WALTZING THROUGH EUROPE
Attitudes towards Couple Dances in the Long Nineteenth-Century

From ‘folk devils’ to ballroom dancers, this volume explores the changing reception of fashionable couple dances in Europe from the eighteenth century onwards. A refreshing intervention in dance studies, this book brings together elements of historiography, cultural memory, folklore, and dance across comparatively narrow but markedly heterogeneous localities. Rooted in investigations of often newly discovered primary sources, the essays afford many opportunities to compare sociocultural and political reactions to the arrival and practice of popular rotating couple dances, such as the Waltz and the Polka. Leading contributors provide a transnational and affective lens onto strikingly diverse topics, ranging from the evolution of Roman couple dances in Croatia, and Strauss’s visits to Hamburg and Altona in the 1830s, to dance as a tool of cultural preservation and expression in twentieth-century Finland.

Waltzing Through Europe creates openings for fresh collaborations in dance historiography and cultural history across fields and genres. It is essential reading for researchers of dance in central and northern Europe, while also appealing to the general reader who wants to learn more about the vibrant histories of these familiar dance forms.

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Cover image: A drunken scene in a dancing hall with a sly customer eyeing a young girl. Coloured etching by G. Cruikshank, 1848, after himself. Wellcome Collection, CC BY.

Cover design: Anna Gatti
1. The Round Dance Paradigm

Egil Bakka

This book explores the European phenomenon of rotating couple dances, such as the Waltz and the Polka, which, for much of the nineteenth century, were collectively known as round dances. My introduction is divided into three sections: the first presents a brief survey of round dances as dance structures and forms, proposes terminological approaches, and discusses how the dances were situated historically and geographically. The second section reviews the current state of knowledge and research with reference to selected principal works, before the third and final section introduces and contextualises the new studies of round dances that constitute the main body of this book.

Structures and Forms — Geography and History

Round dances are a group of dances that rose to fame with the Waltz around 1800 and stayed in fashion until the end of the nineteenth century. Although they had lost their fashionable status by the twentieth century, some of these dances remained popular in many countries alongside the new African-American\(^1\) dances such as the Tango and Foxtrot throughout the twentieth century. The round dance group includes dances such as the Waltz, the Polka, the Mazurka, and the Schottische, many of which are recorded in the manuals of dancing masters, but there are also forms that developed and spread independently from the masters.\(^2\) Much of the material about these dances is available to us

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1 I use the term American to mean dances with influences from both North and South America.

2 Henning Urup, Henry Sjöberg, and Egil Bakka, eds, Gammaldans i Norden: Komparativ analyse av ein folkeleg dansegren i utvalde nordiske lokalsamfunn — Rapport
through their continued practice, as well as in documentation, such as films, mainly from the twentieth century. This can augment historical sources. We contend that the round dance group has a profile that allows us to delimit and study it as a relatively cohesive phenomenon in terms of structure and form. The way it is situated historically and geographically also contributes to its cohesiveness.

This does not mean that the term ‘round dance’ exists wherever these dances are performed; nor are they always understood as a group. The aim of this section is to describe and discuss this contended cohesiveness and to enable the reader to understand the various dance practices whose reception is scrutinised in this book. The authors are all European and write about European countries, and, for the sake of making the task manageable, the book is restricted to Europe. There is a vast amount of material about round dance forms outside Europe, as well as non-European descriptions of and reactions to them. They spread very rapidly to the Americas and Australia but also to other parts of the world that had large diasporas or populations of European descent. However, this discussion lies outside the scope of the present volume.

Structure of the Material

Round dances as considered here constitute a repertoire of social dances practised in most countries of Europe, and our diverse group of contributors generally write about the countries from which they come.

To name cultural elements is a very complex process, not least when colloquial terms and expert terminology meet in a historical context. To describe and discuss a large body of dances, it is necessary to establish sharp and well-defined terminology. What we propose here does not aim to be universally applicable, but it will offer a way of defining, thinking about and understanding the movement material we are going to discuss.

