hänsyn till dansen i Sverige* (Stockholm: Nordisk rotogravyr, 1941), p. 60.

The Estonian-born cartographer and poet Admiral Werner von Rosenfeldt, mentioned the minuet in three of his poems written while he was living and working in the city of Karlskrona in Blekinge [a province in southern Sweden].[4] In a long wedding poem from 1688, Rosenfeldt wrote that he wanted to bring out the musician's perspective in his text.[5] In verse six, he describes the instruments and described the bride's wish to dance:

> Tune your violins,
> Double Bass and dulcian,
> Bring also shawms on.
> I can clearly see on the bride's face
> That it will not last long,
> Till she wants to get up and dance

By verse eight, the narrator urges the audience to dance the Polska dance even as he invites them to express their own preferences. He asks if they wanted to perform French dances, such as *courantes* and minuets:

> Get up with you rapid, kind feet,
> There will be a Polska dance.
> Or do you want, in your French way,
> To have courants, minuets?
> Give me your command, and I will
> Play what pleases you.

In verse eight, the 'kind feet', in the Swedish language *snälla fötter*, might be translated as 'agile feet'.[6]

In another wedding poem that uses the same concept, Rosenfeldt wrote what was then modern dance and what was out of fashion. The minuet was among the contemporary dances, and the Spanish *folia* had become obsolete:

> Everyone should now get started with rapid, kind feet,
> As best you have learned, to dance minuets,
> 'Curinter, polinska, paspied' and more,
> The Spanish follies are not used anymore.[7]

4 Werner von Rosenfeldt, *Samlade Vitterhetsarbeten af svenska författare från Stjernhjelm till Dalin. Efter originalupplagor och handskrifter utgifna af P. Hansell*. XVI delen (Upsala: P. Hansellis förlag, 1873), pp. 215–45; Tobias Norlind, *Studier i svensk folklore,* Lunds universitets årsskrift (Lund: Lunds universitet, 1911), pp. 369–70.

5 'Uppmuntring till lustigheter på herr rådman Schlyters bröllop i Karlskrona, den 30 maj 1688, uti musikanten Johan Ottos namn.' Norlind, *Studier i svensk folklore,*p. 369.

6 Elof Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups förlag, 1922), p. 817.

7 The original word for 'folly', here, is 'tokerie', a translation into Swedish of *Folie d'Espagne*.

Rosenfeldt composed a third poem, *Värkös slåtteröl*, for an event held on 24 July 1688.[8] The text describes food and drink and proposes many toasts. The poem also describes Pan, dressed in the clothes worn by peasants in Blekinge creeping forward and beginning to play on his pipe—an act that causes 'the peasant, his wife, his maid, his farmhand' and the whole crowd to run out and start dancing. Rosenfeldt writes:

> Then the game started,
> Pan, with his ram's foot, played a song
> That our rural people are accustomed to praise
> And not any *la Bochan*.
> *Courant*, simple, minuets
> Is not for a peasant's feet,
> A Polska dance, however,
> Can well be used in our country.

With this, Rosenfeldt suggests that the Polska dance was suitable for peasants. On the other hand, the minuet, because it was relatively new and was an upper-class dance, was associated with graceful greetings and bows—movements that did not belong to the dance repertoire of peasants.

Fig. 5.1 Portrait of Werner von Rosenfeldt (1639–1710). Engraving probably by Nils Strömcrona (1720). National Library of Sweden. Wikipedia, https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Werner_von_Rosenfeldt#/media/Fil:Werner_von_Rosenfeldt_SP138.jpg, public domain.

That same year, 1688, an unknown poet in Uppsala described the following in a wedding poem: 'Thus, now the world has become so fussy about food and so

8 *Slåtteröl* is a celebration for the end of haymaking, and Värkö is the name of a place.

delicate, that all five senses have become charmed by French customs, such as minuets and Polska crook dances'.[9] This writer believed that 'all' are fond of the minuet and the Polska crook dance, which could be interpreted to mean that the ordinary people of the countryside danced them.

Another unknown poet, this time in Stockholm, spoke about the minuet in a wedding poem from 1691. The narrator suggested that some of the ladies danced neither the minuet nor other dances: 'And even if she does not go dancing with dainty steps, nor dances the Minuet, Gavot and Allemande […]'.[10] It also proves that other guests did dance the minuet. The same year, in 1691, another unknown poet in By parish in Dalarna sang the words: 'The one that does not say the words as with flute voice, can jump the minuet and mimic the nightingale'.[11] Here, we learn about someone who could 'jump minuet' and also that the poet sang his poem. In Lund, the minuet was mentioned in a wedding poem in 1696. The poem compared the dancers with Greek gods, and the minuet is named as one among many other dances, such as 'Folie d'Espagne, Bourrée, Gavott, Rigaudon, the English gigue, and the Daladans'.[12]

In the following year, 1697, a wedding poem penned by G. Straub mentioned Tartu's minuet along with the dances *Folie d'Espagne*, *La Bochan*, and *gavotte*.[13] The same year, an unknown author in Linköping encouraged people to let the musician come forward to play a minuet in the groom's honour.[14] This example may indicate that the minuet was the first dance at the wedding.

In the 1690s, the poet Israel Holmström (1661–1708) wrote a song to the tune of the English gigue, in which he mentioned games and, in the fourth verse, four dances—one of which is the minuet:

> then we dance, English Gigues
> a Minuet also goes prettily,
> just as *Bourees Pecour*,
> as well as *Gavott l'amour*,
> just as each and everyone like.[15]

9 Norlind, *Dansens historia*, p. 60; Dencker, p. 68
10 Dencker, p. 68
11 Ibid., p. 69
12 Dencker, pp. 69–71; Norlind, *Dansens historia*, pp. 60–62; Carl-Allan Moberg 'Musikalisk kommentar', in *Samlade Skrifter av Johan Runius, Tredje Delen*, ed. by Erik Noreen, Svenska vitterhetssamfundet (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1950), pp. 133–74 (p. 156).
13 *Dorpat, present Tartu* was the second university of Sweden, established in 1632.
14 Dencker, pp. 71–72.
15 Israel Holmström, *Samlade Dikter. Del I. Kärleksdikter, förnöjsamhetsvisor, sällskapspoesi, dansvisor, burleska dikter, fabler, gåtor, spådomar, epigram*, ed. by Bernt Olsson, Barbro Nilsson, and Paula Henriksson. Textkritisk utgåva (Stockholm: Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet, 1999), p. 254; Dencker, pp. 71–72. Here, 'English Gigues' is written 'Engliske Gicquer'.

The minuet, here, seems to be a familiar dance, included among other dances that 'everyone like[s]'. Interestingly, the writer mentions *Pecour*, which may indicate that he knew of the French choreographer and dancing master Louis Pécour.

The minuet is also referred to as a familiar dance in a thesis from the year 1702. The work is about the sting of the tarantula spider, which was considered a cause for dance illness. The thesis also mentioned Daldansen as one of the 'most popular folk tunes of its time' of the same kind as 'Arie, Contre-Dantzar, minuets, Folie d'Espagne with castanets, Jullekar and Långdansen.' [16]

A 1744 funeral sermon preached by the parson Gustaf Adolf Fult for his wife Hedvig Margareta in Hjortsberga in Blekinge addressed the importance of dancing well and being known for one's dance skills. As the parson recounted his wife's life story, he recognized in her ten points of virtue. The second point was that 'In dancing, which the noble lady loves very much, and which she very much adorns and recommends, Ms. Parson was so consummate and skilled that those proficient in the art admired her'.[17] The wife had danced the minuet exceptionally well, even when she was part of the only couple on the dance floor. Hedvig had been in the spotlight, and everyone who knew the finesse required to dance it well could admire her talent.

These scattered records show that the minuet was known, at least by name, in Stockholm, Karlskrona, Uppsala, the parish of By, Lund, Dorpat, and Linköping.

Dancing Masters

In addition to these fragmented poetic references, researchers have noted that the universities had their dancing masters. Axel Oxenstierna established a dancing master position at the University of Uppsala in 1638 to benefit young students. The objective was to teach dance, posture, and deportment. The position still existed there as late as the 1840s. Similarly, the University of Lund had a dancing master on staff from the founding of the University in 1668. Dancing masters were also often tasked with teaching the nobility and professors in private. When the minuet was presented at the universities, however, the cost to students was not an obstacle because it was included in their tuition. In Uppsala and Lund, university-employed dancing masters were encouraged to reduce or waive entirely their fees for poor boys who showed talent in dance. During the holidays, these dancing masters could also give private lessons in the city and the

16 Moberg, 'Musikalisk kommentar', p. 144.
17 von Platen, p. 156.

countryside.[18] It is also quite possible that the students themselves introduced the minuet in their communities during the holidays and after graduation.

One such dancing master was Caspar de Creaux who worked at the University of Lund from 1700 to 1738. Two of his students were sons of a nobleman named Jon Stålhammar—Otto was twelve and his brother, Adam, was ten years old in 1707. It was customary for boys from noble families to begin learning to dance at a young age, and their mother, Sophia Drake, sent them to the university for that reason in that year. Their father was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Småland cavalry and was on the battlefields with Sweden's King Charles XII at the time, waging the *Nordiska Krigen* [the Great Northern War]. The boys' teacher in Lund, Master Osængius, wrote a letter to the mother telling her that a dancing master was teaching the young men for one hour a day: 'Daily at 12 after the meal they go to the dancing master, who is quite gallant, and he is proclaimed as the best, but he never teaches more than one dance a month, however capable a disciple he receives'.[19] This approach was probably the dancing master's method of ensuring he always had students. The young gentlemen Stålhammar made good progress in their dance education and were praised by their dance teacher. They also improved in music, and Otto had borrowed 'a nice piano and a double bass' to practice on.[20]

In Stockholm, the court had its own dancing master from 1637, so it is not surprising to find the earliest record in Stockholm. For example, in letters to her children from the very beginning of the 1680s, the Baroness Catharina Wallenstedt (b. 1627) related that the clergy and the bourgeoisie of Stockholm hired a dancing master. She wrote in November 1680 about the Erlands, a vicar and his wife, who 'have a sense for collecting, possessions increase and fashion influences the body'.[21] Continuing, the Baroness wrote of the Erlands' daughter: 'she learns to sing here, and the dancing master comes to her every day, maybe she will still be a minister's wife or something similar. I do not respect them, for I see that their arrogance is so great'.[22] It seems that the Baroness was correct about the young woman's prospects after improving her artistic skills: Erland's

18 Eva Helen Ulvros, *Dansens och tidens virvlar*. *Om lek och dans i Sveriges historia* (Lund: Historiska Media, 2004), pp. 90–156; Eva Helen Ulvros, 'Dansmästarna vid universiteten i Uppsala och Lund. Ett nytt bildningsideal formas', *Rig –Kulturhistorisk Tidskrift,* 87 (2004),pp. 65–80; Magnus von Platen, 'Dans–Karriär–Karaktär', in *Den gemensamma tonen*, ed. by Hannu Apajalahti (Helsingfors: Musikvetenskapliga sällskapet i Finland, 1990), pp. 138–39.

19 Ulvros, *Dansens och tidensv virvlar,* p. 108

20 Ellen Fries, *Teckningar ur svenska adelns familjelif i gamla tider. Två Samlingar* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1901), pp. 132–33.

21 The precise Swedish meaning is not clear here.

22 Catharina Wallenstedt, *Allrakäraste. Catharina Wallenstedts Brev 1672–1718*, comments and selection by Christina Wijkmark (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1995), p. 202

daughter 'who was taught dancing, playing and singing is now engaged to the vicar in St. Catherine, and took the ring from him as well as gifts'.[23] A year later, in September 1681, when writing to Erland's daughter about the dancing of the bourgeoisie, Catharina implied that everyone knew how to dance:

> My dearest daughter, you can never believe how haughtiness has increased in the bourgeoisie; it's horrible. Everyone who is now going to the parties can dance all the French dances that can be mentioned. And dress with their hair curled, even put up as do the nobility, and with trains on their skirts. The sum, none of the nobility can adhere better.[24]

The Baroness's nineteen-year-old son, who was an unwilling student, had difficulties finding his place in life. Of him, she lamented, 'He does not learn more than from a Frenchman who goes to him for an hour a day, and he has now danced for two months'.[25] On the subject of her own dancing skills, the Baroness remained silent and, though she did not mention any specific dance names, her reference to 'all the French dances which can be mentioned' likely included the minuet. The dancing masters often came from abroad or had received their education in France. They introduced the newest dances, and dance was a component of the general education.

None of the evidence from the seventeenth century characterizes the minuet as 'new', which could imply that the dance had already been in use long before it began to appear in written contexts.

Minuet Performance

In 1711, the archives describe a ball in Stockholm at which a very important guest could not dance the minuet. King Stanislaus Leczinsky from Poland had risen to the throne with the help of Charles XII but had been deposed in 1707. In 1711, he came to Stockholm for a nine-day visit and was received with pomp and ceremony. A ball was held in Leczinsky's honour on 29 September, and the royal confided his discomfort to the sixteen-year-old Count Carl Gustaf Tessin:

> In the evening ball, their Majesties and Her Royal Highness played a game of *l'hombre* [card game for three people]. King Stanislaus, a little overwhelmed by this facility, asked Tessin: '*Je Vous prie de me dire qui est ce qui a fait a croire à la Reine que j'aime la danse? Hélas! Ce n'est pas là ma passion. Ce n'est pas là ma passion*'. [I ask you to tell me what it is that has

23 Ibid., p. 306.
24 Ibid., p. 358.
25 Wallenstedt, p. 358.

made the Queen think I love to dance? It is not my passion.] Count Horn persuaded the King to go up to the Dance Hall, where he danced English cs and polska, but not minuets, until 10 p.m.[26]

The minuet was probably practised in Poland at this time, but when the King insisted he had no 'passion for' dancing, he meant he had not learned to do it.[27] The dances in question may not have been mentioned by name, but the fact that Leczinsky did not dance the minuet attracted attention and was recorded. There was also dancing the following evening: 'Again dancing until 11'. Some days later, Tessin noted: 'In the evening, quadrille party and then dancing, however, the King did not participate much'.[28] Perhaps he did not participate because they danced so many minuets?

Fig. 5.2 Portrait of Poland's king Stanislaw Leszczyński (1677-1766), by Jean Girardet. National Museum in Kraków, oil on canvas. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stanislaw_Leszczynski1.jpg, public domain.

Not even the King of Sweden, Charles XII, was a prominent dancer of the minuet. A story from a ball in Leipzig, 18 June 1707, describes his dancing style in unflattering terms. The ball took place during the Great Northern War, and the king had his headquarters in Saxony. A student, Anders Alstrin from Uppsala, who was in Saxony as a tutor for two young noblemen, was a near relation of some of the people at the headquarters. Alstrin later became secretary for

26 Carl Gustaf Tessin, *Tessin och Tessiniana: Biographie Med Anecdoter och Reflexioner, Samlade Utur ... Grefve C. G. Tessins Egenhändiga Manuscripter* (Stockholm: J. Imnelius, 1819), pp. 263–64; Adolf Lindgren, *Om Polskemelodiernas Härkomst,* Nyare Bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen ock svenskt folkliv XII.5 (Stockholm: Kungl. boktryckeriet, 1893), p. 18; Nordlind, *Dansens Historia*, p. 73.

27 Norlind, *Studier*, p. 374.

28 Tessin, p. 64

the ministry in Pomerania. In a letter to his uncle, Alstrin described the King's appearance, clothing, and his dancing at the ball:

> The funniest thing was that the King stood for a moment, hunchbacked like a long slender Uppland farmhand, who had just received and put on a blue coat, a pair of oversized gloves and boots. Then he walked on with his big steps, got a lady, and stepped around the floor the strongest he could, without observing any pace, throwing the other around, poor thing, regardless of who she was, so that she flew as a hair glove [mittens made of hair yarn], and remembered well; she had danced with the king. It could easily be seen who had danced with him: the high hairdos drooped and fluttered to all sides, and they looked so messy.[29]

The writer did not mention which dance was performed, but because the king danced on his own with a partner, did not keep to the pace, and took advantage of the whole floor, while it could have been a polska, it was more likely a minuet, because in the minuet in various forms the couple turns at the beginning and in the middle, and then the king could have danced around the ladies present in an enthusiastic solo.

Fig. 5.3 Portrait of King Charles XII by David von Krafft (1706), oil painting. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl_XII_1706.jpg, public domain.

In his 1711 exercise book, doctor Johan Linder discussed the physical and health benefits of various dances. Linder was born in Karlstad in 1678, and studied

29 Carl Grimberg, *Svenska folkets underbara öden IV. Karl XI:s och Karl XII:s tid t.o.m. år 1709* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1922), p. 613, http://runeberg.org/sfubon/4/

ten years at the university Åbo Academy in the city of Turku,[30] Finland in 1700, and then in Uppsala and Holland. Formal dances often occurred at the locations where he was staying, and he likely danced in many different styles. The following quotation suggests that he danced the minuet because he was familiar with the movements. He had perhaps learned them in Turku, which would indicate that the minuet was danced there in the late seventeenth century. Linder wrote:

> Those who need more vigorous exercise and movement can use riding, ball throwing, playing bowls, and Polska dance, since French reverences, so-called minuets, gavotts, Passepieds, and similar does not give any significant benefits. La folie d'Espagne and English gigues have strong movements and do not fit well for spa guests unless they have come only due to the beginning of scurvy. All the dancing and games do not please everyone equally. One person wants to have a sad tone, another a Runda, a third Daldansen,[31] another French rhythm, another German, and so on.[32]

He did not consider the minuet (nor the *gavotte* or *Passepied*) lively enough to confer the benefit of exercise; only the Polska was appropriate for this purpose. *La folie d'Espagne* and *gigue* had strong movements and were, perhaps, considered too lively for spa guests.

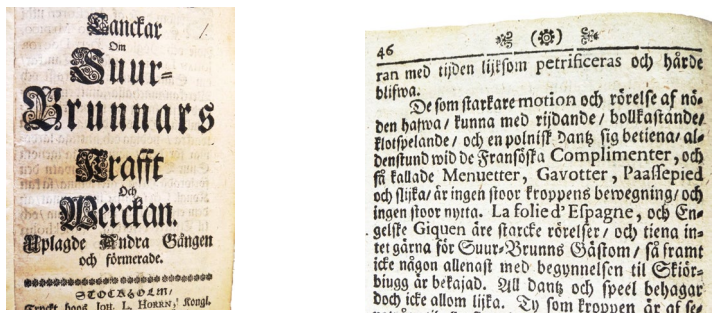

Fig. 5.4a and Fig. 5.4b The doctor Johan Linder in Sweden wrote in his book in 1711 that, unlike the Polish dance, the minuet did not provide enough exercise. A few lines of text from the book, Johan Linder, *Tankar om surbrunnars kraft och verkan*. Andra upplagan (Stockholm: [n.pub.], 1718). Photograph by Gunnel Biskop, public domain.

30 Åbo is the Swedish term and Turku the Finnish term for the same city. Turku is generally used in English today.

31 A dance named after the Swedish province of Dalecarlia.

32 Johan Linder, *Tankar om surbrunnars kraft och verkan*. Andra upplagan (Stockholm, 1718), p. 46; Norlind *Studier*, p. 370; Tobias Norlind, *Svensk folkmusik och folkdans*, Natur och kultur 96 (Stockholm: Stockholms Bokförlag, 1930), pp. 128–29.

We do not know how the minuet was danced in all the above examples because it took different forms. First, the minuet was danced in the shape of an eight, and later, it was danced in the form of an inverted S, which resembled the numeral two. Around the year 1700, the dancing master Pécour revised the minuet to follow the form of the letter Z. This meant that the minuet danced during the seventeenth century in Sweden had a different form than Pécour's minuet. An incidental poem by the poet Johan Runius contains information indicating that the minuet in its early 'figure-eight' form was danced in Sweden in the eighteenth century. Runius was born in 1679 in the province Västergötland and served as tutor to the twelve-year-old Count Claes Stromberg. In 1712, Runius wrote a poem for his student, in which he urged his student to spend time training his body. He encouraged his protégé:

> [You] should spend time upon, and no exercise should run out:
> A lovely *Reverentz*, a well-shaped bow
> A spine must understand
> it becomes him too.
> How a poor foot is
> Not bothered in the world
> To become decorated with *the pas, coupe, cadants, balants*
> Making *S* on the floor
> according to measure and *note*?
> It can and have its praise
> To dance on a good foot.[33]

Runius wrote knowledgeably about the dances of the time, aware that the student who made charming greetings, such as reverences and deep bows, would find these hard on the back. He also knew that the foot followed different steps, and he was familiar with the dance terms of his time. To 'make *S* on the floor' probably refers to a step-in minuet dance that traces the shape of the reversed letter S. This strongly suggests that Runius knew and danced just such a form. Given that the S-form developed before the Z-form, we can infer from Runius' poem that the S-form was danced and so it was not only minuet *music* that reached Sweden long before 1700. Runius also called for the student to perform the minuet 'according to measure and *note*', that is, in time with the beats and melody. His phrase 'to dance on a good foot' meant that it was worthwhile to dance well, to execute well its steps. Runius wrote several poems that include the word 'minuet' in their title, and he also wrote texts for minuet melodies.

33 Johan Runius, *Samlade Skrifter av Johan Runius, Andra Delen,* ed. by Erik Noreen, Svenska vitterhetssamfundet (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1934), p. 101.

Fig. 5.5 In 1712, the poet Johan Runius (1679−1713) urged his twelve-year-old student, a count, to follow the tempo of the minuet. Lithograph by Johan Henric Strömer (1847). National Library of Sweden. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Johan_Runius.jpg, public domain.