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3 Movement material refers to the movement patterns that can be observed when people dance, and which have been stored on film, in notation or in descriptions, and can therefore be studied.
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Dance Type — Realisation — Concept — Event

The term *dance type* will be used to mean a movement pattern that reoccurs during the social dances of a community. Typically, this refers to the dances in a local repertoire, for instance, the Waltz, the Polka, the Mazurka, and the Schottische. The community members conceive each reoccurrence as a realisation of the same dance and usually identify the pattern by a name, ‘they dance the Waltz again’. In simple terms, the dance types in a local community are the dances for which the locals have names. By starting at this level, and the names used in such a context, we have a concrete and precise point of departure for developing grounded definitions.

The community members will often consider similar dance forms in other communities as the same dance type as theirs. Researchers can base similar contentions upon more careful analysis, with more systematic tools to survey larger amounts of data. Then they can use the term *dance type* in their research terminology, considering many local dance types to belong to a regional dance type in order to systematise variation within a geographical area. In Norway, the local types of Mazurka on the eastern side of the country are distinctively different from the local types in other areas, so they represent different regional types. Waltz, Vals or Walzer might be the name for an item in a local repertoire, but it can also be used as a research term for an internationally known dance type with shared characteristics and patterns of variation.

The term *realisation* will be used for the actual dancing of a certain local dance type. So, when Peter dances a local Polka type three times at a dance party, and considers them all to be the same Polka, he has danced three realisations of the local Polka. The term *dance concept* will be used to mean ‘the potential of skills, understanding, and knowledge that enables an individual or a dance community to dance that particular [local dance type] and to recognise and relate to each particular realisation of it’.

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about the Polka) that enables him to dance the Polka in accordance with his own and his fellow dancer’s understanding of what a Polka is. The concept usually includes variations, so that even if Peter dances a bit differently each time, he and the others still consider it to be the local Polka.

The dance parties are typical examples of *dance events* for social dancing, and when we talk about the reception of the round dances, we do not refer to the dance movements or music as independent ‘texts’ standing on their own. The places, occasions, intentions and whole layout of their realisation make up the complete texts with which we must engage, as argued by Owe Ronström. This book will focus on events at which a group defined by their social class, their geographical situation or regular interaction of other kinds come together to dance for pleasure or to fulfil their social duties. There are, of course, dance events that treat dance theatrically, and dance events where theatrical elements and non-theatrical dancing merge in many ways. Our focus here is on dance events that do not split the practitioners formally into audience and performers. Here, realisations play out through named dances, and, in accordance with the conventions of the ruling dance concepts, their constraints can operate differently. At the dancing master’s ball, the master tries to impose his conventions and a strict layout as best he can, but when the peasants dance outdoors, the realisations are still based upon valid dance concepts and the layout of conventions. The latter might be more flexible and less strict, and the consequences for breaking some of them might be less, but they still depend upon the unwritten norms of the group in question.

**Dance Form — Dance Paradigm**

The term *dance form* will be used to mean the total content of movement and music, of a dance realisation or a local dance concept or dance type, including all the constituent elements and their interrelations.

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We will apply the term *dance paradigm* to the phenomenon we are investigating, i.e., round dances. I originally proposed to use this term to signify a set of basic and constitutive conventions that govern the organisation of a specific kind of dancing and provide an ongoing basis for its practice.\(^6\) I suggest that the following criteria constitute a new dance paradigm:

1. When a set of conventions for the design and organisation of dancing are so radically different from what is already in use that they are perceived as something completely new in the place where they take root.

2. When the set of conventions is stable enough to remain in use over a long period of time, for instance half a century, and is inspirational and fruitful enough to give rise to a large number of dances.

3. When a group of characteristics can be used to define which dances belong to the paradigm, although no characteristic is necessary or sufficient to include all dances of the paradigm (polythetic classification).\(^7\)

4. Not all dance forms necessarily belong to a specific paradigm. Each realisation needs to be assessed to determine whether it is an instance of a certain paradigm.

This book deals with a dance paradigm that conquered a large number of European dance floors and dance spaces and became dominant during the nineteenth century: the round dance.

Oskar Bie divided the history of European fashionable dancing—as promoted by the dancing masters—into three eras: Italian styles held sway until the early seventeenth century; French and English dances were dominant until the beginning of the nineteenth century; and, finally, German and Slavic styles were preeminent until the start of the twentieth century. This model has certain similarities with our paradigm model, in that we argue the round dances sprang from German and


Slavic roots in the nineteenth century. Common roots or origins could, in fact, be seen as another criterion for dance paradigms, although we do not adopt it here.

In conclusion, we deal with the round dances as social dances, whether in the ballrooms of the upper classes, in the hands of the dancing masters or at the parties among the lower classes, and the term dance type links them to their concrete use at any kind of dance party. We then place large numbers of similar dance types into groups at regional or international level, in order to survey the material. The third level is the paradigm, and we do not use terms such as dance families or dance genres in a specific way.

It seems often to be assumed that dances either develop thanks to an inventive genius, or else one established dance form metamorphoses into the next. When studying the often-mythical stories of origin, as well as the written sources that describe how new dances come into being at certain points in time and space, it is easy to reach such a conclusion. However, when we dig into the actual movement structures of which dances consist, we see reoccurring basic elements and techniques that shape the paradigm. Some of these have generative potential: that dancers discover and use to create new variants, new types and, eventually, perhaps even new paradigms. The couple-turning technique I shall discuss next represents this kind of generative potential.

Characteristics of the Round Dance Paradigm

The contributors to this book started out with a working definition, based on a small set of tentative criteria, to delimit the core of the round dance genre. The aim was to try to identify essential material — such as descriptions, films and notations — and to find similarities across Europe, rather than differences. These were the preliminary criteria upon which we agreed:

1. One couple can realise a complete version of a dance.
2. Couples turning along a circular path is a major characteristic of round dances.

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8 Oskar Bie, Der Tanz (Berlin: J. Bard, 1919), p. 132.
3. Couple-turning in which both partners face each other is a major characteristic of round dances.

4. Our focus will be on unregulated dances with many melodies. We consider one-melody/regulated (sequence) dances to be a separate group, outside but nonetheless connected to the round dances, and we do not look closely at dances of this type.⁠[10]

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Fig. 1.1 Video: The folk-dance group Springar’n at Ås, Norway dancing the Waltz to Enebakk Spelemannsleg. Note how the couples dance counter-clockwise on an approximately circular path: this is typical for round dances. ‘Vals og Folkedanslaget Springar’n sin avslutning i HD format’, 7:08, posted online by Svein Arne Solberg, Youtube, 12 May 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LolpphyIWS8

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Fig. 1.2 Victor Gabriel Gilbert, The Ball or an Elegant Evening, c.1890, showing couples dancing on a mostly circular path turning counter-clockwise. Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Une_soir%C3%A9e_%C3%A9l%C3%A9gante_par_Victor_Gabriel_Gilbert_(A).jpg

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⁠9 We use ‘regulated’ to mean dances in which the elements have a fixed order and fixed length and in which each element is always performed to a specific part of the melody.

⁠10 Egil Bakka, Minutes from Meeting 2 of Project, [unpublished], 2003.
The subtlest criterion is point three, which stresses the couple-turning as a key element. These couple-turning patterns require that the partners place themselves more or less face to face, and it is critical that the right foot of each partner is placed between the feet of the other and that the left foot remains on the outside. While dancing, the couple may hold their upper bodies slightly to one side of each other. Depending on how closely they are dancing, the right foot might not be placed squarely between their partner’s feet, but at a small distance from the space. This
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precise foot placement is crucial for the basic turning technique: dances in which the partners turn with both feet on one side of their partner fall into another category, The Czardas, a dance described by László Felföldi in Chapter Seven, a very interesting example of a dance related but not belonging to the round dances according to this criterion.

This said, the central criteria are intended to function with the flexibility of polythetic\(^\text{11}\) classification. Twenty-first-century digital technologies make dance documentation available and analysable. This enables the writing of the history, not only of dancing, but also of dances. Then, classification of dances in a modern, updated version will be vital.