Swedes Learned to Dance Abroad

Dances were imported into Sweden by dancing masters but also by Swedes who had travelled abroad. For example, the twenty-two-year-old Nils Reuterholm (1676–1756), later a baron and governor travelled to Paris in August 1698 with an objective to learn to dance. The stop was part of a long journey through Europe, during which Reuterholm had met several Swedes. In Paris, he noted that there were 'quite a number of our Swedish youth, who were here'.[34] Reuterholm found that the first task in Paris was to learn French and then to learn to dance. He wrote:

> Strangers who visit this city held that, after language, it is of the highest necessity to learn to dance there, for who comes home again and did not learn dance in Paris, he cannot possibly expect the favourable judgment that he is well-educated. I would therefore go and jump a little, but as my legs did not want it so much, and the funds were scarce, that exercise became short.[35]

A youth with social aspirations had to go to a dance school in Paris, but Reuterholm's education in this area was hampered by two misfortunes. First, his

34 Nils Reuterholm, *Nils Reuterholms journal, utgiven av Kungl. Samfundet för utgifvande af handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia*, ed. by Sten Landahl. Historiska handlingar del 36:2 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet, 1957), p. 124.

35 Ibid., pp. 124–26.

foot was injured in the dance school, perhaps due to lack of practice in turning his feet outwards. Secondly, Reuterholm sometimes lacked money, which affected how often he could attend dance classes. In addition to dance skills, there were other things that one was expected to bring home from travel abroad, including the ability to sing a French song. Reuterholm spent his money on obtaining that knowledge. He also wrote of wasting some money on an instrument called a clavesin.

Fig. 5.6 When the Swede Nils Reuterholm came to Paris in 1698, one of the first tasks was to attend a dance school. Portrait of Reuterholm by Ulrika Fredrica Pasch. Lithography (1847). National Library of Sweden. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nils_Reuterholm_x_Ulrika_Pasch.jpg, public domain.

The priest Georg Wallin (1686–1760) from Gävle also attended dance school as a priority upon beginning his travels abroad. He later became a professor of theology and bishop of Gothenburg. After completing his studies at Uppsala, he enrolled at universities in Pomerania, The Netherlands, and England for further education. His first stop was the University of Greifswald, the most significant city in the Swedish Pomerania in 1708. One of his initial tasks in Greifswald was to visit a dancing master for lessons.[36] The specific dances he learned are unknown, but the fashionable minuet was probably one of them. Once back home, Wallin and other travellers were able to share their knowledge of the latest dances.

36 Tor Andræ, *Georg Wallin. Resor, forskningar och öden* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1936), p. 103.

Swedes Teach the Minuet

In Skara Library, there is a music manuscript entitled *Menuetter och Polska Dantzar* [*Minuets and Polska Dances*] that the oboist and composer Gustaf Blidström started writing in 1715. He served as an oboist in Skaraborg's regiment and had left the home region in 1699. He was in the army of Charles XII of Sweden in the Great Northern War against Peter the Great of Russia. After their defeat at Poltava at the end of June 1709, Blidström was taken prisoner together with about twenty-five thousand other Swedes. Among these imprisoned Swedes were both civilian and military personnel, including more than nine hundred officers. They were deported to many different places in Russia, including Petersburg, Tomsk, and Tobolsk.[37]

Blidström was deported to Tobolsk, which was the capital of the Siberian government, and composed his manuscript there. The document contains one hundred and seventy minuets out of approximately three hundred music pieces, demonstrating Blidström's skill as a music notator. Indeed, Samuel Landtmanson, who published the manuscript in 1912, later considered it to bear witness to the popularity of minuet melodies in the early eighteenth century.[38] Among the captured Swedes, there were two hundred and seventy-nine musicians. Some of them were sent to Tobolsk, where these musicians contributed valuably to the Russian music world: many were given jobs in the upper-class orchestras and organized concerts. In Tobolsk, the children of the captive musicians went to school and, in addition to the major subjects of arithmetic, German, French, and writing, were taught 'music, dance and physical exercises' by their Swedish supervisors. What dances the students learned is not given, but one was likely the minuet since these 'flooded' Blidström's manuscript.[39] The captured Swedish officers, who were often well-educated nobility, taught young Russian gentlemen and ladies also in Tomsk. A travelling Englishman recorded that they taught German and French but also 'music, dance and similar skills, thereby they acquired many friends among high-ranking people'.[40] This source did not state what dances the Swedes taught, but these would have been dances that they had learned in the late 1600s, before the war in 1700. Clearly Tsar Peter was very sympathetic to impulses from Europe and took advantage of prisoners'

37 Anna Nedospasova, 'Svenska bidrag till den ryska instrumentalmusikens tradition', in *Poltava: krigsfångar och kulturutbyte,* ed. by Lena Jonson och Tamara Torstendahl Salytjeva (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2009), pp. 108–9.

38 Samuel Landtmanson, 'Menuetter och Polska Dantzar', in *Svenska Landsmål och Folkliv.* Häfte 2 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1912), pp. 78–82.

39 Nedospasova, p. 109.

40 Ibid.

specialized knowledge in music and dance to spread these skills among the Russian people.[41]

Unlike the fate of captives in Tobolsk, it is unclear which dances were taught by the subset of Swedish officers deported to Petersburg. The city's journal, the *Saint Petersburgische Zeitschrift,* published an article describing the first balls that were held there in 1717. The text is a translation from Russian to German and explains that Peter the Great, when returning from abroad, introduced dance events called *assemblées*. It specifies, among other things, which social classes were allowed to participate in the assemblies and that different rooms followed models of balls as these were occurring in France, the Netherlands, and England. A statement in the article confirms that the Russian dance in national folk costumes only occurred in the lower social class, while the higher circles danced the graceful *polonaise*, the tranquil minuet, and the fast English contradance. The writer credited the Swedish officers, who were prisoners of war in Petersburg, for being the first to teach the Russian ladies and gentlemen the dances. For a long time, the Swedes were the only male dancers at the assemblies. The article also reports that the choice of partners had been handed over to the ladies. Once a gentleman had been invited and had danced, he should ask a new lady, dance with her, and then stop dancing. The lady, on the other hand, continued to dance, choosing the next gentleman and restarting the cycle. In this way, the minuets continued until the music stopped.

The *polonaise* and the contradance were danced in much the same way, but both dances lasted longer than the minuet, and all the couples did 'their tours'. This could give the impression that the minuet was relatively short. The music was written for and performed by a quartet comprising a trumpet, bassoon, oboe, and kettledrums. The minuet did not start the assemblies, large celebrations, and all other parties were opened with a ceremonial dance, similar to *ecossaise* and ending in some *polonaise* style. The leader announced loudly when the ceremonial dance should end, which allowed everyone to join in on

41 Landtmanson, pp. 78–82; Nedospasova, pp. 108–9. Peter himself could not cope with the minuet in 1698 when he visited Dresden. This is evidenced by the letter written by the Countess Maria Aurora Königsmarck. However, the Tsar turned out, after a four-hour dinner of good wines, to be an excellent drummer. Dancing carried on into the morning, but it was an 'exclusively "polnisch"' type of dancing. This is the only time the Countess mentioned the name of a dance, which suggests that it may have been out of the ordinary. When the Countess entered August the Strong Courthouse in Dresden in 1695, she described twenty-six consecutive days of dancing but did not name a single one on the dances. See Birger Mörner, *Maria Aurora Königsmarck. En Krönika af Birger Mörner* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners förlag, 1914), pp. 175–91.

the next dance. When the court moved to Moscow in 1722, the *assemblée* model was instituted there.[42]

The Swedish officers had learned the minuet before they went to the Great Nordic War, which lasted from 1700 until peace was negotiated in Nystad in 1721. One of these was the future Major Leonard Kagg who had been appointed a page at the King's Court in 1698 when he was sixteen years old. In his diary that year, he wrote that 'I and all the king's pages began learning to from the dancing master Dûcroi'.[43] Kagg was held captive in Tobolsk until 1722. Along with the other imprisoned noble Swedes, he had learned in Sweden a dance style that originated in France and introduced it in Petersburg. For this reason, I consider it quite clear that the upper classes danced the minuet in Sweden in the 1690s.

Despite Sorrow, the Court Danced Minuets

After the loss of the Great Northern War, Charles XII made an incursion into Norway, which ended with the king's death at Fredrikshald in 1718. Although all of Sweden was in mourning, the court continued to dance minuets. Prince Carl of Hessen-Philippsthal was in Stockholm in 1719 on a visit to his cousin Fredrik who would, in the following year, become Sweden's new king. Carl described the Swedish court in his diary. He felt that the time was rich with 'despair, for those who loved stormy pleasures', noting that sadness following Charles XII's death meant that '[t]here was neither comedy, opera nor ball; The only amusement of which one could enjoy was made up of two or three assemblies in the week in her Majesty's room'.[44] The 'her Majesty' to whom he refers was Queen Ulrika Eleonora, Sister of Charles XII, who was married to Fredrik. Carl's text continued:

> I once enjoyed another pleasure, a small, less numerous, and more pleasant *assemblée*, held after the soup in the rooms of one of the queen's ladies in waiting. Some played different games, while others amused themselves by singing a French aria. Often even the whole company united to dance to the tunes of minuets and contradances.[45]

42 'Die in Petersburg anwesenden kriegsgefangenen Schwedischen Offiziere lehrten zuerst den Russischen Damen und Herren den Tanz: sie waren lange Zeit die einzigen Tänzer in den Assembleén', *Saint Petersburgische Zeitschrift*, 2.2 (1823), 317–21.

43 Leonard Kagg, *Leonard Kaggs Dagbok 1698–1722*, ed. by Adam Lewenhaupt. Historiska handlingar, del 24 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1912), p. 4.

44 R. Bergström, *Svenska bilder 1–Stycken ur vår odlingshistoria* (Stockholm: Fritze, 1882), p. 99.

45 Ibid.

Fig. 5.7 Ulrika Eleonora, Queen of Sweden (1712–1720), and the people at court, amused themselves in 1719 by dancing minuets and country dances. Painting by Georg Desmarées, National Museum, Sweden. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ulrika_Eleonora,_Queen_of_Sweden_Georg_Desmarées.jpg, public domain.

It is difficult to confirm how these Swedes danced the minuet in 1719 and how it was danced generally in Sweden in the late seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century. There are few clues as to when the Pécour minuet became common. The most detailed descriptions of minuet dancing during the eighteenth century are offered by Admiral Carl Tersmeden. Tersmeden, recalling his education in Uppsala in 1723 at eight years old, writes of being taught for one hour each day by the dancing master Petter Malpart, who worked at the university there from 1713 to 1728.[46] We do not know whether Malpart taught Pécour's minuet from the start of his appointment or if this form had been established earlier. Nevertheless, Tersmeden's diary suggests that he did not dance any other kind of minuet throughout his lifetime other than the one he learned in 1723. Since dancing masters tried to have the latest forms in their repertoire, we may guess that Pécour's minuet was used in Uppsala in 1713. We will return shortly to give much greater attention to Tersmeden's account.

The Minuet in the Eastern Constituent Part—Finland

Incidental mentions of the minuet are also found in seventeenth-century poems from Turku. In a wedding poem dating from 1679, an anonymous writer mentioned the dances the *courant*, the *saraband*, and ballets, as well as

46 Ulvros, *Dansens och tidens virvlar*, p. 98

several musical instruments.[47] The minuet, though not named, may still have been known or practised since dancing masters taught contemporary dances at the university and the Åbo Academy from the 1660s.[48] As noted above, the prospective physician Johan Linder, who studied at the academy, referred to the minuet.

Musicians from Stockholm came to Finland to play and were expected to have the new melodies in their repertoire. The French elite culture, including its wigs and hairstyle, also reached Ostrobothnia in Finland as early as the late seventeenth century. Boys from Finland also studied in Uppsala. One was Isac Wasbohm, a merchant's son from Vaasa who had attended the Trivial School in his hometown. He entered the Uppsala University in 1691, and the handwritten score he produced there includes a minuet, a *gavott*, and a *gigue*. In 1695, Wasbohm moved to Turku, where he worked as a singing teacher until he became a priest in 1697. Three years later, he became a teacher of singing in his old school in Vasa and from 1702, a priest in Vörå in Ostrobothnia.[49] It is likely that Wasbohm and other Finnish students learned the minuet in Uppsala and practised the dance in rural areas.

When Russia occupied Finland during Charles XII's Great Nordic War in 1713, many people fled to Sweden, including nearly all of the highest officials and groups of countryfolk from Ostrobothnia. After the peace process in Nystad in 1721, the relocation to Finland began. Some musicians who learned how to play minuet during their eight years in Sweden were among those who returned and could share the dance and its music with the Finnish people.

Fig. 5.8 View from northern Ostrobothnia in Finland. Watercolour by C.P. Elfström, ca 1808. The Finnish Heritage Agency, Finland. https://finna.fi/Record/museovirasto.738e0950-e6f5-4412-8168-c2b0a7723653, CC BY 4.0.

47 Dencker, pp. 55–67.
48 Ulvros, *Dansens och tidens virvlar*, p. 90.
49 Armas Luukko, *Vasa stads historia I. 1606–1721* (Vaasa: Vasa stad, 1972), p. 559; Jan Olof Rudén, 'Stormaktstidens 10 i topp', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 2 (1976), 28–29.

The Minuet in Some Handwritten Music Books

The Swedish music researcher Tobias Nordlind believes that the minuet was more popular than other dances in Sweden in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He supports this claim by referring to two musical manuscripts for lute dating from this period. The first contains three minuets, two *sarabands* and one *gavott;* the other consists of fifteen minuets, eight *gavotts* and seven *courants*. During the first half of the eighteenth century, music manuscripts show that the minuet was common among Sweden's upper classes. Several notebooks from that time show that the overwhelming majority of dances were minuets. One example, written in Stockholm between 1700 and 1725, contains one hundred and forty-seven minuets out of one hundred and seventy melodies.[50] Another, dated 1703–27, includes one hundred and fifty minuets out of one hundred and eighty-nine melodies.[51] The oldest known music manuscript including minuets that has been preserved in Finland is one called *Tuulo's Notebook*, which contains fifty-five minuets.[52] The manuscript contains the following reference to the author: 'Paul Håkan Eekman Gothenburg 1720'. One does not know if Ekman was originally Finnish or Swedish, or if the notebook was written in Sweden or Finland.[53]

Sources from earlier than 1720 do not mention that the minuet had any particular position as an opening dance. Nor did it have a ceremonial character in Sweden–Finland: it was merely one dance among others. Even earlier sources from Finland are relatively rare, but the minuet became particularly important there, as a ceremonial and as a more general dance.

The Minuet in Sweden/Finland from the 1720s

The most detailed eighteenth-century source of information about minuet dancing in Sweden and the eastern constituent part, Finland, is the memoirs of Admiral Carl Tersmeden (1715−1797). He lived in many different places in Sweden, lived for a long time in Finland, and also lived abroad. At the time of his death, Tersmeden left exceptionally voluminous memoirs, or a Lefnadsjournal.[54]. These comprise fourteen volumes and over ten thousand numbered pages; a

50 Norlind, *Studier* p. 365.
51 Eero Nallinmaa, *Barokkimenuetista masurkkaan. Sävelmätutkimuksia* (Tampere: [n.pub.], 1982), p. 16.
52 Ibid., 17.
53 Norlind, *Studier*, pp. 364–65, p. 375; Göran Andersson, 'Tidiga svenska menuettbelägg', *Folkdansforskning i Norden*, 36 (2013), 11–14.
54 The word translates as 'Diary of Life'.

six-volume summary was published in 1912–19.[55] Tersmeden's detailed account serves as a useful guide for placing and chronologizing the many other diaries and memoirs from the eighteenth century. Together, these create a good picture of minuet dancing at this time.

Tersmeden had a long and varied career. He trained as an apprentice shipbuilder, graduated as a maritime officer, and served as a Member of Parliament, a *Varfsschoutbynacht*, and an Admiral of the shipyard.[56] Tersmeden also had close relations to the royal house. His memoirs joyfully depict and detail life and events in the eighteenth century, portraying an exceptionally flourishing society. He described his own experiences in dance, offering first-hand information that, for this reason, is extremely valuable. His notes about dance also reveal the kinds of things a man of that time noticed and wrote down. Tersmeden mentioned and participated in countless balls, picnics, and other gatherings where dance featured, but I mainly analyse situations where the minuet occurred.

Tersmeden's account is also valuable because he came into contact with the lower classes of society in Sweden and Finland and describes these interactions. That he sometimes danced with people from different social classes tells us that the higher and lower classes mixed and could dance the same dances. During the eighteenth century, the minuet appeared as general dance and an initial dance within the ceremonial part of balls or weddings. I primarily use the terms 'upper class' and 'peasants' or 'rural population' when referring to the different social strata.

My references to Tersmeden's diary are given mainly in terms of years and dates as I relate his story. Although more precise citation information is given in some instances to help to locate the quotation or note about dancing, his comments are best appreciated in a broader context.

Tersmeden Learning to Dance and Participate in Society

Carl Tersmeden was born on 23 April 1715 at Larsbo's mill in Bergslagen in Dalarna. He was the esquire, son of *bergsråd* Jacob Tersmeden (1683–1752) and Elisabeth Gangia (1688–1753).[57] Carl was the fifth of thirteen children born to the couple, receiving tutelage at an early age: in 1723, at eight years old, he was sent to Uppsala to continue his studies at the university, as his two eldest

55 *Amiral Carl Tersmedens Memoarer*, 6 vols (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widström, 1912–19).

56 As an MP, Tersmeden represented Swedish *Riksdagen*. A *Varfsschoutbynacht* is a title comparable to contra admiral.

57 The *bergsråd* is the second in command of the king's bureau for mining.

brothers were already staying there. His tutor Johan Sundius and his seven-year-old brother came along. The brothers were enrolled as university students, and by living together, the four could save on costs. [58]

Fig. 5.9a Portrait of Admiral Carl Tersmeden. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carl_Tersmeden.JPG, CC BY-SA 3.0.

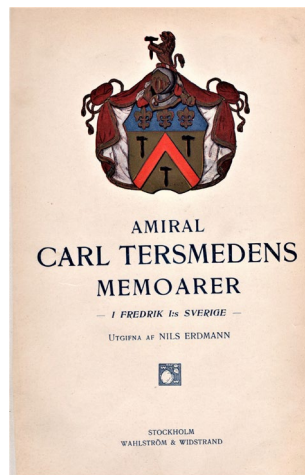

Fig. 5.9b The title page of Tersmeden's memoirs *Amiral Carl Tersmedens memoarer—I Fredrik I:s Sverige*, ed. by Nils Erdmann (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1916). Photograph by Gunnel Biskop, public domain.

In Uppsala, Tersmeden studied languages. He also daily attended an hour-long lesson with the dancing master Petter Malpart and another with the

58 Carl Tersmeden, *Amiral Carl Tersmedens Memoarer—Från Kadettåren*, ed. by Nils Sjöberg (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1912), pp. 4–9.

drawing master Kloppert—a schedule which lasted for several semesters. When Tersmeden was ten years old, he wrote that 'The French and the exercises with the master of the fencing and dance became my main activities'. He learned the minuet in Uppsala, and he could then dance it in all the situations in which he found himself. It is also noteworthy that he became a very tall man, and his height attracted attention.[59]

Tersmeden put his dance experience to use almost immediately. As a twelve-year-old coming home to celebrate Christmas and New Year's Eve in Larsbo in 1727, he had musicians sent for, and he and his siblings and cousins danced and played Christmas games for fourteen days in a row. Tersmeden wrote that there were no other pleasures for young people at that time, nothing but dancing, playing games, hitting snowballs, and going out on the ice. Neighbours went to each other's houses for dinners consisting of five to six dishes, 'nice beer and rarely a glass of wine'. In January, the family went to Hedemora and stayed there for four days. 'Here, we were treated and lived even so fresh'. We can expect that the young people continued to dance, just as other visitors to Hedemora did.[60]

As a fifteen-year-old, Tersmeden went to Stockholm to continue his training under a bourgeois shipbuilder named Falck, to whom he was apprenticed. In Stockholm, Tersmeden consorted with the Taube family, and the son, Count Edvard Taube, who was also fifteen years old, became his companion. This might have partially been because Edvard's sister, Hedvig Taube, had already caught King Fredrik I's attention. With his master Falck, Tersmeden participated in their community, for example, attending a Christmas party in 1731 which included a dinner for about thirty people. Tersmeden's record of the event includes a boast about his talent for boldly joking with the girls while the other young men just bowed and crimped 'without saying little gallantries to the girls'. The dinner wine increased his eloquence and boldness so that, before nine in the evening, he had become friendly with most of the guests and had 'ample time between minuets and polskas' to make the acquaintance with the girl he found the most beautiful. This is his first mention of the minuet. It shows that the dance repertoire for the shipbuilding family consisted of two different dances—minuets and polskas.[61] The dancing continued until two in the morning, at which point the parents proposed Christmas games to allow their daughters and sons to wind down so that they could go home. 'We continued the fun until 5 o'clock', wrote the sixteen-year-old Tersmeden in his diary.

59 Ibid., pp. 9–18.
60 Ibid., pp. 18–25.
61 Ibid., pp. 61–62.

Tersmeden later moved in the highest social circles, and in time, came to be close to the kings. At a ball in Stockholm, he had won at cards against King Fredrik I. His rising status was noticed: 'I went to the dance room, and for the first time in my days, I was invited by Miss Falck to a minuet, after which I took Miss Hedvig'.[62] He described the ball following the same invitation-to-dance pattern that appeared at the French court—namely, that the lady chose her partner every second dance. In other words, whoever had been selected became the one who extended an invitation during the following dance.