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\(^{11}\) Polythetic is a central term for classification in many disciplines such as archaeology or biology. It is not used much in dance research, but it is vital for working with a large amount of material. ‘Relating to or sharing a number of characteristics which occur commonly in members of a group or class, but none of which is essential for membership of that group or class’. Oxford University Press, ‘Polythetic’, Lexico.com (2019), https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/polythetic
The Main Dance Types of the Round Dance Paradigm

The movement content of the different dance types belonging to the round dance paradigm is not the subject of this book, even if some of the chapters deal with certain aspects of it. Nonetheless, a basic comprehension of the different dance types, their characteristics, their names and how they are related is necessary. It is not possible to discuss the reception of round dances without distinguishing the different types, since they were not received in the same way and at the same time in each country. For this reason, there will be only a short discussion about the movement content of the main types of the paradigm in the book itself, but a broad selection of video links is given to illustrate various examples of the types.

Dance histories discussing round dances have mainly been based on sources from high society and the work of dancing masters. Round dances, however, have also had an important place in the dance repertoires of the lower classes. The dances taught by dancing masters were certainly used by the lower classes, but so were dances that the dancing master hardly ever touched. There is, in other words, an important part of the round dance paradigm that has been ignored in most discussions about its history. I argue that if we explore the full scope of the paradigm, new light will be shed upon its genesis as well as upon its further development, migration and reception. There is not space here to examine more comprehensively the form and structure on which these contentions are based: a deeper study will follow in later publications.

The round dance paradigm had its roots in a kind of dancing called ‘Walzen’, or ‘Walzen und Drehen’ (waltzing and turning). These terms were used in German lands from at least the last third of the eighteenth century. They were even mixed into the zwiefacher, as seen in Fig. 1.6.

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13 Walter Salmen, Geschichte der Musik in Westfalen, Bis 1800 (Kassel/ Basel/ London/ New York: Bärenreiter, 1963), p. 33; Christian Heinrich Theodor Schreger, Kosmetisches Taschenbuch für Damen zur gesundheitsgemässen Schönheitspflege ihres
As Christian Heinrich Theodor Schreger explains, the moderate, easy, effortless, moral dancing at not too crowded, draft-free places, preferably in small circles of friends and family under the eyes of a watchful elder, belongs to the appropriate movements of this age. That does not include the bacchanal ‘Walzen und Drehen’, whirling until the dancer falls about, nor the wild, unruly flying around in the ‘Schleifer’, in the rapid, fiery Schottische, or in the shattering ‘Hopsanglaise’ on public dance floors, especially when the ball is opened [with this kind of dancing] at once after the meal.14

Fig. 1.6 Video: A programme about a dance that mixes steps of Walzen und Drehen danced to melodies which mix bars of the Waltz and the Polka. ‘Woher kommt der Zwiefache? Verzwickter Tanz’, 12:00, posted online 27 February 2016, BRMediathek, https://www.br.de/mediathek/video/woher-kommt-der-zwiefache-verzwickter-tanzav:584f862a3b467900119cdb27

From the expression alone, it is not clear if people at this time used the two terms about distinctively different forms or as interchangeable names for more or less the same thing. The dancing master Johann Heinrich Kattfuss claims that ‘Walzen, Drehen, Ländern’ (waltzing, turning and Ländler dancing) have no difference in the steps, and he gives a description of the Waltz.15 There is, however, a dance manual from Ernst Chr. Mädel that describes the Dreher,16 and the description coincides with, for instance, the description by Rudolph Voss17 and with

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14 Schreger, Kosmetisches Taschenbuch, p. 62.
16 Ernst Chr Mädel, Anfangsgründe Der Tanzkunst (Erfurt: Verlag des Werfassers, 1801), pp. 175, 141.
those in Aenne Goldschmidt’s book.¹⁸ The latter is an authoritative survey of German folk dance. There is also a description of the Waltz from 1806 from the Baltic dancing master Ivensenn, which coincides with later descriptions and contemporary practice of the Waltz as a social dance.¹⁹

Fig. 1.7 Young couples waltzing, 1802. Aquatint, 117 x 18.5 cm. From John Dean Paul, *Journal of a Party of Pleasure to Paris in the Month of August, 1802* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1802). Probably the earliest known picture of the Waltz. Wellcome Collection, CC BY 4.0, https://wellcomecollection.org/works/stggecfr


¹⁹ Many dance historians have credited an English dancing master for having published the first professional description of the Waltz: Thomas Wilson, *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing, the Truly Fashionable Species of Dancing* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1816). However, in 1806, the Baltic dancing master Ivensenn had already published a manual with a long discussion and description of the Waltz: Dietrich Alexander Valentin Ivensenn, *Terpsichore: ein Taschenbuch für Freunde und Freundinnen des Tänzes in Liv-Cur-und Eshland* (Riga: [n.p.], 1806).
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These descriptions, made by people who were trained dancers, show that the Dreher and the Walzer are at the core of two clearly different dance techniques, even if both have the characteristics of the round dance paradigm. A Nordic project, which I shall discuss further, also made a distinction between the two, and named them ‘eintaktssnu’ (one-measure turning, in which the couple turns 360° during one measure of the music), which corresponds to the Dreheren technique, and ‘totaktssnu’ (two-measure turning, in which the 360° turn takes place over two measures of music), which corresponds to the Walzen. This is still the case: the techniques are still practised today.

The waltzing in 3/4 as well as 2/4 has one turn across two bars of music, which means that six paces can be used. According to Goldschmidt’s survey of German folk dance, Drehers, there is a Zweischrittdreher, or

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20 A GIF of the phenakistoscope in motion can be viewed on Wikimedia: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phenakistoscope_3g07690d.gif
21 It is difficult to say what Kattfuss means with his statement, since he sees a similarity between different ways of dancing, but does not say that they are all the same.
22 Urup, Sjöberg, and Bakka, Gammaldans i Norden, p. 250. The notation of duple time music requires additional rules to be followed, for the definition to work out.
23 Egil Bakka, Interview with Richard Wolfram and Herbert Lager, researchers/experts of Austrian folk dance (Video at the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance: Rff Vu 41). Vienna, 17 October 1985
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Zweitritt with a full turn on two beats, a Dreischrittdreher, with a full turn with three beats, and even more variants.24 There is quite a dramatic difference between the Waltz and the Dreher principles in terms of speed and effort. Voss suggests that Zweischrittdreher 2/4 was probably the wildest and most notorious dance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.25 In addition, the musical metre of the Waltz could be duple as well as triple.26 The same is true for Dreher.27

The Waltz in 2/4 usually had an addition to its name: Ecossaise Walzer, Hopwaltz, Hamburger Waltz etc.28 It is important to note that when the Waltz is criticised for its quick turning and even for hopping, the antagonism may have been directed at the Waltz in duple time, rather than the Waltz in triple time. The latter was softer, due to the relationship between the dance and the music and its less extreme vertical patterns.29 There are, of course, many variations of the Waltz as well as of the Dreher, but the basic differences described above are based on technical principles and seem to have remained core throughout at least two centuries. Nearly all the elements of couple-turning found in round dances are built upon either ‘Walzen’ or ‘Drehen’ or both, and couple-turning is the most central building block in the paradigm.

24 It is worth noting, however, that the term Dreher comes from German and rarely from Austrian sources. Goldschmidt, Handbuch des deutschen Volkstanzes, p. 177.
25 Rudolph Voss, Der Tanz und seine Geschichte p. 336; Zweitritt is a form where the dancer makes a full turn with two steps, as in Danish Svejtrit.
27 Rudolph Voss, Der Tanz und seine Geschichte pp. 336, 339; Goldschmidt, Handbuch des deutschen Volkstanzes, p. 177.
28 Egil Bakka, ‘The Polka before and after the Polka’, 37.
29 The svikt curve in a triple Waltz has a long and a short svikt, and hardly any elevations, whereas the duple Waltz probably had two or three svikts, included more elevations, and was danced at greater speed. For an explanation of svikt analysis see Egil Bakka, ‘Analysis of Traditional Dance in Norway and the Nordic Countries’, in Dance Structures. Perspectives on the Analysis of Human Movement, ed. by Adrienne L. Kaeppler and Elsie Ivancich Dunin (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2007), pp. 105–12 (p. 108).
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Fig. 1.9 Video: film showing, first, 2/4 waltzing or the Polka (Hamborgar), then 3/4 waltzing (Vals) from a regional competition in Western Norway. ‘Pardans runddans. Hamborgar og vals. Kvalik. Vestlandskappleiken 2015’, 5:52, posted online by Jostedalsvideo, Youtube, 11 October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2ZQAiyYWe8&feature=youtu.be