Tersmeden Dancing Abroad, 1734

Tersmeden continued his education in different European counties and, as before, he moved in the highest social circles, including the Lisbon court. He offered examples that illustrate how the dancing was in that setting at this time. In June 1734, Tersmeden was present at a ball with more than one hundred guests, and he reported: 'The ball was opened in a large hall with English contradances in four sets. Spectators who waited on their turn were sufficient, but without any crush'.[63] This means that everybody did not dance simultaneously but danced in different rounds. In other rooms, various games were played, including bridge. In Lisbon, Tersmeden experienced a dance that was not yet known in Sweden. Although he knew the Swedish contradances, he encountered new steps and figures in the English ones. He learned by watching and imitating others and by allowing his partner, who had invited him to dance, to guide him in the movements. Tersmeden remarked:

> When a rubber had finished, I was invited by Donna Victoria to contradance, and I was a little embarrassed. Even though I had learned to dance the minuet and our Swedish contradances passably, I did not know the English ones. But my *moitié* [partner], who was good, led me so that I did not get confused, and as I had a good ear, I carefully observed the English steps and imitated them as well as I could. It was a charm to see how easily and gracefully both the boys and girls did the English steps.

While in Lisbon, he was also invited to a masquerade by Duc de Lafees upon the occasions of the birth of Duc's son. Contradances were the most frequent dances at that event, but there were also minuets. Tersmeden was regularly asked to dance. Because he did not want to be recognized by his dancing

62 Ibid. pp. 108–9.
63 *fyra careér* [four contradance sets].

skills—it was masquerade—he deliberately changed the minuet's steps and beat. He succeeded in his purpose and was not recognized. After the dance, the lady left him without saying a single word.

Later in the summer of 1734, Tersmeden stayed in Portugal at the Aveiro castle for a few months. One morning, while the company sat in slippers out in the green, one of the girls suggested they dance. She started singing, and 'before we knew the word, we were all dancing minuet'. The minuet was the most common dance. But, they did not dance for a long time because it was difficult to dance in slippers.[64]

Tersmeden Dancing in Falun, 1736

While Tersmeden was dancing in Stockholm and in Europe, others were dancing in the Swedish city of Falun. In 1736, the fifteen-year-old Gustaf Gottfried Reuterholm noted briefly in his diary what was happening. He wrote that Sara Lisa Moraea was with them on 18 February and danced the minuet with his brother Axel. Sara Lisa was nineteen years old and would, three years later, marry the botanist Carl von Linné [Linnaeus]. If someone played or if they sang to provide music for the dance, Gustaf Gottfried did not say. On 7 March, Quinquagesima, he notes that they first played 'pock' and then went into the hall and danced the minuet, polska, long dance, and contradances. There was nothing ceremonial about these occasions, taking place as they did within the home environment, and the minuet was one dance among others.[65]

Tersmeden Dancing Back in Sweden: in Bergslagen, 1740

In December 1740, Tersmeden was back in Sweden. During Christmas and New Year's Eve, he stayed with his parents at Larsbo's mill in Bergslagen. The Christmas Day celebration took place in the usual way with food, church visits, and relaxing with relatives. For New Year's Eve, several musicians had been hired to start the New Year with dance in the usual way, as Tersmeden says. The music was 'Huselius with two French horns, one bass, and three violins'. The following day, New Year's Day 1741, was also his mother's fifty-third birthday, and both were thoroughly celebrated. First, there was a dinner for forty-six people. They sat down at noon, and the meal, which included sixteen courses,

64 Tersmeden, *Från Kadettåren*, pp. 202–03, 228, 259.

65 Göran Axel-Nilsson, 'Frihetstidens borgarnöjen', in *Det Glada Sverige. Våra Fester och Högtider Genom Tiderna II*, ed. by Gösta Berg (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1948), pp. 1090–92.

continued until the 'darkening'. The company then moved up to the grand hall where three French horns 'gave the Overture', and then the dance was initiated by Tersmeden's uncle, H. Exc. Cedercreutz.[66]

> H. Exc. let his hat be brought and started a minuet with my mother. But sorry to dance alone in such a big room, he asked, why were not more couples at one time taken up? My father, who had not danced for several years—despite his corpulent and stiff body—requested a hat and invited auntie Cedercreutz, and we left these honourable men to open the ball.

They started the dance with a minuet of one couple in the ranking. Cedercreutz invited Tersmeden's mother for the first dance as she was the hostess and was celebrating the birthday. Upon request, the father, who was the host, joined in despite not having danced for years, asking his sister to be his partner. One might assume that, due to his rank, the father thought he had to dance. Both gentlemen asked to be brought their hats, which were needed to perform the greetings in the minuet. After the two couples had danced, the minuet continued:

> There was a general continuation of 4 couples until all of them had danced. On her birthday, my mother danced with all the gentlemen, and it lasted until over 10, after which the contradances began and continued until 12, when they in groups went to the lower hall to eat, after everyone's request a cold meal.

The dance proceeded with four couples at one time. The mother, because it was her birthday and celebration, danced with all the gentlemen in each round. If there were twenty men in the company, for instance, the mother danced twenty minuets in a row, while three other couples danced simultaneously. The couples who danced at the same time probably also switched partners in each round. This is apparently the first source in Sweden that describes a minuet started by single couple then changing to have four couples dancing simultaneously—to be given this level of detail is rare. As the first dance of the party, the minuet does have a ceremonial character in this event. This pattern reoccurs in descriptions for years to come; the minuet continues to be used in the ceremonial part of weddings in Ostrobothnia for another hundred and fifty years.

Since the dinner lasted until 'darkening', that is the beginning of twilight (at about six o'clock), the party danced minuets for at least four hours and contradances for another two hours until midnight supper. After that,

66 The word for 'uncle' in Swedish, here, is *farbror*, specifying that it was Tersmeden's father's brother.

> immediately polska dances began to test how much the youth could take; 'slängpolska' was danced until the girls were sweltering, and at the request of the elderly, minuets were inserted now and then until 3 o'clock when we noticed that H. Exc. and [Tersmeden's] parents started watching the clock.[67]

Even after all this, the sons had further plans to surprise and celebrate their mother on her birthday. To prevent her from retiring, they began another *slängpolska*, 'which amused the elderly to see, even though it was long enough'. Tersmeden continued, 'Then uncle Cedercreutz went out of the dance and obliged my mother to honor him with a little polska inside the circle, to which, after much convincing, she finally agreed'. The surprise was that the sons and sons-in-law put the mother on a chair and lifted her while the others danced polska in a circle around them. The oldest son brought a glass of wine to the mother, and many boys served everyone else full glasses. Tersmeden explained how everyone in the circle fell on their knees:

> Wishing her all prosperity and good health for many years to come with the noisy hurrah and the sounds of French horns for a long time. After my mother thanked everyone with her glass, her chair was put down [on the floor] and she was kissed on her hand, first by of those of us who had elevated her, then by all in the ring.[68]

They continued to dance Polska until five in the morning when the elderly guests finally retired. The youths continued to dance until seven in the morning. Some even continued to dance with staff in the kitchen building, indicating that those from both 'high and low' classes danced together.

At this party, the dance repertoire consisted of the minuet, contradance, and polska. The minuet, which I consider to be the standard form, was danced first with the mother because she was the host and guest of honour. Everyone danced with her in the order of their ranking. Everyone danced the minuets before the contradances began but again later at the suggestion of the elderly who sought to slow things down. The contradance was danced for two hours, and the polska did not begin until after the night time supper. The type of polska this party danced is hard to determine. A 'throwing polska' may have been danced after midnight because this requires everyone to form a large ring around one couple at a time who danced the polska in pairs with two hands in the circle. Within

67 The 'slängpolska' is a specific type of Polska dance.

68 Carl Tersmeden, *Amiral Carl Tersmedens Memoarer—I Fredrik I:s Sverige*, ed. by Nils Erdmann (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1916), pp. 70–79.

such a polska, uncle Cedercreutz could compel the mother to 'honor him within the ring'.

This birthday celebration included ancient wedding customs. According to Troels-Lund, since the sixteenth century, it had been a tradition for the bride first to dance with the most distinguished guests. Thereafter, she danced with each of the others in attendance, as was customary in later minuet dancing. The ceremony's final stages involved the bride and groom being danced symbolically from an unmarried to a married status.[69] Honouring someone by lifting his or her chair occurred not only at weddings. It is a tradition that was used until recent times.

The Minuet Danced in Turku, Finland, 1741

In 1741, Sweden began a war against Russia. Tersmeden, who was then Captain Lieutenant, participated in the war and travelled the sea to Fredrikshamn with the *galäreskadern*.[70] Other Swedes who went to the battle travelled via Turku and stayed there for some time. They were in no hurry to leave: the front was far away at the Russian border, and the soldiers spent many weeks in Turku, according to a romantic story by Zacharias Topelius.[71] The governor of Turku, Otto Reinhold Yxkull, was invited to a ball on 25 August. Many of the most respected inhabitants of the city were in attendance, along with several senior officers from Sweden who were on their way to the war. Topelius described their dancing:

> A Military band was placed at one end of the hall and played a long dance, the *polonäs*. You saw some of the eldest gentlemen appear according to their ranking and bring the graces around the hall, most silently. Then four or six couples appeared, and they performed under the silent but admiring gaze of all others a minuet, which was then new in Finland, seen by few and danced by even fewer. The second minuet was now running and was an exceptional success. It was danced by five of the most distinguished damsels of the city with their cavaliers, mostly officers; a sixth pair who radiated greater beauty, charm, and ease than all others was far below them in rank.

69 Frederik Troels-Lund, *Dagligt liv i Norden på 1500-Talet, Del XI, Bröllop*, ed. by Knud Fabricius (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1939), pp. 152–61.

70 This term refers to a specific part of the Royal Army's fleet.

71 Topelius was a Finnish author and historian who wrote several novels related to Finnish history. He wrote in Swedish.

Approximately twelve couples danced minuet. The ladies in the first minuet were girls from Turku, and they had been educated in Stockholm. Perhaps the Cavaliers were officers from Sweden. The second minuet was danced by the distinguished local damsels who did not seem to have come from or been to Stockholm. The cavaliers appeared to be from Turku, one from Russia. The sixth pair, however, consisted of a Russian commander and a daughter of the mayor of Turku. Topelius recounts the love story between these two, including an actual incident that had caused a scandal at the time. The original tale was transmitted from generation to generation, and it usually included the account about the ball. Topelius himself mentioned that he had seen notes about the event.

I would like to assert that the minuet had been danced in Turku much earlier than the written records immediately suggest, since the local gentlewomen (known as *Åboflickor*) and their cavaliers knew how to dance it. It is not a dance that can be learned by practising it once, and some instrumentalists knew how to play the minuet music. At the Åbo Academy, dancing masters taught modern dances from the 1660s, as discussed earlier, but the 'military band' in this example could be from Sweden. The minuet came to Turku in the late 1720s after the war known as 'the great discord' (1700–21).[72] Researcher Sven Hirn tells us that the dancing master Jac. Rapsal had 'passed' the city in 1728. Here, 'to pass' means that the dancing master stayed for some time in Turku, which is why he was mentioned in Topelius's account.[73] Sweden lost the war against Russia, and in the peace negotiations in Turku in 1743, was made to renounce land—the concession brought the border with Russia to the Kymmene River, east of the town of Lovisa.

Tersmeden Dancing in Stockholm, 1744

After the war, Tersmeden participated in Stockholm's lively social scene, including its dances. However, he rarely specifies which dances were enjoyed. In 1744, Tersmeden mentioned the minuet and contradance twice, one of which one is occurs in a description of a ball on 26 January, at which King Fredrik suddenly appeared to be 'seeking a mistress'. Tersmeden had noticed that Beata Christiernin impressed the king, the latter asking the Count Düben to invite Mademoiselle Christiernin to dance and begin a minuet 'at the top' with her. The word 'top' here is interesting, and I would interpret it in the following way:

72 In Swedish, this war is called the *Stora ofreden*.

73 Z. Topelius, *Hertiginnan av Finland, Romantiserad Berättelse, Jemte en Historisk Skildring, af Finska Kriget åren 1741–1743* (Helsingfors: Wasenius, 1850), pp. 165–66; Sven Hirn, *Våra danspedagoger och dansnöjen. Om undervisning och evenemang före 1914*, SLS 505 (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1982), p. 103.

Many couples come onto the floor to dance simultaneously, and the Count with Christiernin was asked to form what we call the 'first couple'—a position of honour and prominence that was bestowed on the mademoiselle to indicate that she was held in the king's favour. The second time Tersmeden mentioned the minuet was in his account of a court ball on 21 July. At this occasion, Crown Princess Louisa Ulrika started the minuet with Count Carl Gustaf Tessin, and it looks like her royal highness was even the one who offered the dance to Count Tessin. Later Louisa Ulrika invited Tersmeden as well, but to the contradance, not the minuet.[74]

Fig. 5.10 Her Royal Highness Lovisa Ulrika opened a ball in 1744 by beginning a minuet with Count Carl Gustaf Tessin. Portrait by Lorens Pasch the younger (1768), oil on canvas. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Luise_Ulrike_in_blue.jpg, public domain.

Tersmeden Dancing on Åland, 1747

After Sweden had lost the war against Russia in 1743, the building of the fortress of Sveaborg outside Helsinki, Finland started. Tersmeden was involved in its construction, coming to live in Finland for a period of around sixteen years. At the end of December 1747, the now-thirty-two-year-old stopped at Åland on his way to Finland. He arrived there on 27 December and stayed for several weeks, lodging with the commanding officer Mansnerus in Jomala Town. Upon his arrival at eleven in the morning, he had to take liquor and breakfast according to local customs. A sizeable horseshoe-shaped table in the hall was laid out for twenty people, and, an hour later, a long line of sledges with ladies and gentlemen arrived for the welcome.

74 Tersmeden, *I Fredrik I:s Sverige*, p. 207, p. 224.

Tersmeden, together with the host, greeted the guests in the courtyard. By chance, he helped the wife of the priest of Saltvik from the sledge. It was clear to him from her reception that she was the most respected lady in the countryside, although everyone greeted each other as sister and brother. Having entered the house, Tersmeden was presented to all as the country's new company manager by the commander Mansnerus. The meal was a long affair, and afterwards, Tersmeden wrote:

> [...] Coffee was also taken but only by the ladies. We drank freshly in the hall for my happy arrival until 5, when three violins came in, and the priest of Saltvik's wife invited me for the minuet. When we stopped, I asked the priest of Finström's wife, Thorin, so we were three couples on the floor... To pay my respect to the country's ladies, I danced the suite minuet with everyone present, after which polska in full bustle began, interleaved with the beer beaker, so that all the gentlemen, even the old priests, were dancing their polska and singing.[75]

They had eaten and drunk for about four hours when the three musicians arrived. The wife of the priest of Saltvik, who was considered the highest in rank, conferred an honour on Tersmeden by inviting him to be her first dancing partner, and they danced solo. When this dance ended, Tersmeden invited the wife of the priest of Finström to dance, saying that they then became three couples. The identity of the two other couples is not given. Then Tersmeden invited and danced in turn with all the ladies present. The minuets were danced first, and these were followed by polskas. He noted that the priests had their 'own polska [dances]', which they could sing. The party danced for seven hours, until midnight, when cold food was served. At that point, the closest residents went home, but fourteen people stayed overnight and slept in a sibling bed in the hall.[76] At ten o'clock the following morning, tea and coffee were served, and at one o'clock, all of the guests reconvened for another dinner and fresh round of drinking, which went on until dusk when a polska finished the party. The wife of the priest of Saltvik invited the whole company to Saltvik on the following Sunday.

Tersmeden stayed for one month at Åland. He was surprised to see that the party in Saltvik the following week was just like the one in Jomala. He also experienced a similar party, with the same guests, in the vicarage in Finström and once more in Saltvik, where the gathering ended 'with a cheerful polska'

75 Carl Tersmeden, *Amiral Carl Tersmedens Memoarer—Ur Frihetstidens lif*, ed. by Nils Erdmann (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1917), pp. 15–17.

76 'Sibling bed' probably describes improvised bedding set out for a large group of young people on the floor.

on the Monday night. The vicarage of Hammarland also held a similar party. To Tersmeden, all of these Christmas and New Year celebrations looked so identical 'that no small difference was seen'.[77]

Fig. 5.11a View from Åland. School poster by Vihtori Ylinen (1913). Vantaa City Museum, Finland, https://finna.fi/Record/vantaa.Arkisto:281:10, CC BY 4.0.

Fig. 5.11b Fiddlers at a peasant wedding in Södermanland, Sweden, c. 1820. From the Fogdösviten, drawing by Carl Philip Sack, in *The Nordic Museum's and Skansen's Yearbook 1947*, https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1268761/FULLTEXT01.pdf (p. 80), public domain.

These notes from Tersmeden are precisely dated and show that the minuet was danced generally in the vicarages at Åland, and that the priests both danced and drank alcohol. Professor Otto Andersson stated in the introduction to the issue *Äldre dansmelodier* in the series of *Finlands Svenska Folkdiktning* that the musicians were country people and that they must have had a rich repertoire of minuets and polska dances because a player could not repeat the same melody too often, neither at a dance party among the upper classes nor the lower classes. Andersson finds it remarkable that the priests were so favourable towards dancing and that they danced themselves. He suggests that the priests 'singing

77 Tersmeden, *Ur Frihetstidens lif*, pp. 15–17.

their polska' demonstrates that the so-called polska lilts were still current and that the polska was danced in couples.[78] Moreover, Andersson believes that the dances themselves would already have come down to the peasantry by this time.[79] I agree with this assessment, finding it evident that the peasantry also danced the minuet since this was the audience for whom the musicians largely played their tunes. In my view, we can safely deduce that the minuet had appeared on Åland long before Tersmeden's visit because all the guests were already familiar with it.

It is interesting that Tersmeden's text clearly shows that the dance repertoire was restricted to two dances: the minuet and polska. The minuets were danced first, and Tersmeden claimed to have danced 'with everyone'. If half of the twenty-strong company comprised ladies, then approximately ten minuets would have been danced. The second dance in the repertoire, the polska, was then danced, and it seems that all the attendees also danced that dance. The situation was the same as in Dalarna seven years earlier at Tersmeden's mother's birthday, except that contradances were danced before the polska began.

The account also makes clear that a ranking system existed among the priests in Åland. Tersmeden noted at the guests' arrival that the wife of the Saltvik priest was the most 'respected', and later, she initiated the first minuet by inviting Tersmeden.

Tersmeden Dancing in Finland in Turku, 1748

Tersmeden continued the voyage from Åland, stopping next at Turku. He stayed there for a few months at the beginning of 1748, taking part in many social gatherings. At the end of March, he attended a picnic at Beckholmen on the archipelago outside Turku, where over thirty small sledges, three *kälkvagnar*, and a few peasant's sledges arrived.[80] The company, consisting of about eighty people, was received with kettledrums and trumpets played by designated marshals, and tea, coffee, mulled wine, and confectionery were served. Tersmeden's account continues: 'The dance with the minuets of the most famous wives began during good music at 7 o'clock and continued with contradances, during which punch, *bishoff*, and lemonade were served'.[81] At midnight, after five hours of dancing, there was a break in the dance, during which 'chocolate

78 The polska lilts (*posktrallarna*) refers to singing the polska dance melodies as a series of syllables rather than words.

79 Otto Andersson, *VI A 1 Äldre dansmelodier. Finlands Svenska Folkdiktning*. SLS 400 (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1963), p. xxxiv.

80 *Kälkvagnar* probably names a special kind of sledge.

81 *Bishoff* probably refers to a hot alcoholic drink.

and coffee' were served to allow the musicians a half-hour's rest. Tersmeden, perspiring from so much dancing, took the opportunity to change 'linen as well as clothes'. Elderly guests began to go home around two o'clock at night, while the rest continued to dance until six a.m., at which time food was served, and the party continued at all tables with singing and drinking until eight o'clock. When everyone had cooled off somewhat, they said their goodbyes, sat down in their sledges and raced each other to Turku.[82]

Fig. 5.12 View from southwest Finland, school poster by Vihtori Ylinen (1920), Vantaa City Museum, Finland, https://finna.fi/Record/vantaa.Arkisto:281:7, CC BY 4.0.

From this entry, we see that the dance had begun with 'minuets of the most famous wives', confirming that a ranking system determined which ladies would initiate the dance. Whether one lady at a time asked and danced solo [with her partner], or if several ladies asked for the first minuet, it cannot be ascertained. Likewise, it is difficult to tell if the dancing of all ladies happened during the same or the following round. Tersmeden's mention of the arrival of 'some peasant's sledges' may indicate that the lower-class country people also participated in the party and danced the same dances—both minuets and contradances.

Tersmeden Dancing with the Peasantry in Uppland, Sweden, 1748

By the end of 1748, Tersmeden was in Stockholm, where he became engaged to Inga Dorotea Malmström. On the second day of Christmas 1748, he received an order to travel back to Finland, and the following day he left. His route, via Grisslehamn in Uppland, was disrupted by a storm, so Tersmeden had to wait at a farm in Wäddö for better weather. The farm was owned by a priest who, along with his wife three daughters, welcomed the newcomer. The following day happened to be a wedding in Toftinge village. The middle daughter was to serve

82 Tersmeden, *Ur Frihetstidens lif*, p. 39.

as *brudsäta*, and the priest asked Tersmeden to come along.[83] Tersmeden was curious to see a wedding among the lower classes and accepted the invitation. He wrote,

> On Sunday, December 29, we went to the church together, where the bridal procession came marching in with two violins and two *nyckel-gigor*.[84]After the wedding, we went in sledges, indeed 40 to 50 in a row, a short half a mile to Toftinge.[85]

As Tersmeden was the highest in social rank in the wedding company, the father of the bride asked him to dance the first dance, which was a minuet, with the bride. Tersmeden demurred, insisting that 'The first dance belongs to the groom, but then I would like to do what you ask'. When the bride and groom had danced the first minuet, then, Tersmeden invited the *brudsäta*, so that there were two couples on the floor. Tersmeden danced, in other words, the second minuet with the bride, while the groom danced with the *brudsäta*, and he danced the third minuet with another of the priest's daughters while the *länsman* danced with the other.[86] At this point, the bride and groom were not dancing, but there were still two couples on the floor. 'With this, the minuets ended, and polska began in a full bustle', according to Tersmeden. He danced the first polska with the bride, who had a high crown, which prevented him from swinging her under his arms (as was typical in the polska), but he said that he was swinging all the more with the priest's daughters, which indicates that this was a polska danced in pairs. At three a.m., the crown was danced 'off' the bride. Tersmeden 'swung happily' with the priest's daughters and the bride, dancing until eight a.m. The music was played on a key harp and two violins.[87]

According to this account, the peasantry in Uppland danced the minuet in 1748. It is the earliest clear example that country people followed a ranking order with two couples on the floor. Tersmeden said that the first minuet, the *fördans*, belonged to the groom, and I interpret this to mean the first, ceremonial dance before the general dance.[88]

83 The *brudsäta* is a maid of honour whose task to help the bride with her clothing.
84 *Nyckel-gigor* literally means keyed fiddles—a traditional Swedish instrument, similar to a hurdy-gurdy.
85 Tersmeden, *Ur Frihetstidens lif*, pp. 65–66.
86 In the eighteenth century a länsman was a local state official responsible for various tasks.
87 Tersmeden, *Ur Frihetstidens lif*, pp. 65–68.
88 *Fördans* means 'opening dance'. In German, the word is 'Vortanz'.

Fig. 5.13a and Fig. 5.13b Dance at a peasant wedding in Södermanland in Sweden, c. 1820. Upper picture: two couples dance the polska in the ceremonial dance; to the left: the priest with the bride's seat; to the right: bride and groom; and bottom picture: general dance wherein the bride walks in the middle while around her, others dance a polska. From Fogdösviten, drawings by Carl Philip Sack. Sten Lundwall, *The Nordic Museum's and Skansen's yearbook, 1947*, pp. 81, 82. https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1268761/FULLTEXT01.pdf, public domain.

Tersmeden Dancing in Helsinki, Finland, 1748–64

Arriving at Åland two days later, when the storm had settled, Tersmeden stayed at the priest's farm in Saltvik, just like the previous year. It was New Year's Eve 1748, and in the courtyard, the people were in 'full dancing and drinking', and Tersmeden joined the reverie. He also visited the other priests' mansions, but this time he did not discuss the dancing.

Tersmeden arrived happily in Helsinki. In 1749, he bought the Alberga mansion, a *säterirusthåll* west of Helsinki, where he lived until September 1764.[89] He married in Stockholm in 1751, at thirty-six years old, and his wife, the eighteen-year-old Inga Dorotea Malmström, moved to live with him in Finland.

There was a vibrant and happy social life at the mansions around Helsinki with balls and dancing, later also in Sveaborg. Among Tersmeden's associates were the merchant Sederholm in the city, Taube at Sjöskog, the governor Hans Henrik Boije, and the head of fortress work at Sveaborg, Augustin Ehrensvärd.

89 A *säterirusthåll* is a specific kind of mansion belonging to a nobleman.

They met often: every week in wintertime, Tersmeden hosted a large ball at Alberga for sixty to seventy people. These balls started with minuets, which were followed by contradances. The dancing often continued till morning.

Fig. 5.14 *Dancing children*. Painting by Lorens Pasch the Younger (1760). National Museum, Stockholm, https://artvee.com/dl/dancing-children/, public domain.

Before the 1763 Christmas weekend, Tersmeden and his friends drew lots to decide the order of visitations. A visit usually lasted for two days. By chance, the Tersmeden family spent Christmas Eve at Taube on Sjöskog and later spent the second day of Christmas with the governor Boije; they hosted guests at Alberga from the fourth day of Christmas, and then they spent New Year's Day at Ehrensvärd's home. There was dancing at these get-togethers: at Boije's, the dance started at six in the evening and went on until five the following morning. Here, Tersmeden took the role of *maitre de bal*, dancing master, and taught 'our new contradances, being in constant motion for 10 hours'. A question is where he had learned these 'new contradances' since he had lived in Helsinki for many years. Tersmeden may have learned them in Stockholm when he was there to conduct parliamentary work from autumn 1760 until June 1762. Perhaps he, the eager dancer, had even acquired a new dance book.

On Christmas Day 1763, twenty people came together at Tersmeden's mansion for dinner at two o'clock, and later, a similar number arrived so that forty people were in attendance for the post-dinner coffee. At six, the dancing started with the minuet, 'until the whole tour of dances was done and contradances began'. By 'whole tour', Tersmeden probably meant that small group of couples danced the minuet at one time and that they switched partners within the group, so that everyone danced with everyone in that group before the following group started dancing minuets. The number of women was twenty, and, if each small group included five dancing pairs, there would have been four rounds—a total

of about twenty minuets would have been danced before the contradances started. The elderly sat down at a game table, but 'we the youth', as the forty-eight-year-old Tersmeden characterised himself, danced until midnight when the tables were laid out with food. They had been dancing for six hours, and two hours later, the tables were swiftly cleared away, and 'a polska with *långdans*' begun.[90] Many of the guests stayed until eight in the morning, and the Boijens stayed overnight.

Indeed, Tersmeden encouraged dancing in his family home very early. Tersmeden's son Carl Gustaf had a beloved playmate in the daughter of the governor Boije, a girl named Ann Lis. On 21 February 1764, the birthday of Ann Lis was celebrated with a big party. Carl Gustaf was then six years old and would be seven in a month. The two children got along very well, and Ann Lis was called Carl Gustaf's fiancée. The party convened at one am, and 'the young couple' [the two children] were placed at the end of the table and became the centre of attention. Tersmeden wrote that 'all the youth in the city came to coffee, and the dance began with a polska around the two young ones who were elevated'. Here, even the children are honoured as the guests lift them and dance the polska dance around them. Following this, 'regular minuets' were danced, then contradances continued until ten o'clock when the supper was served at several tables. After supper, they split up at eleven in the evening. 'Regular minuets' might refer to a practice wherein everyone danced minuets in different rounds with a few couples at a time. During each round, all participants danced with everyone else. Even young children danced, absorbing the local dancing culture.

Fig. 5.15a Maybe the boys are thinking about whether they should go to dance school or not? Elias Martin, *Two Schoolboys*, Yale Center for British Art. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Elias_Martin_-_Two_Schoolboys_-_B1975.4.887_-_Yale_Center_for_British_Art.jpg, CC0 1.0.

90 This is a Nordic dance type wherein dancers hold hands and dance in a long open chain.

In September 1764, the family Tersmeden moved back to Sweden, and the detailed information on minuet dancing in the Helsinki region ends. His memoirs tell us that the minuet was very popular, indeed, the primary dance, at the mansions around Helsinki at this time. As before, we can surmise that the musicians must have had a considerable number of minuets in their repertoire, as well as contradances and polska dances.[91]

Fig. 5.15b Antoine Pesne, *The Masquerade Ball*, detail. Finnish National Gallery. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antoine_Pesne_-_The_masquerade_ball_-_S-2005-67_-_Finnish_National_Gallery.jpg, CC0 1.0.

The Minuet Danced in Ostrobothnia in Finland, in the 1750s

The minuet was likely danced in the countryside in Ostrobothnia in the mid-eighteenth century. We have shown that peasant musicians played minuets during Tersmeden's visit to Åland in 1747, and in Uppland, Sweden, the peasantry danced the minuet in 1748. From Munsala in Ostrobothnia, there is an unusual account. A soldier named Eric Kruthorn from Vexala in Munsala is reported to have danced the minuet for a Prussian King during the Pomeranian War (1756–62). Kruthorn was born in Gästrikland, Sweden and was one of the many very young boys shipped from Sweden to Finland in the early 1750s to cover the army's lack of reserves in Ostrobothnia. During the military draft for Pomerania in 1757, older men were exchanged for young men from the reserve. Kruthorn was one of these.[92] In response to a questionnaire posed in 1922, the dance researcher Yngvar Heikel was informed by

91 Tersmeden, *Ur Frihetstidens lif*, pp. 124–97.

92 Ulf Smedberg, *Krigsmans tid. Den svenska tidens ständiga knekthåll i Nykarleby socken 1734–1810. Rotesoldaternas värld, villkor och verklighet* (Nykarleby: Eget förlag, 2013), p. 462.

> The old musician Jacob Fogel in Munsala, Vexala village, born in 1834, [...] that the soldier's daughter Maja Greta Kruthorn in 1854 said to him that her father, the soldier Kruthorn, during the Polska War (1756–1762) danced the minuet and polska for the Prussian king at the request of Colonel Ankarcrona.

Based on this account of Kruthorn's minuet dance, Heikel believed that it could be 'assume[d] that the people in the Munsala region already danced the minuet during this time'.[93]

Fig. 5.16 and Fig. 5.17 Minuet was danced in Ostrobothnia in the middle of the eighteenth century. C.P. Elfström, *pohjalaismies pyhäpuvussaan* [Ostrobothnian man in Sunday clothes] and *pohjalaisvaimo pyhäpuvussaan* [Ostrobothnian wife in Sunday clothes] (c. 1808), watercolour. The Finnish Heritage Agency https://finna.fi/Record/museovirasto.8F997E0D8CF823CB4AF6B017CAB4C83B; https://finna.fi/Record/museovirasto.704378AD4F66F992F11AC27548BA4A23, CC-BY 4.0.

Kruthorn's youngest daughter, Maja Greta, born in 1778, told the unusual story of class-mixing via the minuet to Jacob Fogel, a violin player. The fiddler never forgot the story and wrote it down when responding to Heikel's questionnaire later in his life at eighty-two years old. One might ask if the young boys from Sweden had learned the minuet in their home villages before moving, or if they learned the minuet immediately after they arrived in Ostrobothnia. Also, one might wonder if Kruthorn was dancing alone for the king, or if several men participated in the dance. There are no answers to these questions. Nevertheless, the minuet was probably danced in Munsala in Ostrobothnia in the middle

93 Yngvar Heikel, 'Om menuetter i Österbotten', *Budkavlen: Organ för Brages sektion för folklivsforskning och Institutet för Nordisk Etnologi Vid Åbo Akademi*, 2 (1929), 105–11 (p. 105).

of the eighteenth century. It may seem strange to modern audiences that a soldier would be invited to dance for the king of enemy forces, but warfare was conducted very differently in the eighteenth century compared to how it is done today.[94]

In the summer of 1752, King Adolf Fredrik made a trip through Finland that included Oulu in the northern part of Ostrobothnia. When the bourgeoisie of the city held a big ball to celebrate the king's arrival, they danced the minuet. According to the early twentieth-century writer and pedagogue Sara Wacklin, the music at this event in Oulu consisted of three violins and a regal.[95] Upon the king's entry into the hall, a march was played, which continued until he had taken his throne. Wacklin wrote that the 'Dance begins with the minuet, the most gracious of all dances'. However, she did not say with whom the king danced or if he danced at all. Wacklin also reported on a wedding held in Oulu twenty years later, about 1770, at which the bourgeoisie danced contradances and minuets.[96]

Fig. 5.18 In 1752, King Adolf Fredrik visited Oulu in Northern Ostrobothnia in Finland. Maybe he also went to a sauna. It was common for the whole family to bathe at the same time. Here it is only girls. C.P. Elfström, *naisväkeä saunassa* (1808), watercolour. The Finnish Heritage Agency, https://finna.fi/Record/museovirasto.54B146C40871A17D93997EBAD7E1A088, CC BY 4.0.

94 Historian Peter Englund offers the example that, after the defeat of the Swedes at Poltava in 1709, the Swedish general, Count Adam Ludvig Lewenhaupt ate dinner with the opposing general, Prince Alexander Danilovich Mensjikov: 'They dined in Russia's food tent, which was erected on a high hill and where you could see the Russian troops set up.' At this place, twenty-thousand Swedes were captured. See Peter Englund, *Poltava. Berättelsen om en armés undergång* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1988), pp. 260–61.

95 A regal was a kind of organ.

96 Sara Wacklin, *Hundrade minnen från Österbotten* (Helsingfors: Holger Schildts Förlagsaktiebolag, 1919), pp. 193, 363.

Tersmeden Dancing Playfully in Stockholm, 1763

During Christmas 1763, while Tersmeden was dancing around the clock choosing partners in order of social rank at his friends' mansions near Helsinki, the party at Stockholm's castle ignored such ranking systems. While the royal couple of Adolf Fredrik and Louisa Ulrika reigned, between 1751 and 1771, the new year was celebrated with amusements. On New Year's Eve 1763, a chosen company had 'been ordered to eat an evening meal' at the castle at six p.m. Everyone invited knew that they should be prepared for 'arranged amusements', but they did not know which kind. The surprise was great, for, in the Queen's dining room, many dolls and toys were laid out. The guests were to 'buy' a toy, such as drums, wooden horses, shawms, etc. with their own money. Even the royal couple bought one. Everyone went to the gallery to have fun with the toys they had bought. 'The more bawling, row, and screaming, the better'. General Jacob Albrekt von Lantinghausen, age sixty-four, rode on a wooden horse and blew a shawn. The queen played the governess and walked around with a *ris* in her hand among 'these children'.[97] When this had been going on for a while, some violins were called, 'at whose playing everyone should dance polska, minuets, higgledy-piggledy, with no rank or ceremony'. After the dance, supper was served and, at noon, the guests left.[98]

Fig. 5.19 Royalty acting like children on New Year's Eve 1763, including a sixty-four-year-old general riding a wooden horse. Polskas and minuets were danced 'higgledy-piggledy'. Here the young Gustav IV Adolf rides a wooden horse in 1784. Postcard of oil painting by C. F. von Breda 1784. National Museum, Stockholm. Photograph by Gunnel Biskop, public domain.

97 A *ris* is a bundle of twigs used for spanking naughty children.

98 Gunnel Biskop, 'Danser i några reseskildringar', in *Folkdansforskning i Norden*, 35 (2012), 7–14.

What is surprising and amusing about the situation described was that the party of people with a very high social position did not dance minuets in strict order, with one or a few pairs at a time, as was customary. Abandoning the rankings was as playful as a sixty-year-old man riding a wooden horse. It was also unusual that the company did not dance the orderly minuets first, waiting until later to begin the polska. Apparently, the guests also did not invite partners to dance the minuet with the typical ceremonial bows but took each other's hands freely. What other conventions these royals and members of the uppermost echelons of society flouted when dancing the more lively polska, we can only guess.

Tersmeden Dancing in Karlskrona in Sweden, 1764

When Tersmeden was appointed to a higher position, his family moved back to Sweden and took up residence in the naval city of Karlskrona. The social life there was too quiet for his liking, and soon he suggested that *assemblées* should be arranged once a week in the same way as in Finland, and this idea was approved. From this information we see that the social life in Finland was not necessarily more modest than it had been in Sweden. Later, Tersmeden proposed the idea of picnics and, at five o'clock on Friday, 29 October 1764, the first of town's picnics was held in Commissioner Fischerström's grand hall. In the 'small town' of Karlskrona, as Tersmeden described it, the organizers of these events were progressive: they decided to transgress class borders and invite merchant's daughters to attend if they were 'good-looking and honourable'. The wife of the admiralty surgeon Gersdorff agreed to serve the coffee and tea in Fischerström's kitchen. She had previously kept a *spiskvarter* in Malmö for officers, so she was pleased to take on the task.[99] Gersdorff's handsome fifteen-year-old daughter Gustafva was also invited to the ball.

When the ladies were all there, tea was served. Then, six musicians came in and, it is reported that 'The six most important hosts began the minuet'. Who these 'most important hosts' were, and with whom they danced, we do not know. However, we do know that in the second round of minuets, Count Sparre, Friherre Snoilsky, Landshövding Strömfeldt, and some of the older gentlemen danced. What attracted the most attention was when Count Sparre invited Mademoiselle Gersdorff—the daughter of a mere military surgeon and only fifteen years old—to the minuet. Tersmeden orchestrated these machinations: the Governor Strömfelt had invited the hostess at Tersmeden's request, and Tersmeden had taken care that the hostess's oldest daughter also joined this second round of dancing. Furthermore, as one of the hosts, Tersmeden had

99 A *spiskvarter* is a place for military staff to eat.

ensured that no one from the lower classes was prevented from acting in the same capacity, that is, as the host of one of the gatherings. It was almost eight p.m. when they finished the minuets, which meant they had danced them for more than two hours.

From the context, we can see that there were at least thirty-two couples dancing. This suggests that, if they were dancing with six couples in each round, then six rounds were needed to allow all thirty couples to dances. Since the party danced for more than two hours, each round would have taken about twenty minutes. To dance the minuet for twenty minutes, all the men would probably have changed partners and danced with all the ladies in their round. At this point, they had not yet danced any Polska, but when all the minuets were danced, 'a long dance began with sixteen couples, who kept going until this ballet was very tired, and was replaced by an equal number of couples.' In my view, a way to do the long dance that aligns with this description could be that the first sixteen sets of partners dance in a big circle and that one pair at a time danced polska inside this circle. When everyone had taken a turn dancing in the circle, the following group of sixteen pairs took over and repeated the practice.

When Tersmeden suggested that the dance move on from the minuet to contradances, which few knew, he set up one *quarée* to model for the rest how they were done. Four coupes danced in this *quarée*, according to Tersmeden:

> Horn, Linderstedt, Göthenstierna and I, all 4 knew some contradances', and the *ad hoc* pedagogy worked well by adding new dancers, we split up into two *quarées* to help teach the others, less skilled, unnoticed, and this way we achieved our purpose so that we eventually danced in 2 *quarées*, which went quite well.

Earlier in Finland, in 1763, Tersmeden had instructed others in the performance of the contradance at an event for a full ten hours. We can deduce from this that he must have known a great many of them. We also see how dances were learned in such settings: those who knew the steps danced with those who did not. Tersmeden reported that: 'Ladies as well as gentlemen, [who were] pleased to have learned the tour of the first contradance, kept on with the changes until 1.00 o'clock'. This description gives the impression that, even in the contradances, all the gentlemen danced with all the ladies in turn. The guests had some coffee while catching their breath before it was time to end the party. Similar picnics were held every Friday until Christmas.[100]

100 Tersmeden, *Ur Frihetstidens lif*, pp. 212–17.

Tersmeden Dancing with Peasants in Kristianstad—Folk Dance Performance, 1764

The Tersmeden family celebrated the Christmas weekend of 1764 at Krigsrådet, with the Danckwardts family in Kristianstad.[101] Tersmeden's cousin, the Royal Commissioner von Lingen, joined the family for part of the celebration. On Christmas Eve, they enjoyed themselves immensely, playing Christmas games and dancing. For the second day of Christmas, the hostess, Mrs. Danckwardt, arranged a surprise for the company. She had invited 'a group of 12 of the most beautiful peasant girls [...] and just as many handsome young peasant boys' to dance with the guests. Tersmeden recounted how the young people danced into the hall:

> These came by surprise into the hall, where we sat and talked, and did not pay us any attention. They had a key harp and two violins with which they played a merry polska. When they stopped their polska, they danced one of their dances, which could pass for beautiful ballet at a theatre. They continued this for over an hour until they were all was warm and sweaty, and then the girls of the house served them a glass of wine, saffron bread, and all kinds of small snacks.

The young people entered the hall by way of a polska, and, once inside, continued to perform this dance. Tersmeden, the well-travelled and very skilful dancer, could not name the dance that the peasant girls and boys danced for more than an hour. It was just 'their own'—one that was comparable to 'a beautiful ballet'. This account demonstrates that the peasantry had dances that the upper class did not know, though Tersmeden clearly did recognise the Polska.

As the gathering proceeded, four of the gentlemen in the hall wanted to tease some young ladies by inviting them to the minuet. Probably they thought their targets would not know how to dance it, but the women danced the minuet 'quite skilfully'. When the dancing finished, the ladies wanted the company to play forfeits and that all the peasant girls should join. After the game, the dance resumed and continued until 3 a.m. 'when the party ended with a general Polska'.[102]

This account shows that the peasantry in Skåne danced the minuet in 1764. Fascinatingly, it goes on to recount that the hostess had arranged what we, today, might call a folk-dance performance. This exhibition of nonelite dancing

101 *Krigsråd* is a title, literary translated as 'counsellor of war'.
102 Tersmeden, *Ur Frihetstidens lif*, pp. 227–29.

was, perhaps, the first of its kind in Sweden–Finland, taking place one hundred years before it became common in the later nineteenth century.

Tersmeden Dancing in Uppsala, 1766

In the summer of 1766, a tremendous magisterial promotion took place in Uppsala, and Tersmeden decided take his wife there to see the spectacle. He also had many acquaintances and relatives in the city, including Archbishop von Troil, his cousin. While there, Tersmeden also met the scientist, Professor Carl von Linné. The Archbishop's wife joked with Tersmeden, saying that he better 'prepare for ball and dancing'. After the promotion, sixty people gathered in the Nosocomial Hall for a meal that began at two in the afternoon and 'lasted, with many ceremonies until 4 o'clock'. While the tables were removed and coffee and tea were served in a side room, the guests waited for the dancing to begin. Tersmeden wrote,

> The music started at 7 o'clock with six couples dancing the minuet. This round lasted till past 9 before everyone had danced. It was a rather pretty society of girls and young wives. At midnight, they were served at smaller tables, where the dancing people went in turn to take their supper.[103]

The minuet dancing lasted more than two hours before everyone had danced their turns, six couples at a time. From the description of the ball in Karlskrona given above, we can surmise that the couples in Uppsala followed a similar pattern: thirty couples danced five rounds with six couples in each round and, during each round, all the men danced with all the ladies, for a total of six minuets in each round. We can estimate that each round lasted twenty minutes and that the musicians probably had about forty minuet melodies on their repertoire.

Tersmeden Dancing in Karlskrona, Thirteenth-day Ball in 1767—Name-day Party 1769

Back home in Karlskrona, Tersmeden's social life continued to flourish. Christmas weekend 1766 was lively as in the previous two years, 'passed here with parties and Christmas dances in all the noble houses so that we invited somewhere every day'.

103 Ibid., p. 255.

The eve of the thirteenth day 1767 was celebrated with a big party at Admiral Psilanderskiöld's house: 'It ended up with 70 people'. The ladies were served tea and sweets, and the gentlemen punch. The dance started shortly after six p.m. with minuets of five couples, and 'when that was done came two contradances'. Here, five couples danced the minuets simultaneously, and after they had all danced with each other, the following group of five couples took over. When everyone had danced the minuet, contradances were danced in two groups. The guests had learned the contradances two years earlier, and now they could perform them well. The dance went on without a break until ten p.m. when the supper was served on the upper floor. They ate for two hours, and at midnight, the dancing resumed. Tersmeden wrote that 'as usual, we began immediately with a polska, then we raised the host and hostess and drank their toast'. Here too, they honoured the host and the hostess by lifting them and dancing polska around them.

Supper was served in two rounds for space reasons, first to those who were married and then to the unmarried. While the unmarried were eating, the musicians took a half-hour break to get some food, too. 'As soon as the music came back, we started contradances to show the youth when they came down, that the married and older did not give in to them'. The older guests wanted to show the younger ones that they were also eager to dance. The younger faction followed this with a 'rapid slängpolska' and then with contradances, so nobody thought about retiring until five a.m. According to Tersmeden, everyone needed to rest on the following day.

Tersmeden was eager to arrange parties in Karlskrona. In January 1769, he suggested that an especially large one be held on Prince Carl's name day. Carl was the brother of the future King Gustaf III. Tersmeden shared with eight friends the cost of the party, to which '163 people of all estates' were invited. The guests arrived at five in the afternoon, tea and drinks such as 'Pure Wine, Pounche and Erchebischof' were offered. They drank to His Royal Highness Duke Carl while thirty-two gunshots were fired and 'resounding music' played. Tersmeden recounted that 'The dance started with the minuet danced by all eight hosts'. All eight couples started the minuet simultaneously and all the men danced with all the ladies before the end of the round. The dance lasted until ten p.m. when the most distinguished male guests and the married ladies went and sat down to eat in two rooms. The guests ate in different rounds in ranking order for reasons of space. The party went on till five in the morning when they drank coffee.[104]

104 Tersmeden, *Ur Frihetstidens lif*, pp. 268–69; Carl Tersmeden, *Amiral Carl Tersmedens Memoarer—Gustav III och Flottan*, ed. by Nils Erdmann (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1918), p. 9.

The Minuet around Sweden: in Uppland, Småland, Blekinge, Värmland, Skåne, and Västerbotten, in the 1760s and 1770s

Here we will leave Tersmeden for a while, and I will report on descriptions from other writers of diaries and memoirs around Sweden. These accounts offer insight into the dancing of the upper classes as well as the rural population.

I start in Uppland, where Tersmeden had already danced the minuet with the peasantry in Toftinge village thirty years earlier. Through the diary of seventeen-year-old Gustaf Adolf Reuterholm, we get a good overview of dancing in Uppsala in the autumn of 1773. Reuterholm was born in 1756 at Svidja farm in Western Nyland, Finland. He later became State Secretary, Duke Carl's favourite during the Guardian regency of Gustaf IV Adolf 1792–96, and a leading gentleman of the kingdom.

Fig. 5.20 Gustaf Adolf Reuterholm (1756−1813) wrote in his diaries in 1773 that the most popular dances in Uppsala in Sweden were minuets, country dances and Polish dances. Portrait by Ulrica Fredrica Pasch (1776). Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gustav_Adolf_Reuterholm,_1756-1813_(Ulrica_Fredrica_Pasch)_-_Nationalmuseum_-_38888.tif, public domain.

While in Uppsala, Reuterholm described his dancing experience there in some detail. The teenager participated in the highest circles of society. He was often invited to the castle, where he knew everyone and where balls were held; he also attended the assemblies that were held in the city hall. The usual dance repertoire at these events consisted of minuets, contradances, and polska dances. Before an assembly on 7 November, some contradances were practised

in the castle bedchamber of the *riksrådinnan*[105] Arnell, with only her singing to serve as music. Reuterholm described how

> Riksrådinnan insisted that we repeat a few contradances that would be danced at the next assembly, which would be held the following Wednesday, and this is what we did. I and the riksrådinnan Lagersvärd, and Miss Posse, Baron Carl Rudbeck and Mrs. Bergman and little Miss Rudbeck and her little brother danced together. We were dancing *La Fête d'Ekholmsund*, *Le Cabinet*, *Les plaisirs d'Ekholmsund*, La Princesse Augusta, *La Comtesse Fersen*, and many more [contradances].

Later he wrote about the assembly at the city hall on 7 November itself:

> The dance itself was in the grand council hall, which was lit by lamps and a chandelier of candlelights. Further in, the three rooms where one played cards and where the water and lemon were given. As soon as I arrived, I was invited to a minuet by the *riksrådinnan* Arnell.

Then Reuterholm danced with 'Miss Posse, a mamsell Hydrén, Mrs. Bergman, Miss Troil and some other ladies'. From the description, it is unclear how many couples danced simultaneously. After the minuets, he played l'hombre and danced occasionally. After the lights were lit, they started with

> the contradances, when *Le Cavalier*, *La Belle Vilhelmine,* and *La Sophie* were danced. *La Belle Vilhelmine*, which was brand new and called after Miss Troil, who tricked me into joining the dancing. At 9 o'clock, they started with the minuets again, and I danced with *riksrådinnan* Arnell, Miss Troil and a few more ladies, after which I went and refreshed the ladies with chocolate and lemonade. Lastly, more than 20 couples danced the Polska, which lasted more than half an hour. Me and Miss Posse were among the first couples in the dance.

The dance started with minuets, after which contradances were played. Then, again, they continued to dance minuets, and it seems from his mention of the *riksrådinnan* Arnell that Reuterholm now invited women who had invited him earlier. It is also evident that a contradance was named after a specific person. Originally, the contradance *La Belle Vilhelmine* had been named after the Archbishop's daughter, perhaps created by a dancing master at the university. The polska was danced by more than twenty couples for more than half an hour. It could be that everyone moved in a big circle and that one couple at a time

105 *Riksråd* is a title of a royal advisor. *Riksrådinna* is his wife, or his widow.

danced around inside the circle. Here, then, the minuet was danced not only as an 'introductory' dance.

On 14 November 1773, Reuterholm completed an errand at the castle together with his friends. Afterwards, they were invited to a ball that lasted until one a.m. 'with variations of polisch, contradances, and minuets'. *Riksrådinnan* invited Reuterholm twice, 'and I invited her three times. [...] Otherwise, I danced with Miss Braunerskiöld, *qui passe pour une des beautés du province et de la ville*, La belle Vilhelmine, lasting over half an hour'.[106] Notice, here, that a contradance could last an hour and a half.

The assemblies were held weekly. At the following one on 17 November, which began at four o'clock in the afternoon, Reuterholm reported who was there, and what they danced:

> *Kanslirådet* Ihre with his wife, Mrs. Melander, Mrs. Linné and her daughters were all there. Although it was very crowded, I still danced for nearly 20 minuets and contradances: *La Belle Vilhelmine*, *La Cathrine, La Comtesse Fersen,* and others. At half past 9, the ball ended [...].

Reuterholm danced about twenty minuets but did not note his partners' names, the process of invitations to dance, nor how many couples danced at the same time. At the following assembly on 24 November, he does record that 'the *överståthållaren* [baron] with his ladies and the people from all the other distinguished houses of the town attended.' He continued:

> We danced several new contradances and kept on, mostly with them until ¾ 9 o'clock, and then since no more than a quarter was left, we danced *pour la bonne* in polska, which lasted half an hour and was one of the most exhausting.[107]

The assembly on 1 December, the last before Christmas, was 'as usual quite brilliant'. Reuterholm recorded who was in attendance and what was being danced:

> Among other ladies was a countess Posse, born Bielke, coming in from the countryside, who combined a handsome face with the most beautiful dance. Even several gentlemen from Stockholm; A major Pauli, a major Klingsporre, a Count Lejonsted were also present, as were *Överståthållaren* with his *friherrinna* [baronness]. At this assembly, we danced quite a

106 This French phrase means 'Who is held to be one of the beauties of the region and of the city'.

107 '*Pour la bonne*' is French, meaning 'for the maid' and may refer to a dance dedicated to the servants.

> few minuets, but instead mostly contradances, and since, for the sake of Advent, it was the last assembly with dance, we went on till over 10.

Reuterholm did not explain why they danced a few minuets. Perhaps it was to honour the gentlemen from Stockholm. They also danced contradances, and maybe this was to show these guests that the locals knew the modern dances.

On 5 December, Reuterholm, along with some friends, went up to the castle again. After a while, they were invited by the *överståthållarinnan* to amuse themselves with dance and games in her bedchamber. First, they danced 'contradances to vocal music', and then they played as well as danced minuets while wearing blindfolds. Reuterholm's diary ends at the end of 1773. His notes for the year 1775 mentioned only two dance events but for neither does he record what was danced.[108]

Nothing in Gustaf Adolf Reuterholm's notes suggests that he struggled to dance the minuet. From this, we may infer that he had learned the minuet in Western Nyland, Finland, during his youth in the 1760s.

At the same time that Reuterholm was dancing the minuet in Uppsala, the peasants who lived outside the city also danced the minuet to music played by folk musicians. According to the Swedish dance historian Tobias Norlind, the minuet was performed in a barn belonging to Carl von Linné [Linnaeus] at Hammarby during the summer of 1764. He gleaned this information from an account by the Dane Johan Christian Fabricius (born 1745), who studied under Linné:

> On Sundays, the whole family was almost all the time with us, and then we occasionally let a farmer come to us with an instrument that had the appearance of a violin (key harp), after which we danced in the farmhouse's barn when somebody wanted. Indeed, our balls were not very shiny, the company was not numerous, the music wretched, the dances were not varied, but constantly minuet and Polska, but we still enjoyed ourselves a lot. In the meantime, the old man [Linné] smoked a pipe of tobacco with Zoega, who was weak and physically less well-formed, he [Linné] looked at us and danced himself even though very rarely, a Polska, in which he was superior to all of us younger.[109]

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108 Carl Forsstrand, *En gustaviansk ädlings ungdomshistoria. Några anteckningar av och om Gustaf Adolf Reuterholm av Carl Forsstrand* (Stockholm: Geber, 1925), pp. 77–110. Reuterholm's notes for 1775 were published by Alma Falk in Personhistorisk tidskrift, 1923; Alma Falk, 'Gustaf Adolf Reuterholms dagbok från åren 1775–1776', *Personhistorisk tidskrift*, 24 (1923), 183–233.

109 Fabricius, qtd. in Norlind, *Svensk folkmusik och folkdans*, p. 133. See also Ellen Fröh, *Brev till blomsterkungen och hans son*. Utgåva och översättning med kommentarer av brev från Linnés ende amerikanske lärjunge Adam Kuhn. Examensarbete

Fabricius, together with two other foreign students, lived in a cottage in Hammarby, where the Linnaeus family often visited. There, they danced in the barn to the music of a peasant musician whose dance repertoire consisted of minuets and polska. The quotation above suggests that the peasant who was invited to play for the company did not often perform for others. The upper-class boy, the nineteen-year-old Dane Fabricius, recorded that the dances consisted only of minuets and the Polska and that the peasant's music was 'wretched'. Linnaeus, who was fifty-seven at this time, danced rarely, but he could dance a polska far better than the youngsters assembled.

In Växjö, Småland, the minuet was played at balls held in the 'better houses' during the youth of the musical priest Samuel Ödmann. The priest attended an upper secondary school there in the mid-1760s, from which he wrote that 'every spring term, with Rector's permission, a dancing master instructed the youth in how to bow and dance minuets'. What comes across strongly in Ödmann's account is the poverty and the difficult conditions of the little boys, but bows were very important and belonged to the basics of politeness. The school was renowned for the skilfulness of its instrumentalists. 'No small town could set the music higher than Wexiö. Those of the youth who had this talent was well-known and had an entrance in the better houses'.[110]

Ödmann's testimony shows that young people from the lower classes could see as well as participate in the dances of the upper class.

The gymnasium in Växjö was not the only school in which dance was taught. Nearly a century earlier, students at the Karlstad school received the same, inadvertent dance education. Petrus Magni Gyllenius (originally Peder Månsson), a fifteen-year-old pupil, wrote in his diary on 20 February 1637 that the school was allowing them time off from their studies to 'dance in a week'. Beginning on 3 March 1663 and 18 February 1667, the students 'were allowed to dance for a week'. [111] The abilities to present oneself and to dance were sufficiently valued that these skills were taught at the school. Gyllenius went on to study for eight years at the Åbo Academy and later served as a teacher in his old school town Karlstad.

In 1774, Magnus Gabriel Craelius described in detail the wedding customs in Småland, including the traditions in the city of Vimmerby and those of the

för kandidatexamen i latin (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2007) www.lu.se/lup/publication/1318332 (p. 7).

110 Samuel Ödmann, *Samuel Ödmanns skrifter och brev, med levnadsteckning och kommentarer,* ed. by Henning Wijkmark (Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens förlag, 1925), p. XVII, pp. 56–57.

111 Petrus Magni Gyllenius, *Diarium Gyllenianum eller Petrus Magni Gyllenii Dagbok 1622–1667*, ed. by C. J. Gardberg and Daniel Toijer. Särtryck ur Värmland förr och nu (Karlstad: Värmlands Fornminnes och Museiförening, 1962).

peasants in the surrounding countryside. At this time, the customs in these two places were different: in the town, wedding dances could be started with the minuet whereas in the countryside they opened with the polska.

Although Craelius reported that large peasant weddings in the countryside were rare, he was able, nevertheless, to document in detail what happened at them:

> The musicians settle in and begin encouraging dance with their violins when the priest takes up the bride and dances with her a Pållska [polska], and when he ends, says to the bridegroom: 'I dance to you', after which the priest dances once more with the bride before leading her back to the bridegroom. The bridegroom, then, in the same way as the priest, dances two dances with the bride. But before he starts the second dance, [he] says to the most important person present; the bride's or his father: 'I dance to you'. Likewise, all the men later dance with the bride, one after another, and if the room allows, the bridegroom takes up the *brudsätan*, dances two dances with her, and then, dances with all the other women, one after the other.
>
> Once the Brides and Bridegrooms complete their dance duty, the guests take turns and dance as they please, and sometimes so many couples are dancing at once that they stand as packed herrings and have to follow the couple in front for the turns and hooks.

The first dances at these weddings, which I would call ceremonial dances, are clearly described. The priest invited the bride for the first dance and danced a polska with her. Then the priest told the groom, 'I'm dancing to you,' and danced another polska with the bride before handing her over to the groom. Then the bride and groom danced a polska, after which the groom said to the most prominent of the guests, 'I'm dancing to you,' and danced another polska with the bride. Thus two dances were needed or danced before the handover of the bride to the following person. The words 'I'm dancing to you' are spoken to the next person between the two dances. In this way, the bride went from 'hand to hand', so that all the men danced two dances with the bride in turn. The first two dances were danced solo by a couple. If there was space, the groom danced at the same time, first with the *brudsätan* and then with the other women in turn, two polskas, so that there were two couples dancing at the same time.

Craelius also reported in detail how wedding dances were conducted in the city of Vimmerby. There, they seldom danced in any style other than the minuet, 'because there is hardly anyone who has not learned to dance it':

> The bride invites all of mankind, small and big, no exception, and dances two dances with each one, after the other, everyone as they are ranked in order. Each one of the closest male family members keeps a silver

> spoon with him that he presents to the bride when he ended the dance. Others should give a *ducat*, *riksdaler*, or banknote at the end of the dance, depending on their means and fortune. Men, as well as children, would make such gifts; whoever cannot dance himself empowers someone in his place, who then gives the gift to the bride.
>
> While the bride is dancing with all the men, the groom dances in the same way with all the women, but he has just the dancing for his efforts.[112] If the size of the room allows, a couple of the guests can also dance. This continues until the bride and groom have danced with everyone, the bride with the men and the groom with the women, and then the bridegroom is danced away, as it is called, after which the guests dance and enjoy themselves all night long.[113]

According to Craelius's description, it appears that everyone could dance the minuet; the bride invites all the men and dances two dances with each of them, probably in rank order according to social status and relationship. Although Craelius did not mention what the two dances were, I would think it was either minuet and polska or two polskas. He did offer great detail, however, about the dancing being linked to the bestowal of gifts on the bride: the closest male relatives gave a silver spoon, and the other men gave money. The gifts were to be handed over even if the donor did not dance, and he could appoint a representative to dance in his place. Thus, two dances were necessary, or in any case, danced with the same person as part of the gift-giving ritual. While this was happening, the groom was dancing with the women and girls, so there were two couples on the floor simultaneously.

Another account from Blekinge, Sweden—where Karlskrona is located and where Tersmeden danced the minuet with high-ranking people—describes the wedding customs of the peasantry in the Jämshög parish there. Reverend Jöran Johan Öller (1740–1811) described how large wedding celebrations often lasted from Sunday to Wednesday. After the church ceremony on Sunday and the evening meal, the dancing began:

> After the first evening meal, the dance begins with the Matchmaker and the Bride, who then takes up her bridegroom. With each one, two dances are always danced; sometimes one minuette and one polska, or even two polskas. Minuets have only come into use in recent times, even as a few contradances, that the peasants have learned from specific musicians

112 This probably means that, though the bride was given a gift for her dancing, the groom was not.

113 Magnus Gabriel Craelius, *Försök till Ett Landskaps Beskrifning, uti en Berättelse om Tuna Läns, Sefwede och Aspelands Häraders Fögderie, uti Calmar Höfdinge Döme* (Calmar: [n.pub.], 1774), pp. 423–26, pp. 213–14.

> who sometimes play in the cities. They play here, generally well, and with pure tones; but in particular, I heard two who had all musical insight, especially on the violin, of which I the first time was also completely surprised when I got to listen to the most beautiful concert piece during the meal executed by these peasant players, with every possible taste and skill. The music is generally good, and the dance is also justifiable.[114]

The first, ceremonial dances were danced by one pair at a time. The Matchmaker invited the bride for the first dance, and they danced two dances. Since the minuet had come into use only in 'later times,' guests in earlier years probably danced two polskas. To the next dance, the bride invited her new husband, and they subsequently danced two dances. From Öller's phrase 'with each one, they always dance two dances,' it seems to be that the bride danced two dances with all the men. Here, I wonder if some words were spoken between the dances, such as 'I'm dancing to you', as Craelius described above. Probably the groom, after the first dances, danced at the same time as the women. It appears that the priest, who recorded the account, did not dance here. He had moved into the village in 1777. It also seems that the players had learned new dances when they played in the cities and that they were skilled on their instruments.

The minuet was also danced in Värmland in the 1770s. In the memoirs of the second lieutenant, landowner Knut Knutsson Lilljebjörn (1765–1838), he explained how, as a child, he had learned to play and dance the minuet. His music teacher was an old 'organist from the countryside with the name Sneweis' who put a tiny violin in his hand and taught him to play simple melodies—minuets and marches—by ear when he was six years old. Lilljebjörn also learned the minuet in his rural home region. He and his sister had first had a Danish teacher called director Siegler:

> This man worked quite methodically. Having completed the five positions' instruction, the dancing master taught how to do several kinds of reverences, namely at the first entry into an even for everyone the same when you were going to bow or curtsey *á la Ronde*, as he called it. This greeting is as challenging to describe as it now would be ridiculous to look at. Next came the greetings to each person in particular, according to the person's rank in society, whereby the teacher called out: 'Deep, deep, the arms quite dead', which most often did happen.[115]When sufficient insight into the reverences was achieved, table seating was taught. In this topic, the youth was taught to sit straight and hand over plates, glasses,

114 Jöran Johan Öller, *Beskrifning öfwer Jemshögs Sochn i Blekinge* (Wexiö: [n.pub.], 1800), pp. 228–30.

115 Quoting his teacher, these words are given in Danish.

> spoons, knives, forks, and the like in a skilled manner, and only now they are sufficiently prepared to be taught the dancing.

Even before lessons in dance, the children were taught to walk and stand. They learned to perform the reverences, just as would be used at a ball in the late 1600s to greet everyone in the room. The dance teacher also taught etiquette and how to behave at the table. Lilljebjörn went on to describe the customs at bigger parties:

> Towards the evening, the dance music was played by one, or at most two, violins. The ball was opened by the elderly with the minuet. The custom said that the women invited would, in turn, ask another gentleman than one who last danced with her. A dancer was always obliged to stay reasonably far away from his partner, since her lower half, according to the dress code of the time, was twice as wide as nature shaped it, resulting from the so-called *pocher* or *konsiderationer*.[116]

The dance started according to age in ranking order, so that 'the old ones' started the minuets. A lady who had been invited and had danced would then ask another gentleman to the following minuet—this was the method that had been used in France at the beginning of the century. By '*pocher*' or '*konsiderationer*', Lilljebjörn referred to a panier, a kind of stiff undergarment that extended the dressskirts to the sides, like a petticoat or bustle. He recognized an advantage of the minuet, writing:

> The advantage of its use was, at a time when all kinds of card games were unusual at ball and parties, that the old ones could participate in the amusements and thereby avoid the punishment of being motley wallflowers half the night or all night.

The other dances at these parties included '*Kadriljer*, then called contradances, or *angläser*, then called long dances—the waltz was not yet invented—were rarely used in rural areas. After the minuet, the polska was played up, to the youth's great satisfaction and refreshment'. In rural areas, the dance repertoire consisted mostly of minuets and polska. At first, everyone danced minuets and, afterwards, polska dances.

The history professor in Lund named Nils Henrik Sjöborg (1767–1838) wrote about his childhood in Skåne. He grew up at a priest farm in Högestad, and, in 1824, composed his memories of the time before he was eighteen years old. Sjöborg explained that, in addition to his parents and three brothers,

116 Knut och Henrik Lilljebjörn, *Hågkomster*. Andra upplagan, ed. by E. G. Lilljebjörn (Stockholm: Wilhelm Billes Bokförlag, 1911), pp. 7–8.

several other people and relatives lived at the farm. Many played different instruments, and Sjöborg had been taught to dance by his brother and an itinerant dancing-master:

> Since my eldest brother Carl Ulrik learned to dance in Malmö, he taught us, and besides, we had an elderly, travelling dancing master, who taught us the minuet, long dance (Angloise), and contradances (quadrilles).

He recalled that, on the thirteenth day [of Christmas], a big party was organized on the priest farm for up to forty guests. A neighbour, the priest Olaus Grönqvist from Öfraby, was jealous of the size of the party, complaining that it cost too much. Sjöborg specified that

> Grönqvist was nevertheless satisfied when he saw his son Göran at every measure making an *Agrementskrumlur* with his arms, like a bird lifting his wings and wanting to fly but changing his mind and releasing them again. The Father, lost in his thoughts about the joyful spectacle, moved his arms in the *kaftan* at the same pace as the son at every measure.[117]

Even though Sjöborg described the neighbour and his son in a joking manner, his account makes clear that there were vigorous arm movements in the minuet in the 1770s, so much so that the priest's son Göran had problems mastering it. His father watched the situation with such tension, perhaps afraid that the son would not manage the steps, that he unconsciously mimicked the arm movements in a way that amused Sjöborg. The minuet was probably danced by one couple, so it was not surprising that the father was concerned about the son being the centre of attention.

In another account, a rare autobiography of a peasant boy from Västerbotten provides further information about the role of the minuet among this group. Pehr Stenberg (1758–1824) was born in the village of Stöcke, south of Umeå, under simple conditions, educated first at home and then for several years in Umeå. Stenberg was very shy, and this affliction affected him socially: he was too nervous to invite anyone to dance. In February 1777, at the age of eighteen, Stenberg was at his cousin's wedding in the home village. The celebrators danced the minuet among other things. Relatives who had travelled from Torneå in Lapland to attend the wedding guided him through the dancing of many minuets. Stenberg wrote that he did not know to dance the minuet very well, but he kept the beat. At another family wedding, in 1779, held at the *bränneriet*

117 Nils Henrik Sjöborg, 'Förklaring öfver kartan, föreställande Högestads Prästgård i Skåne och Herrestads Härad, ur minnet, efter 40 a 50 års förlopp, år 1824', in *Meddelanden från Nordiska Museet* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1897), pp. 60–62. An *Agrementskrumlur* is here a raising and lowering of the arms.

[distillery] in Umeå, he was invited to a minuet and later managed to ask one of his cousins:

> And as there were a lot of strangers and gentry, I was timid as usual. Therefore, I was not particularly happy there because I had to sit and watch others dancing all night, not daring to invite anyone myself. In the end, Mrs. Berlin (the priest's wife in the City) did me the honour and invited me to a Minuette. I dared not refuse but danced as well as I could, and then I invited my Cousine Madame Magdalena Stenman, and after the wedding ended, I went home happy again.[118]

Since the women as well as the men invited partners to dance, Stenberg was asked to participate in the minuet. His account proves that the minuet was danced regularly in Umeå, both in rural areas and in the city itself, as well as in Torneå up in Lapland.

After a few years of school in Umeå, Stenberg continued his education at the Åbo Academy in Finland and became a priest. He returned to Umeå when, in 1789, his dissertation in botany was rejected. I will return to Stenberg's account two further times.

Tersmeden Dancing at Parties in Karlskrona and Stockholm in the 1770s

Here we resume the narrative of Tersmeden based on his memories. In February 1771, King Adolf Fredrik died, and his son, Crown Prince Gustaf, became king, taking the name Gustaf III. Tersmeden was made the galley squad manager a year later and remained for a few months in Stockholm. He experienced the *coup d'état* that Gustaf III conducted on 19 August 1772. Two years later, the anniversary of this event was celebrated in Karlskrona with a small party, to which, among others, the Count, Colonel H. Exc. Carl Fredrik Sinclair had been invited. Tersmeden wrote that the gentlemen at dinner 'had become more than unthirsty' and that they were quite cheerful. Sinclair, who held the highest ranking at the party, started the minuet with Countess Wrangel immediately upon entering the hall. Afterwards, '[s]everal followed their example, so that everything came in full swing'. After dinner, a new dessert was served. It was a melon, 'it was cut and was found to be as delicate as big'.

Tersmeden also lived in Stockholm for some time in 1774, in which year his son was appointed to a second lieutenant at the Queen's Life Regiment. Tersmeden decided that this achievement should be celebrated. Lacking suitable

118 Pehr Stenberg, *Pehr Stenbergs levernesbeskrivning. Av honom själv författad på dess lediga stunder*. Del 1. 1758–1784, ed. by Fredrik Elgh, Göran Stenberg, Ola Wennström (Umeå: Forskningsarkivet vid Umeå universitet, 2014), p. 99, 186.

spaces in his temporary accommodation, he devised the idea of setting up a tent and ordered a chef to prepare a supper for sixty people. The guests gathered at seven p.m., and the serving staff filled their glasses for an hour. Then musicians came into the tent: 'The minuet started with as many couples as could find a place to dance'. The party finished at four o'clock in the morning with a 'long polska' led by the youngest guests.

On this occasion, Tersmeden explicitly described for the first time that as many couples started the minuet as had room to do so. Perhaps this marked the declining importance of following a ranking order. Or this might have showed an increasing sense of social equality influenced by the contradances as so many couples danced simultaneously. Most likely, the reason for this forgoing of tradition was that this party had no royal guests nor any hostess—neither Tersmeden's nor his son's wife had travelled with them to Stockholm.[119]

Peasant Girls and Boys Dancing the Minuet in Western Nyland, Finland, 1778

Previously, we have shown that the peasantry or the country people danced the minuet, in different parts of the Swedish empire, for example, in Uppland, Småland, Blekinge, Ostrobothnia, Västerbotten, and Lapland. The situation in Nyland in Finland was similar. Vicar Erik Lencqvist described a peasant wedding in Karislojo, relating that it was celebrated in two places—first in the home of the bride then that of the groom. The wedding was followed by a meal and then dancing:

> Then the *föregångaren* begins the dance with the bride, who then takes up the groom, and so it continues until the time comes for the bride to leave and be taken to the groom's home where she gets married out of doors. [...] Then they go with the violists at the front.

The ceremony was initiated by the *föregångaren* [literally the predecessor, in this case, the priest] who danced the first dance with the bride. After this dance by just the one couple, the bride invited the groom, and they also danced as the only couple. The guests then continued the dance, one couple at a time. When this round of dancing was complete, the party moved to the groom's home to start with a meal. Then the dancing continued, and through the night, the groom and bride would be danced out of the unmarried state and into the married state.[120] Although Lencqvist did not name the dance here, he later gives this detail when describing the dancing and the dance repertoire of Western

119 Tersmeden, *Gustav III och flottan*, pp. 95, 114.

120 'Bröllops Seder i wästra delen af Nyland och de Finnska Soknarne derstädes', *Tidningar Utgifna af Et Sällskap i Åbo,* 1778, nos 11–14.

Nyland more generally: 'These people are very eager to dance at their parties, so no poor little peasant boy or maid exists who does not trust themselves to dance the minuet and polska; they do not rehearse any other kind of dance'.[121] The priest's observation is slightly condescending, explaining that the local peasant boys and girls did not try to learn other dances than the minuet and polska; however, it does show that these two were most popular dances in the repertoire of the countryside in Western Nyland at this time.

The Minuet Danced in Helsinki and Saint Petersburg, 1779

The minuet and the contradances were the most popular dances in Helsinki in 1779. The British research traveller William Coxe (1747–1828) visited the city on his journey to Russia and was invited by the governor to a ball. He recorded that all the gentlemen and the ladies were wearing the new Swedish costume and mostly enjoyed minuets and contradances. Many of the company also spoke French. Gustaf III had introduced the Swedish costume the year before, and Coxe's memoir shows how quickly the costume had been accepted around the Swedish empire. The upper class in Helsinki, which was not yet the capital city in Finland, was as modern in their clothing as they were in the capital city of Stockholm. The same was true also of their dance repertoire.

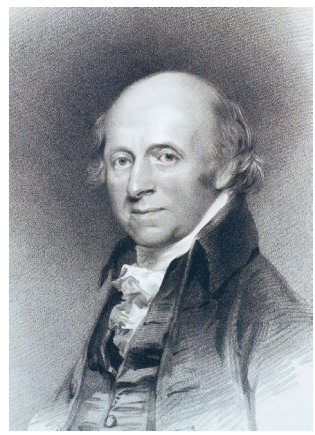

Fig. 5.21 Portrait of William Coxe. Engraving by W. T. Fry after picture by W. Beechey. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:William_Coxe_Engraving_by_W._T._Fry.jpg, public domain.

121 By 'boy' and 'maid', Lencqvist refers to the peasant's servants.

Coxe travelled on to Saint Petersburg, where he attended a ball held by the court to celebrate the birthday of the grand duke Paul Petrhovitch—Empress Katarina II's son, who later became Emperor. The ball opened with the minuet danced by the grand duke and his wife. Then, each invited a new partner to dance the second minuet, so two couples danced simultaneously. These four dancers next invited the prominent nobility the same way, so that the number of couples who danced simultaneously on the floor increased exponentially with each round. After the minuets, polska dances were danced, and these were followed by English contradances.[122] This is the only account I have found that describes this invitation method—one in which both the lady and the gentleman continued to invite new partners. It would be interesting to know how the polska was conducted at this event.

Fig. 5.22 and Fig. 5.23 The Swedish national costume was used in Helsinki, Finland, when William Coxe visited the city in 1778. Drawings of Swedish national court costumes from Coxe's book *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark* (1792). Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:56_of_%27(Travels_into_Poland,_Russia,_Sweden,_and_Denmark._Interspersed_with_historical_relations_and_political_inquiries._Illustrated_with_charts_and_engravings.)%27_(10999106214).jpg, public domain.

122 William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*, 4 vols (London: [n.pub.], 1792), IV, pp. 9 and 283–84.

The Minuet Danced at the Court in Stockholm, 1779

In November 1778, King Gustaf III and Queen Sofia Magdalena had their first child, a son. They celebrated the birth at the turn of the year, after the queen had recovered and after her churching. For several days, an opera, festive suppers, and balls were held. Minuets were danced at these balls; the king and queen had been trained in the subtleties of the minuet since early childhood.

Gustaf III attended his first masquerade ball in 1749, when he was only three years old, and the then-Crown Prince was so accustomed to the dance that he danced ten minuets in a row while wearing white domino! In the same early years, he learned French, able to speak it like a native. By the age of eight, he attended dance lessons twice a week.[123] Sofia Magdalena was born in Denmark in July 1746, as the daughter of King Frederik V. When Sofia Magdalena was about six years old, the French dancing master Pierre Laurant was employed as royal court dancing master and a dance teacher for the Danish royal family.[124] No records have been found to indicate which dances the Danish King's children were taught, but we can assume that the minuet was among them.

Fig. 5.24 Alexander Roslin, portrait of King Gustav III of Sweden (1777), oil on canvas. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gustav_III_(1746-1792),_King_of_Sweden,_in_coronation-robes_(Alexander_Roslin)_-_Nationalmuseum_-_15330.tif, public domain.

123 Marie-Christine Skuncke, *Gustaf III—Det offentliga barnet. En prins retoriska och politiska fostran* (Uppsala: Atlantis, 1993), pp. 99, 138, 277.

124 Henning Urup, *Dans i Danmark. Danseformerne ca. 1600 til 1950* (København: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2007), p. 89.

Fig. 5.25 Lorens Pasch the Younger, portrait of Queen Sophia Magdalena of Denmark (c. 1773–75), oil on canvas. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sophia-Magdalena-av-Danmark_Droning-av-Sverige.jpg, public domain.

The birth of an heir to the Swedish throne was a widely-celebrated event. Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd, the noble chamber servant of the king, recorded in his diary that celebrations and ceremonies lasted for eight days, between 27 December 1778 and 3 January 1779. On the final day, a gala was held that lasted all day. Then, at ten p.m., a *bal paré* [formal ball] began in the national hall. The 'ruling people' arrived at midnight, and the ball was opened by the king and queen.[125] The queen's sister-in-law, Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, found the event too sombre, writing that the dancing at the ball consisted of 'long boring minuets and sad contradances that lasted until four o'clock in the morning and where all people were yawning. Although I like dancing, such solemn balls can almost give me a distaste of it'. The tedium was interrupted, however, when an accident occurred as the king led Queen Sofia Magdalena down to the dance floor. Hedvig wrote about the unusual event:

> The queen was delighted with her evening. She is always timid when it comes to representation, and now also rather strange mischief happened to her. Just as the king gave her his hand to take her to the first minuet, she slipped at the descent of the stairs leading from the elevated place, where the royal armchairs are located, and she fell, causing great dismay. However, once the first consternation subsided, it was not possible not to grin at it all, which is quite common when such a small accident happens.

125 Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd, *Dagboksanteckningar förda vid Gustaf III:s hof af Friherre Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd*, ed. by E. V. Montan (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1878), p. 335.

> She [the queen] seemed to notice this, for she was then in a bad mood throughout the whole party.[126]

The minuets were initiated by the king and queen alone. From the diary of Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, we learn that the queen was dancing the minuet and that she slipped down the stairs and fell over. Another commentator, the count Earl Adolf Ludvig Hamilton, was equally vague in his description of the celebration, saying that the heir's birth was celebrated with big balls such as 'the French practise'. He explained that 'some couples were called and danced the minuet for the rulers and the whole public'.[127] The answer to this cryptic entry comes from Ehrensvärd's diary: it appears that, after the first minuet, the guests danced one pair at a time, following the ranking, which amounted to seventeen minuets in total. Although Ehrensvärd listed who danced with whom, and in what order, he did not specify who invited or 'took up', in each round. Was it the woman or the man, or a woman and man in turn? Ehrensvärd gave only the names of the people. These are presented with their dates and titles in the Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: The minuets at the ball for the celebration of the royal heir's birth listed in Ehrensvärd's diary[128]

1st minuet	The ball was opened by King Gustaf III (1746–92) and Queen Sofia Magdalena (1746–1813)
2nd minuet	Prince Charles (Gustaf III's brother, b. 1748, later Charles XIII) and his wife, Duchess Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta of Holstein Gottorp (the diary-writer noted above who thought the minuets were boring)
3rd minuet	Prince Fredrik Adolf (Gustaf III's brother, b. 1750) and his sister, Princess Sofia Albertina (b. 1753)
4th minuet	Fredrik Brahe (1756–1826), *En av Rikets Herrar* ['One of the Nation's Gentlemen', a title introduced by Gustav III] and Countess Hedvig Catarina Piper, wife of Carl Gustaf Piper

126 Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta of Holstein-Gottorp, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas Dagbok*: I 1775–1782, trans. and ed. by Carl Carlson Bonde (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1902), p. 161.

127 Adolf Ludvig Hamilton, *Anekdoter till svenska historien under Gustaf III:s regering af Adolf Ludvig Hamilton*, ed. by Oscar Levertin. Svenska memoarer och bref IV (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1901), p. 100.

128 Ehrensvärd, pp. 335–36.

5th minuet	Ekeblad (Clas Julius?), Captain-Lieutenant of the Halberdier corps and Mrs. Ulrika Eleonora Örnsköld, Queen's Lady of the Bedchamber, wife of Per Abraham Örnsköld
6th minuet	Nils August Cronstedt (1753–1835), Lieutenant, cavalier at the Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf and Countess Ulla Fersen, the lady in waiting at the court and married to Nils V. Höpken
7th minuet	Claes Horn (1755–1823), Lieutenant, cavalier of the Duchess of Södermanland (Hedvig Charlotta Elisabeth) and Augusta Fersen, the Queen's Lady of the Bedchamber and wife of Count F. A. Löwenhielm
8th minuet	Axel Oxenstierna, Baron, Chamberlain, *En av Rikets Herrar* and Miss Louise Sparre
9th minuet	Adam Wachtmeister, *En av Rikets Herrar*, Captain, Lieutenant-colonel, and the Countess Hedvig Ulrika Dohna
10th minuet	Clas Rålamb, Court Equerry and the Countess Johanna von Lantingshausen, *hovdam* [court lady], wife of Albrekt Lantingshausen
11th minuet	Carl Axel Strömfelt (1740–1821), cavalier of Duke Fredrik, Chamberlain and the Countess Eleonora Wilhelmina de Geer
12th minuet	Evert Taube, Chamberlain and the Countess J. J. de Geer
13th minuet	Henrik Jakob von Düben, the supreme master of ceremonies and Mrs. Johanna Barbara Aminoff, who was married to Johan Fredrik Aminoff
14th minuet	Cederström (Bror?), Chamberlain of the Queen and Miss Ekeblad (Eva Magdalena?), the chambermaid of Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta
15th minuet	Adolf Louis Stierneld (1755–1835), Chamberlain of the Queen, with Miss Ebba Ulrika Beata von Rosen, maid of honor for Gustaf Adolf
16th minuet	Wilhelm Mauritz Klingspor (1744–1814), baron, Equerry for Prince Fredrik Adolf and Miss de Geer
17th minuet	Johan Fredrik Aminoff (1756–1842), Gustaf III's page, with Miss Maria Sofia Rosenstierna, maid of honour for Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta

They danced for four hours, from midnight until four a.m. Ehrensvärd discussed 'who was dancing with whom' in these seventeen minuets and why the couples danced in this order, but he did not give further details. Hamilton mentioned 'some couples' above, probably not the couples they would have expected in the first place. Taken together, these accounts suggest that the court of Stockholm followed the customs in Paris at the end of the seventeenth century when determining the dancers' order and deciding who danced with whom. Before the dance, the couples were 'mentioned' or 'listed' and then 'called' for their turn. Married couples did not dance together except for the king with the queen. The men married to ladies working at the royal households did not dance at all in this seventeen-dance round. After the minuets, what Ehrensvärd called 'ceremonial contradances' were danced. These, most likely, were also danced by one pair at a time, in a predetermined rank order.

An anonymous diary writer commented that etiquette was followed so strictly at this ball 'that the dancers in a minuet turned their backs at each other, not to turn their backs to the king'.[129] Minuet dancing usually required partners to watch each other throughout, but here, deference to the king was prioritized. Although the etiquette was followed carefully, the King himself did not always follow all the dancing rules. A writer who occupied a position close to the court wrote in his diary about the royal couple's dance, remarking that 'His Majesty dances without letting the constraints of the Art bind himself. The queen is dancing admirably'.[130]

King Gustaf III was a great admirer of French culture, and, during his reign, introduced stricter court etiquette similar to that which had been used at the court of Ludvig XIV. This emphasis on social propriety may account for the strict following of rank order and the unusually large amount of minuets included in this round. On the other hand, it is possible that the same rituals governing minuet dancing at the court continued to be followed throughout the 1700s. The minuet must have been danced during this period, though there is no written evidence to confirm this, otherwise those close to the court of King Gustaf III would not have known how to dance it. What is also evident is that the minuet had not fallen out of use in Sweden at this time but was prospering. One final note on this point is illustrative. When the new Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf—whose birth was celebrated with the above festivity—was eight and a half years old, in 1786, he danced the minuet during a visit to Helsingborg at a Ball in *Brunnshuset* at Ramlösa with the Colonel von Stauben's wife. From

129 Bergström, p. 139.

130 Johan Fischerström, *En gustaviansk dagbok. Anteckningar för året 1773,* ed. by Gustaf Näsström (Stockholm: Bröderna Lagerström, 1951), p. 48.

this, we gather that the minuet continued to be included in dance lessons from childhood, at least for the noble classes.[131]

The Minuet Danced by 'Lapps' in Northern Sweden, 1780[132]

In Pehr Stenberg's autobiography, we have already learned that minuets were danced in Lapland in northern Sweden. The newspaper *Inrikes-Tidningar* confirms this in a brief note on the 1780 visit to Degerfors by the Russian imperial chamberlain count Georg Rumantzoff. The Count and his company travelled from Vaasa in Finland across the Kvarken to Umeå in Sweden. They continued north to Degerfors Chapel, intending to see 'Lapps and reindeers'. Almost at Degerfors they were met by the teacher Anders Alenius and his brother, *Magister* Carl Alenius, *Rector* of Lycksele Lappmark School. Both were dressed in 'Lapp costume' and came to meet them with reindeer and *ackjor*.[133] After the words of greeting in French, the company continued to Degerfors Prästgård, where some 'Lappish girls and boys in their festive costume presented themselves' to the Count and his company.

After a meal, the company continued for half a mile in the forest to five 'Lappish Households homesteads or *Kåtor*' next to which one hundred reindeer had been gathered from the woods. When the Count had got to know about these people's way of life and presented his gifts, the company returned to the farm of the priest, where the 'Lapp boys and Girls' appeared again and entertained the company by a dance performance of 'Minuet and Pålska, which they danced their way'. The account noted that the group danced 'to the music of a Cymbal, that the Capell Priest himself had prepared and played well'. The following day, the Count and his company continued the trip, first to Härnösand and then to Stockholm.[134]

This example shows that the minuets and polska, the primary dances of the day, were also danced by 'lapps' in northern Sweden. There, the young people were 'called' to entertain the company, and their dance style must have differed in some way from that of the 'upper class' since the writer notes that they danced in 'their own way'. The intention was not to show anything local in terms of dance, as the minuet and polska were the most common dances in Sweden's countryside. Perhaps the purpose was that the performing youth should show

131 *Inrikes-Tidningar*, [Sverige], 24 July 1786.

132 'Lapp' is the term used by Nordic people for the Saami people prior to the twentieth century.

133 *Ackjor* Sledges are sledges pulled by reindeer that were used by the Saami people for reindeers.

134 *Inrikes-Tidningar* [Sverige], 28 February 1780.

their clothes and their jewellery. By dancing, the role of the young people was to put the costumes 'in motion'. My interpretation of the situation is that it was essential for the 'Lapp' people to show, through dance, their status in costumes and jewellery. They sought to display that the youth of the neighbourhood were familiar with the modern dances. Dancing the minuet and polska to cymbal accompaniment was unusual, but this short note confirms that the inhabitants of Lapland danced the same dances as the rural population of Sweden in general.

The Minuet Danced around Finland: in Turku, Satakunta, and Savolax, in the 1780s

The minuets were danced in different regions of Finland in the 1780s. The previously mentioned peasant boy Pehr Stenberg from Västerbotten stayed in Finland, studying at the Åbo Academy between 1779 and 1789. Stenberg had relatives in Turku and was allowed to participate in social life there, sometimes dancing minuets. In the autumn of 1780, he indulged himself by daily attending a dance school run by the city dancing master Carl Friedrich Eckenberg, where he learned 'minuets and contradances'. During the study period, Stenberg supported himself as a tutor, and in 1781 he became a tutor of a mansion in Satakunta in Western Finland, where he danced at weddings, quadrilles as well as minuets.[135]

In Rantasalmi in the province of Savolax, in the heart of Finnish Finland, the Haapaniemi School of Warfare was established in 1781 as the first in Finland. The education was four terms long, and from the beginning, it also included dance. The terms lasted from 1 February to 23 June and from 1 September to 15 December. School work lasted until five p.m. when the meal was eaten. Then the cadets were free until eight p.m. unless their time was taken up by 'gun exercise, dancing or swimming'.

According to the instructions for the War school, section fourteen: 'Dance teachers are summoned at least every second year and are paid by the school's saved funds, after the agreement reached with the teacher'. The dance teachers taught at school every second year and also worked at many other places. The first dance teacher whose name is known was Fredrik Forsmark. Born in Sweden in 1756, he had studied in Uppsala, lived in Stockholm, and had studied dance in France. Samuel Ceder, one of his students, explained in his diary that Forsmark taught dance in Finland, as well as in Russia. Ceder also became an academic dance teacher and city dance teacher in Turku from 1783 until he died in 1804. In

135 Stenberg, pp. 309 and 327.

1806, chamberwriter Herman Johan Wiblingen from Stockholm was appointed dance teacher at the War school.

The dancing masters of Haapaniemi, who also taught fencing, had a lower status than other teachers at the school. This is apparent from the examination rules, which state that the examiner and teacher were allowed to sit during the very long exam process, but the teachers in fencing and dance (and also languages) were required to stand. Later on, language teachers were also allowed to sit during the examination, while the dancing masters still had to stand. The final certificate awarded by the school mentioned that cadets developed strong dancing skills, in addition to insights into German, French, English, and Russian. One of these certificates notes that the cadet in question 'profited from his particular proficiency in body exercises, such as Vaulting, Dancing, Fencing, and Riding'.

In Savolax, an intense Swedish cultural life flourished at this time. Jorois, Saint Michel, and Rantasalmi were called 'Little Paris'. The city of Kuopio, established in 1787, was also an important place for dance. The upper class organised *assemblées* and dance events, in which teachers and students danced 'ornate minuets' and other dances. The cadets from Haapaniemi were sometimes housed with their teachers' families, passing their days with conversations, games, and dancing, 'for the cadets were tireless dancers'. Many officers stayed in Stockholm during the winter and participated in the court's balls and parties. Haapaniemi's last leader, Lieutenant Colonel Y. C. von Fieandt, had participated in the masquerade ball at the opera where a shot injured Gustaf III.

The most modern dances reached Savolax directly from Stockholm. Indeed, the first record of dancing the waltz in Finland, on Christmas Eve 1800, comes from this area. In 1802 King Gustav IV Adolf and Queen Fredrika of Baden visited eastern Finland and the War school, and an assembly was organised in Kuopio to honour the guests. The company included nine musicians, who played the dance music at all the places that the royal couple visited. During the holidays, the cadets stayed in their home areas, where they could spread their new knowledge, including dance.[136]

The minuet also spread to the rural population in the neighbourhood. Although evidence from this area is limited, there is evidence that the minuet was danced by the peasants of central and eastern Finland.[137]

136 Samuel Ceder (1779–1833), Diary, Åbo Akademi University, Manuscript Department; E. S. Tigerstedt, *Haapaniemi krigsskola, dess lärare och elever. Anteckningar, handlingar, bref och matrikel,* ed. by E. S. Tigerstedt (Helsingfors: Söderström, 1910), pp. 82–151; Hirn, pp. 11–13, 119; Ernst Lampén, *Suomea maitse ja meritse* (Helsinki: Otava, 1918), pp. 163–70.

137 Petri Hoppu, *Symbolien ja sanattomuuden tanssi. Menuetti Suomessa 1700-luvulta nykyaikaan* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1999), pp. 187–91.

Tersmeden Still Dancing in Karlskrona, 1784

Once again, I will return to Tersmeden's memoirs. The Admiral, at sixty-eight years old, was by this point an elderly man according to the measure of that time, but his pleasure in dancing had not diminished. On New Year's Day in 1784, the Lieutenant Colonel Eneskiöld gave a big ball and supper for over ninety people from Karlskrona's most prominent social circles. Tersmeden reported that the meal was served in two rooms in different rounds to allow the dancing to continue without a break. After the first round, *generalamiral* af Trolle had suggested that all the admirals with their wives should dance a contradance to prove their wives' vigour. These couples danced 'a sufficiently long contradance', and Tersmeden admitted that he and Trolle 'with our corpulent stomachs' became quite hot. The ladies, too, 'were warm at the end of the dance because they had put as much effort as they could in the waltzing'. People were impressed that Tersmeden, despite his advanced years, could waltz. This 1784 account is the first record I have found of the waltz being danced in Sweden.

A few years later, Tersmeden twice discussed the peasant girls' and peasant boys' dance, without mentioning the types of dances. On Pentecost 27 May 1787, he attended a party in Lyckeby, where a farmers' celebration was arranged. Tersmeden wrote that '40–50 peasant girls and peasant boys danced according to the custom of the country—and it was so animated that the steam came out like smoke from windows as well as doors'. We could ask which were the dances 'according to the custom of the country', but Tersmeden did not answer.

A month later, the company celebrated Midsummer's Day at Count Wachtmeister's at Johanneshus. The Count had 'summoned the all the people at his estate, who, in the evening, were treated and danced around a beautiful maypole erected on the yard, and played a lot of rural people's usual games'. Upper class and 'peasant girls and boys' danced together, which we have already observed several times. Unfortunately, Tersmeden did not mention which dances they danced together. At eleven p.m., Tersmeden and other guests went home, 'while the peasant's games and dances still went on with the full effort'.[138]

Tersmeden's published memoirs end at Christmas 1788. He died in 1797 at eighty-two years old.

138 Tersmeden, *Gustav III och Flottan*, pp. 222–23, 128, 138. The first mention of the waltz occurs in Finland under the name *Waltzen* in an anonymous notebook from 1779; Nallinmaa, p. 272.

The Minuet Danced in Västerbotten, in the 1790s

I now revisit Västerbotten. The peasant Pehr Stenberg returned to his home city after completing his studies and dissertation at the Åbo Academy in Finland, and he became the priest for Umeå from 1792. Stenberg officiated at many weddings but also attended many others simply as a guest. In 1793, after visiting the Nordmalings pastor's farm in order to find a girl to marry, the he and his companions went on a visit to Olofsfors Bruk, where they were received by Inspector Bergmark and his wife, who was raised in Stockholm. The wedding of one the smiths at the mill was underway, and the inspector asked the company to come along. In Stenberg's description of the event, he noted that he danced the minuet with a girl with whom he was in love. He also commented on the proficiency with which the inspector's wife danced the minuet: 'But I have hardly seen anyone dancing the minuet as well as Mrs. Bergmark'.

The same year, he attended the wedding of '*Jungfru* Bergqvist with a non-commissioned officer Ahlqvist'. He and the other guests witnessed what Stenberg called an 'affecting scene' when, towards the end of the evening, the hosts, the elderly official Bergström and his wife, danced the minuet together. Stenberg wrote:

> Seeing a 90-year-old couple who had lived happily together for a couple of years more than for the Golden Wedding, slowly and trembling, slipped to and fro over the floor, and, in mind, imagining the fate they had over such a long time. It was very tender, so that some women were tearful from looking at them, and I was also close to doing the same thing.

We might assume that the official and his wife had learned the minuet in their youth, which means that the minuet was known in Västerbotten since the early 1700s.

In 1795, Stenberg performed a wedding at a farm in Skravesjö, where he mostly spoke with the women and sat with them on the bench or in the chamber. In this, Stenberg demonstrated awareness of his social position when he recorded that he deliberately sat among them in order that everyone who wanted to dance with him would have the chance: 'I did the same at all weddings and kept mostly to the ladies'. Stenberg was expecting to be invited to dance, and he did dance. He probably thought it was an honour for the women to dance with him. According to Stenberg, the minuet was the most common dance in the countryside in the 1790s, but at the assemblies in the city of Umeå, the quadrille was the usual dance, and the minuet was rarely danced.[139]

139 Stenberg, pp. 282, 299–300, 454, 363.

The Minuet Danced in Stockholm in the 1790s and into the Nineteenth Century

The Count, military man, politician, and then *riksmarskalk* [Marshal] Axel von Fersen (1755–1810) also kept a diary. He wrote only sparingly about dancing, and much of his life was spent abroad. In 1770, as a fourteen-year-old, he travelled to Germany to finish his studies. He participated in a ball at the court in Braunschweig. There, von Fersen recorded how the guests danced some 'minuets at the beginning of the ball, and Princess Augusta did me the honour to dance one of them with me', so we see that the princess invited him. Afterwards, the party danced only English dances, and he wrote that 'since I did not know them, I did not dance'. While studying in Uppsala, the young von Fersen had learned minuets but not English dances.

Fig. 5.26 Axel von Fersen, who was complimented for his minuet dance at King Gustav IV Adolf's coronation in 1800. Portrait by Lorenz Pasch the Younger. Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lorenz_Pasch_the_Younger_Count_Hans_Axel_von_Fersen.jpg, public domain.

Von Fersen returned to Sweden in November 1794, then thirty-nine years old. Although he rarely mentioned precisely what was danced, we still can learn something about the dance repertoire in the circles around the court during the last years of the 1790s. On Tuesday, 17 February 1795, he reported about a dinner: 'Dinner and supper with the king, there was a ball, it lasted until half-past 6 a.m., which provoked me a lot I because I had to stay on'. He added: 'They danced awfully'. He did not mention the first dances, which were probably minuets, but he names dances performed later in the evening that I have not found in other diaries I have studied:

> *Kerauesen* and *Gallopaden* went on without stopping from half-past three to half-past six and might have gone on even longer if miss Klingspor(re), a lady waiting for the Duchess, had not fallen under the dance, because she could not breathe. They carried her away unconscious, and it all ended. Then there were only 10 to 12 ladies left, of which seven from the court.[140]

Another account from the same month comes from the Duchess Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta. She also did not describe precise dances but detailed a very full social schedule:

> However, most of the time we have fun with dance, for which at least three or four evenings a week is dedicated, and that will probably continue all the way to Lenten. Monday is opera and then usually a ball in a private house, every second Tuesday I give a ball, Wednesdays the king has a little supper, and then there is sometimes a ball in the society. On Thursdays, there is always a ball at any of the 6 to 7 distinguished families who take turns to give such parties, these begin at 5 and end at 11, and the guests are invited only for refreshments and not for supper. The princess usually visits these events, but, as you know, I never do. Every second Friday is a ball is held by the princess and all Saturdays one by the king. She gives a ball the week when it has not been danced at my place.[141]

These balls and other dance events were significant and occurred at least three or four times a week. The Duchess did not attend balls held in private houses; she hosted one every other week.

After the death of Gustaf III, the throne was taken over by Crown Prince Gustav IV Adolf when he had come of age in 1796. Sweden's foreign policy recommended an alliance with Russia by way of a marriage between the new King and Princess Alexandra, the daughter of the Russian Emperor Katarina II. So, in 1796, the king went with Duke Karl and two other gentlemen to St. Petersburg to propose. To mark their arrival, a ball was held. It opened with a minuet danced by two couples: the king with the grand duchess Elisabeth (the wife of grand duke Alexander) and Duke Karl with the grand duchess Anna (the wife of grand duke Constantin). The King and Duke Karl had invited the women to the first minuet. The two grand duchesses, once they had danced, invited the

140 Axel von Fersen, *Dagbok* I, ed. by Alma Söderhjelm (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1925), p. 19; Axel von Fersen, *Dagbok* II, ed. by Alma Söderhjelm (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1926), pp. 269–70.

141 Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta of Holstein-Gottorp, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas Dagbok.* V 1795–1796, trans. and ed. by Cecilia af Klercker (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1923), p. 22.

other two gentlemen in the Swedish company, 'the barons Reuterholm and von Essen' for the second minuet. After the two minuets, contradances were danced.

Despite this ceremonial display, the tour to propose in St. Petersburg failed. The king eventually married Fredrika of Baden in 1797. Their union was celebrated extensively in Stockholm:

> On the 12th of November at 6 in the afternoon, a *Bal Paré* was in the *Rikssalen* when the court was dressed in Gala. The king took the pleasure to start the bale with a Minuet with Her Majesty the Queen, and then with her Royal Highness the Duchess of Södermanland, and then with Her Royal Highness the Princess. The queen danced the Minuet with their Royal Highnesses, the Dukes of Södermanland and of Östergötland. Subsequently, a Quadrille followed which the King danced with the Queen, the Duke of Södermanland with the Royal Princesse, The Duke of Östergötland with the Duchess of Södermanland, Lord Greve Magnus Ericsson Brahe with the former *Stats-Frun* Countess Stanislas Sparre, after which cavaliers and ladies were allowed to dance and continue the ball, which lasted till 10 o'clock, when dining took place at the table.[142]

At this celebration, the king danced three minuets in which he and his partner were the only couple on the floor. The queen then invited others to participate in two minuets, perhaps more. After that, a quadrille was danced by the most distinguished, and then the others were allowed to enter the dance floor.

The Queen's first child, one son, was born in 1799, and her churching was celebrated with a ball given by the bourgeoisie at the Börsen. Axel von Fersen explained: 'When we entered the hall, a march and then a minuet was played, but neither the king nor the queen cared for dancing but sat down in their armchairs when the contradances began'. The king and the queen had danced the minuet; it was when the contradances began that they were finally seated. Perhaps because the ball was held by bourgeoisie, the Royals could decide not to join in the contradances.

At the opening of the *Riksdag* in Norrköping the following year, in 1800, more minuets were danced. Von Fersen recorded:

> The king danced with the queen and then with the wives Brahe, Carl Piper, and Claes Wachtmeister. The queen first danced with the ambassador, then with Chancellor, the Seneschal, and gentlemen Brahe, Wachtmeister, Carl Adam, Ruuth, Essen, me, and Claes Wachtmeister.

The king danced four minuets and the queen at least twelve. A newspaper shows that one couple at a time danced these minuets. The king danced first; then, the

142 *Inrikes-Tidningar*, [Sverige], 6 September 1796, 14 November 1797.

queen continued to dance. Von Fersen carefully followed how 'everyone' danced. He considered that 'the minuets were generally badly danced'. Two gentlemen had made themselves ridiculous, namely, the *Riksmarskalk* Oxenstierna and Count Claes Wachtmeister, 'for they performed with pretention'. About his own ability to dance the minuet and about the skills of the royal couple, he wrote:

> My vanity was flattered by the compliments from all directions, which I received for my minuets, both from men and ladies. The king does not dance well, but the queen so much better, and she was charming but so tired at the end, she could hardly stand on her feet. She was dizzy at the table but remained through the whole supper; it is incomprehensible that she, as ill as she was, could endure all these tiring ceremonies.
>
> The queen danced the minuet with von Fersen. He does not name his other dance partners. Since he had so many compliments from all directions for his dance, and because he talked about 'tiring ceremonies,' he must have danced quite a number of them.

In von Fersen's diary, I find that a ball taking place in February 1805 started with the polonese, rather than the minuet. It was a great ball that the garrison gave for the King in the *Børshallen* with nearly seven hundred guests, nobility, and citizens in attendance. The king, the queen, and the whole royal family arrived at the ball at seven o'clock. Von Fersen wrote:

> A great polonese with words suitable for the moment would open the ball. I would open it with the *riksrådinnan* De Geer but the king with the duchess, the queen with the duke, and the princess with the *riksdrotsen* came and took place in front and joined in the dance.

It seems that von Fersen was overridden: he was supposed to open the ball with the polonese, however, the Royals took their place in front. Nevertheless, von Fersen seems to have enjoyed himself, writing that 'Their Majesties retired at 10 p.m. and the princesses at half-past twelve, but the ball continued until 6 a.m. It was gorgeous and well organised'.[143]

143 Axel von Fersen, *Dagbok* IV, ed. by Alma Söderhjelm (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1936), pp. 50, 95–96, 426; *Fahlu Weckoblad*, 3 May 1800.

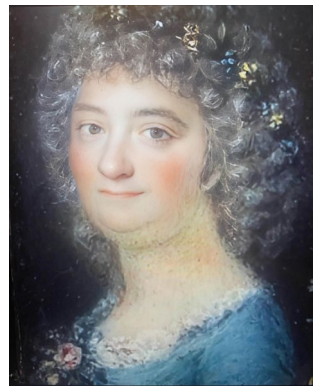

Fig. 5.27 Miniature portrait of Märta Helena Reenstierna, Årstafrun (1796). Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maerta_Helena_Reenstierna.jpg, public domain.

From another diary that spans the turn of the nineteenth century, we learn that the minuet was danced in private contexts in ordinary upper-class homes. Its writer is Märta Helena Reenstierna (1753–1841), known as Årstafrun [the Årsta lady]. She lived at Årsta farm in the Brännkyrka parish south of Stockholm. She started her diary in 1793 when she was forty years old and had been married to Christian Henrik von Schnell (1733–1811) for eighteen years. She had given birth to eight children, but only one, her son Hans Abraham, reached adulthood. Her husband was twenty years older and did not appear to enjoy social life and dance much. Årstafrun, on the other hand, enjoyed the social life and sometimes mentioned which dances she danced and with whom she danced.

Her diaries are extensive, and the three published volumes include only a fraction of her daily notes. Although information about dance appears to be scant in the published diaries, they nonetheless paint a picture of the dance repertoire in private contexts. Årstafrun danced infrequently, but it must be remembered that, when hosting events at her own house, she had other tasks to consider. This could explain why she could not participate in the dancing.[144]

144 Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken* I. Diaries from 1793–1812, ed. by Sigurd Erixon, Arvid Stålhane, and Sigurd Wallin. Selection and explanations by Gunnar Broman (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1993); Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*, II. Diaries from 1813-1825 (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1993); Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken* III. Diaries from 1826–39 (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1993). Since the published manuscript spans represent only a fraction of the diaries, it is possible that Årstafrun danced much more than we now know. A later edition of Årstafrun's hidden diaries, published by Kristina Ekero Eriksson in 2010 is also not complete. It gives virtually no information about what dances Årstafrun herself danced.

In August 1793, she, her husband, and her surviving son attended a dinner and evening meal at the home of goldsmith Vesterstråle. Two of the guests entertained the others with music on harmonics, violin, and transverse flute, 'when we also danced some minuets' until midnight. At the beginning of the following year, the fourteen-year-old son took lessons from a dancing master named Berner. There was often dancing at social events, and the diary writer noted some specific information about the dances. At one point, she wrote that a cheerful '*slängpolska*' was danced in a farmhouse and, another time, a 'farewell polska'. One New Year's Day, she danced eight to nine contradances. She also mentioned that her son saw the torch dance, and, at a wedding, she danced four quadrilles herself. In February 1802, we have a record that she danced a waltz with a Mr. Seipel, a man she did not know. Unfortunately, the Årstafrun did not mention when she had learned the waltz in any published manuscript.

In addition, the family often received guests at Årsta farm. On New Year's Eve 1796, they hosted a total of twenty-six people, an amount 'which filled a long table':

> In the afternoon we first played Christmas games and towards 6 o'clock came a musician, the caretaker Törnblad, when the ball was opened with Polska, then minuet and finally Contradances, which continued until 10 o'clock, when the evening meal was served, and then a farewell *pour purie* was danced, after which all looked happy when they went home, and I was as well quite tired of much household trouble as well as of some quite good dancing, and we did not go to bed until after 2 a.m.

The dance started with Polska, then the minuet was danced and finally contradances. What is meant by 'a farewell pour purie' is hard to ascertain.

Among the guests was the family Bille. The Reenstierna family celebrated New Year's Eve with them two years later, in 1798, at a large party. Märta wrote, 'At. 6 o'clock came three musicians, bad players, drunk and sleepy, despite this we danced quadrilles, Minuets, and Polska dances. I danced six quadrilles and four minuets'. In March 1800, the family had about fifteen guests on a Saturday. At this gathering an unknown Mr. Engström played the key harp, and the company danced 'Minuet, *Linvävardans* [Linen weaver dance] and some really good polska dances'.

In January 1801, the family had dinner with the merchant Lars Viborg, where there were seventeen people at the table. In the evening, a large number of additional guests arrived, whom Årstafrun did not know. The dance began at five o'clock p.m., and she came home twelve hours later. She reflected, 'I did not dance more than ten quadrilles and four minuets, so I was not the least tired, and out of these 14 dances I danced three quadrilles and a minuette with

kamrer [administrative officer] Vilskman'. Fourteen dances may not seem a small amount from today's perspective, but it may be that dancing with the twenty-five-year-old *kamrer* Vilskman invigorated her. When Lars Viborg's kitchen maid celebrated her wedding in October that same year, the party danced until three a.m. On that occasion, Årstafrun danced only one polska with *kamrer* Vilskman and, additionally, three quadrilles.

In March 1802, the Reenstierna family had invited the *actuarian* [actuary] Rylander, his wife and son, and Rylander's two brothers for dinner. One brother, Lieutenant Pehr Rylander, played and the other brother, Lieutenant Carl Johan Rylander, danced 'a Waltz and a Minuet' with Årstafrun. This was her final mention of the minuet and her first of the waltz, but her notes about dance become increasingly spare. In April 1804, she danced four quadrilles, and she also mentioned '*an Englois*'. Her husband died in 1811 and her son the following year. She was then fifty-nine years old. She continued to write a diary until the end of 1839, but there is no mention of dances in the published volumes.

Her diary reveals that the minuet had no particular position as the first dance at a private party but was danced instead as a general dance. The host in the house did not dance, but it is hard to say if this mattered. The writer only mentioned which dances she had danced, never giving an account of the entire dance repertoire. When she hosted guests at the house at the Årsta farm, she sometimes explained that she could not dance because she had to be in the kitchen. Among the musicians who played minuets, she mentioned an usher, a carpenter, a lieutenant, and some others who were 'drunk, sleepy and bad'.

In conclusion, we have seen that the minuet was danced in Sweden–Finland from the late seventeenth throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. The minuet was danced as general dance by all classes of society. It served the role of a ceremonial dance but became a general dance before it began to fall out of use.

The Minuet in Sweden after 1800

As has been discussed previously, Sweden and Finland were parts of the same kingdom until the year 1809. In the war between Sweden and Russia in 1808–09, Sweden lost its eastern constituent Finland, which became an autonomous grand principality of the Russian Empire until 1917. In the following section, Sweden is examined separately, and I will return to Finland in another section.

Until around 1800, the minuet was danced in Sweden by royalty and circles close to the court, by the upper classes, and by the rural population. After this point, the minuet declined quite quickly among the upper class.

Sources of information about upperclass dance in the eighteenth century are mainly memoirs and diaries, and during the nineteenth century, the minuet was no longer mentioned in these. One such example of a diary from the beginning of the nineteenth century where the minuet is absent from the record is that of the Malla Montgomery-Silfverstolpe, composed between 1795 and 1830. She was born in 1782 and began to keep a diary when she was thirteen years old. Her memoirs were published in 1908 along with notes about her texts. Montgomery-Silfverstolpe attended countless events that included dancing, but she rarely mentioned which dances she danced. When dancing is discussed, the minuet was not one of those listed. Of course, we must be cautious about drawing firm conclusions from this, as it is difficult to know what has been omitted by the publication editors.

Some information about minuet dances in the upper class was published later, however. On one occasion, the minuet was danced at a golden wedding anniversary in Enköping in 1825 by the guests of honour—a seventy-year-old wife and her seventy-eight-year-old husband. The wife's niece wrote:

> After taking coffee, they [musicians] played up to dance, which the old bridal couple opened themselves. Polska and minuets alternated with each other. The city mayor and the town's doctor stood out particularly in the later dance, which made me great pleasure.[145]

This upper-class party, as in the middle of the eighteenth century, included alternating polska and minuets. The ball was opened with a minuet danced only by the couple who were the most honoured among the company. Guests danced the minuet, which shows that it was still used when older people gathered. The niece thought the minuet 'made her great pleasure,' which could be interpreted to mean that she did not dance it herself.

In the rural environment, the minuet in Sweden was danced until the nineteenth century. Pehr Stenberg's autobiography once again serves as an important source. We have seen that he danced the minuet in different parts of Västerbotten during the 1770s and 1790s and that the minuet was used as far north as Torneå on the Finnish side. This continued into the nineteenth century. In December 1806, Stenberg described being in the wedding of some servants. There he danced 'above all minuets'.[146] We might interpret this to indicate that another type of dancing, in addition to the minuet, was also performed at this celebration.

145 *Svenska Memoarer och Bref Utgifna av Henrik Schück och Oscar Levertin.* Band X. Ur Clas Flemings papper (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1906), p. 164.

146 Stenberg, p. 432.

Minuet dancing sources from the nineteenth century are considerably fewer than those from the eighteenth century. Folklore narratives and archival material, which consists of answers to questionnaires, shows that the minuet was danced in some places into the 1830s and that memories of the minuet endured for the rest of the century.

In Småland, the 'very oldest' members of the community danced the minuet into the 1820s. This is evident from the notes of the farmer Lasses in Lassaberg (Lars Andersson, b. 1808) from Unnaryd. He described customs, including weddings, and seeing the minuet danced by the elders. Andersson wrote about the dance at the wedding:

> Now finally, the so-called 'bride dance'. First, the bridal couple dance with each other, then the priest with the bride, next the bridegroom with the priest's wife, and then others, one after another. No one could avoid the bridal dance. If someone was unable to dance, he or she still had to walk around [the dancefloor] with the groom or the bride. This [custom] stretched as far as the ability of a child could permit [...] The oldest had a dance called 'minnewett'. It was quite ridiculous to see. I saw it once danced by persons of 70 to 80 years of age. It went exceptionally slowly because they would regularly make steps against each other.[147]

The bridal dance, a ceremonial dance, appears to have been danced by one pair at a time, until all the guests had danced. Andersson was a young man when he saw the minuet, and the dance seemed ridiculous to him. The couple seemed to him to make endless movements with their feet turned towards each other. From this account, we also see that this minuet was danced slowly.

From Västmanland, an account indicates that the minuet had fallen out of use in the 1820s because it describes a wedding where the bride danced a Polska as with the priest as the first dance. The bride danced a polska with the groom and, after that, the same dance with the groom's relatives. This record explicitly states that the minuet was hardly danced after 1830.[148] From this brief mention, we cannot determine whether the minuet had ever been the first dance at a wedding or used merely as a general dance in this community.

Nils Persson, from Vallkärra (north of Lund), recalled in 1940 that his mother had danced for him when he was a little boy, and his father had written down

147 Nils-Arvid Bringéus, *Unnarydsborna. Lasses i Lassaberg Anteckningar om folklivet i södra Unnaryd vid 1800-talets början*, Nordiska museets handlingar 68 (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1967), pp. 124–25, 150, 170; G. Djurklou, *Unnarboarnes seder och lif. Efter Lasse i Lassaberg Anteckningar* (Unnaryd: [n.pub.], 1874), p. 56.

148 Erik Bore, *Bärgmanslif i Början af 1800-Talet. Anteckningar från Nora och Lindes bärgslager,* Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen och svenskt folklif V.7 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1891), p. 21.

the story. Dance researcher Börje Wallin in Helsingborg located the narrative. I reproduce it here:

> My mother danced a dance for me when I was really small. She called it *Möllavillan*, and it was very ornate and delicate. She sang a particular melody to it too, but I do not remember it. However, she first walked out on the floor, so she got a lot of space. Then she put one leg behind the other and curtseyed as the gentry used to do. Then she walked one step forward and one back, she like balancing or swaying. Then she walked a step with one foot, putting the other beside, one step with the other foot, put the other next to it, and so on. Then she walked around pretending to hold someone else, holding her hands high up in the air. Then she took a step to the side and the other foot past and then stopped. Then the same way in the other direction. Then to the right again and back. My dad wrote down these lines at old age, so I know more or less how it was. He said he had not seen anyone else than mom dancing this dance. After the steps to the side, she made the same step forward and then danced around again. Everything went very slowly and nicely. She stopped almost every step and looked around. I do not think there was more than this. At least, Dad did not remember more, and neither did I.[149]

Persson was born in Vallkärra in 1865, and his father, who documented the memory, was born in 1829. The mother whose dancing is described was born in 1840, so she would likely have learned the minuet in the 1850s, which shows that the minuet was still danced at that time. Alternatively, she may have learned the minuet in a dance school. The father had not danced the minuet, and he had not seen anyone other than his wife dancing it, so it follows that the minuet could not have been widely known. The mother's dance shared features with the ordinary minuet from 1700: she began dancing in the middle of the floor and made the traditional greetings, she followed the musical rhythm with its breaks, she danced around in the middle of the minuet with her arms up, and she turned in both directions.

The folk researcher Eva Vigström, who gathered information about the folklife in Skåne on behalf of the Nordic Museum in 1880, did not find any information about how the minuet was danced. Her conclusion is that: 'At this time, the minuet, here called '*mellevett*', fought its last fight against the intruding *anglä*s'.[150]

149 The quote according to Börje Wallin's granddaughter Anna Björk.

150 Eva Vigström, 'Folkseder i Östra Göinge härad i Skåne', in *Bidrag till Vår Odlings Häfder*, ed. by Artur Hazelius, 2. Ur De Nordiska folkens lif 1 (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1881), pp. 49–74 (pp. 63–64).

Mandelgren Describing and Documenting

Nils Månsson Mandelgren, a Swedish ethnologist (1813–99) born in the Väsby parish in Luggudde in Skåne, depicted the life of the local people in watercolours, drawings, and notes of various kinds; he even gave some information about dances. In an article from 1882, he explained how, in the 1820s, the minuet was one of the usual dances of the peasants at ordinary dance events. Mandelgren described Christmas parties in Luggudde and what was danced there:

> The most commonly used dances were *slängpolskor*, waltz, and minuet, called the '*Möllevitten*' since seamen from Mölle fishing village introduced it. This last dance was a pantomime, in which a declaration of love was performed in an enjoyable manner. *Hallingen* was also danced, but much agility was required. In this dance or polska, the boy made high leaps and hit the heels together one or more times during the same jump, and when he turned his lady around, he sometimes threw his leg over her head. However, in the face of these daring movements, the beat of the dance must be carefully maintained.[151]

Mandelgren said that the most common dances were the '*slängpolska*, waltz, and minuet'. The lattermost was considered a pantomime because it seemed to involve the dancers making an amusing declaration of love. Coincidentally, the dance researcher Volker Saftien characterizes the nineteenth-century minuet in the same way, saying that it, more than in any other Baroque dance, suggests a subtle erotic proposal because it involves the couples' approach and retreat from one another and the couple turning along the Z-axis.[152]

The Mandelgren collection is located at the Folklife Archives of Lund University. Among its items is a 'register' of old dances that contains his vague description of the minuet. Judging by the elaborate handwriting typical of that time, the document was probably written around 1830, when Mandelgren worked as a decorative painter of his home village's farmhouses. Later, in about 1865 (to judge from the writing), he made various comments about dance. For example, he mentioned the '*polsk-menuett*', wrote that the '*Pålsk-Mölevitt* is first Polska and then *Mölevit*', and stated 'After the Minuet, they always danced a Polska'. In my view, the latest of these may refer to the custom that the minuet

151 Nils Månsson Mandelgren, 'Julen hos allmogen i Kullen i Skåne på 1820-talet', in *Bidrag till Vår odlings häfder 2*, ed. by Artur Hazelius. Ur de nordiska folkens lif 1 (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1882), pp. 1–19 (pp. 17–18). From his manuscript in Folklife Archives in Lund, it appears that the text is written in early youth and that he processed the long-awaited.

152 Volker Saftien, *Ars Saltandi. Der Europäische Gesellschaftstanz im Zeiteralter der Renaissance und des Barock* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1994), p. 353.

was danced as the ceremonial dance at a wedding and was followed by the polska. When listing a dance repertoire on a paper marked 1865, he mentioned 'Möllevetten (minuet)'. From Mandelgren's notes, I glean the impression that two types of minuets had been used in Skåne.[153]

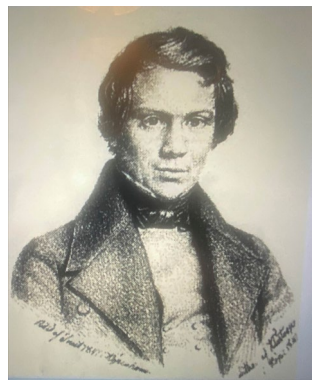

Fig. 5.28 Nils Månsson Mandelgren as a young man (1845). Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mandelgren_1845.jpg, public domain.

Later still, Mandelgren showed more substantial interest in the minuet. During the 1860s, he had translated from German into Swedish two descriptions of how the minuet was performed, how it had originated, and that it was a court dance. One of the original texts he utilized was the first edition of *Katechismus der Tanzkunst* (1863) by Bernhard Klemm. The other was *Grundsätze der Aesthetische Bildung des Menschlichen Körpers* by Oskar Guttmann. Mandelgren did not indicate a year for this work, but its first edition was published in 1865. From both books, he also copied drawings that represented the minuet. Whether he traced these or redrew them freehand cannot be determined, but the pictures look very much the same.[154] It is also unclear whether Mandelgren had already does this translation work when his article was published in 1882. Perhaps he had planned to publish his notes on the minuet in his home region.

153 Biskop, *Menuetten*, pp. 101–5; Mandelgren's collection, Folklife Archives (LUF), Lund University: 366, 362b, 363, 363b, 364. Thank you to the archive manager Göran Sjögård and Anna Björk at the Svenskt visarkiv for the production of the material.

154 Biskop, *Menuetten*, pp. 101-5. Mandelgren's collection: Arkivnr. Mand 2:12–76:76, 2:12–78:78, 2:12–79:79.

Evidence from Other Archives

Many people around Sweden held memories of the minuet in the twentieth century, as is evident from data in other archives. Some memories were collected by soliciting responses to questionnaires; others were recorded in some other context. The Dialekt and Folkminnesarkivet (ULMA) sent questionnaires to people in Uppsala in 1932 and the Nordic Museum (NM) to other groups during the 1940s.[155] Some respondents reported what they remembered of the dance. Others recounted the dance repertoire of older times. Some people recalled that the minuet had been danced as late as the 1870s.

From the province of Skåne, Olof Eriksson (b. 1883) replied to the questionnaire with a description of a situation in which he had been involved:

> Minuet, I have seen dancing as *Äredans* [dance of honour], here in Höganäs 1919 (or around that time). It happened at a farewell party for the old boss of Höganäs. The participants in the minuet were in costumes, and the dance was performed immediately after dinner. The honour was well placed, and the couples repeatedly expressed their reverence for him during the dance.

When Eriksson explained that the dancers were costumed, he probably meant that they were dressed in eighteenth-century clothes and that the entire event mimicked a ball from Louis XIV's time. The boss, the 'target for the honour,' could have the position of 'king'. I do not think that people were wearing folk costumes. Although his narrative is not clear on this point, it shows, importantly, that the minuet was still danced in the early twentieth century. It is hard to know if the minuet had been a current tradition until then, or if it was taught by a dancing master especially for the occasion. I think that the latter is the more likely.

Many people replied to questionnaires from the province of Västergötland. One person told us that the minuet did not occur at the turn of the century, 'but the old people spoke of it as a mansion dance, the youth could not dance it'. Another person mentioned that it was danced occasionally, and a third wrote that at weddings, they danced first a bridal polska and then the minuet. A fourth person listed the repertoire and reported that, in the past, they danced the 'Waltz, *Slängpolska*, English, *Rill* and Minuet'. We will recall that the poet

155 Biskop, *Menuetten*, pp. 105–7; Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore (ULMA), Uppsala, 11151a, 14831, 2176: II, 3042, 35 222, 6659, 8192, kort 2, kort 5, kort 282; Nordic Museum (NM), Stockholm, NM III Danser I, NM III Danser 2, NM III Danser 3, NM III Danser 4, NM III Danser EU, NM nr 44.

Johan Runius, born in Västergötland in 1679, described 'making S on the floor' when he wrote about the minuet in the early 1700s.

In the province of Bohuslän, a woman (b. 1880) wrote to say that the 'Polska, minuet, and *rellen* or *Schottis* were often danced', while another wrote that the minuet was danced in the 1860s and 1870s. A third person said:

> The minuet has not totally disappeared, it was danced only two to three decades ago. It was a so-called couple dance and was considered a nice dance. It appeared on distinguished balls and more prestigious events, the term 'millevitt' was used.

This account, from the 1940s, may indicate that the dance was still in use after 1910.

In the province of Blekinge, a man (b. 1862) said that the minuet was not common but was well known. It was danced in the 1880s mostly among the gentry. He had seen it danced and explained:

> A beautiful dance, this couple danced it in pairs as well as solo, during the solo dance, the lady held up the long dress with her hands, at her knee height, during which her feet kept the beat moving forward and backed against her partner, as I was said, a beautiful dance and I can not describe all of its movement.

We have earlier noted from Tersmeden's diaries that the minuet was a very usual dance in Karlskrona in Blekinge in the 1700s.

From the province of Uppland, one respondent wrote that 'During the 1870s the minuet was danced'. I have previously described evidence from Uppland about minuet dances from the 1700s, in the upper class, and among the peasants, for example, from the Uppsala region and from Väddö.

In the province of Värmland, a man answered the 1932 questionnaire with a list of the present dance repertoire: 'Older dances like waltz, Polska, Jössehäradspolska, Polka, renländer, mazurka, and minuet. They dance, however, increasingly modern dances like jazz, *jumpa,* and foxtrot'. A second account from this region confirmed that the minuet was danced there into the 1900s.

In the province of Småland, a woman (b. 1881) wrote that the '[m]inuet was probably danced by the "previous" generation, in a gentry environment, I often heard of that dance as a child, but cannot remember it'.

From the province of Västerbotten, a response to the 1932 questionnaire stated that the dance repertoire in Degerfors was the 'Polska, Waltz, Schottis, English, Kadrilj, and Minuet'. In Norsjö, the dances that occurred at Christmas were the quadrille, *tre man engelska*, minuet, and *Hamburger*. From Vännäs, a

person wrote about a wedding: 'After dinner, the dance took place. Earlier they danced, among other things, 'minuette, and "katrilj" [quadrille]', furthermore the bear dance and the lapp dance appeared'.

In the province of Norrbotten, it was reported that the youth in Överluleå danced the waltz, hambo, polska, polkett, kadrilj, minuet and foxtrot. From Edefors, one wrote that the old dances were the minuet, *stopp,* and English. In Nederluleå, it was mentioned that the first dance at a wedding in the 1840s was a kadrilj, danced by four couples. Other dances that were listed from Nederluleå were the waltz, kadrilj, hamburger, minuet, and *angläsvals*. From Norrbotten, we can add the information from Pehr Stenberg's diaries that the minuet was danced in Torneå on the Finnish side in the 1770s.

Generally speaking, the minuet in Sweden seems to have been more viable in the northern parts of the country than in the southern regions. If we think about the fact that the Gulf of Bothnia over the years has been a uniting link between Sweden and Finland, we might see a connection with the viable minuet in the province of Ostrobothnia in Finland.

Concluding Remarks

The minuet reached its zenith in Sweden and the eastern part of Finland in the 1700s. The minuet is not referred to as 'new' in any source: the minuet had been danced long before it was mentioned in the archives. The minuet took on different roles based on the social order of those participating. For the upper class, it was partly ceremonial—a dance used for opening their balls according to a ranking order—and partly used as a general dance at the ball. Among the peasantry, or among the rural population, the minuet was also partly a ceremonial dance—appearing as the first one in the wedding—and partly a general dance. It can be noted that the minuet was danced in Sweden from the late 1600s until the nineteenth century and was still known in the twentieth century.

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