Fig. 1.10 Video: film showing Snoa, a couple dance from Sweden, as presented by the Israeli Noa-am folk dancers. The couple-turning is Zweischrittdreher or Zweitritt. ‘Snoa’, 1:49, posted online by Folkdance Noa-am, 18 March 2018, Youtube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_RXbbAeqXuE

Fig. 1.11 Video: film showing Dreischrittdreher. It is taken from a course in German dance taught by Ralf Spiegler at the Grand Bal de l’Europe at Saint Gervais in 2013. The music is provided by the group Aelixhir. ‘Aelixhir — Atelier de Dreischrittdreher avec Ralf Spiegler’, 2:48, posted online by Lionel Thomas, 14 August 2013, https://youtu.be/qPxHcmGEpRY?t=81

The consistency and stability of the difference between ‘Walzen’ and ‘Drehen’ is significant for our understanding of the paradigm, and of the dance types related to it. Moreover, there is also a dramatic difference in how polite society received the two techniques of the paradigm.

Boycott of Dreher Forms

The dancing masters from the early nineteenth century onwards seem to have eschewed the challenging and rapid turning of the Dreher dance types. From the 1820s onwards, they explored and developed the Waltz principle in most manuals. However, the Dreher technique had clearly not yet fallen into obscurity, since it is either defined or mentioned by some dance historians of the nineteenth century. At the same time,

30 In turn, ‘Walzen und Drehen’ influenced the development of many Nordic folk dances. Since, however, this is not the topic of the present book, I shall not discuss it in detail.

31 Wilson, A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing; Eduard Friedrich David Helmke and Kurt Petermann, Neue Tanz- und Bildungsschule (Leipzig:
dance histories prioritised ballroom dancing and theatre dance, and ignored the dancing which only belonged to the lower classes. This means that a significant part of the round dance paradigm was more or less absent from the dancing masters’ repertoires, as reflected in their manuals and their teaching repertoires. This absence of Dreher-based dances among dancing masters is also confirmed by a project on round dances in the Nordic countries.\textsuperscript{32} The project found two streams of influence on the Nordic dancing: the dance masters’ repertoire, with ‘Walzen’ (waltzing) at the core; and the ‘Drehen’ (turning) that spread without their assistance. ‘Drehen’ diffused mostly across the north, and less so in the south.

The Dreher remained an important traditional dance in Germany. The so-called ‘Dreischritt-dreher’, particularly the version in 3/4 time, was taken up in traditional dance contexts in Poland as Powolniak and in the Nordic countries, it can be recognised as part of the Danish Jysk på næsen; as Hamburska or Hambo in Sweden; and as a part of Springdans and Mazurka in Norway.\textsuperscript{33} The ‘Zweischritt-dreher’ (in 2/4) is found in the Danish Svejtrit; in Sweden as Snoa, and in Norway as the Rull.

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\textsuperscript{32} Urup, Sjöberg, and Bakka, \textit{Gammaldans i Norden}, p. 282.

\textsuperscript{33} Bakka, ed., \textit{Nordisk Folkedanstypologi}.
The Galop, the Polka and the Schottische

The first round dance that became fashionable after the different types of the Waltz was the Galop. Voss sees it as a derivation from popular dance material, for instance the ‘Rutscher’, which was only a simple type of sideways dancing. Later, in order to stress that it was developed into a round dance with Waltz turning, dance historians called it the Galop-Waltz.

The term Waltz was used more and more for the 3/4 Waltz only. In the 1840s, a form similar to the 2/4 Waltz was presented, first in Prague and later in Paris, under a new name — the Polka. This became the standard name for any kind of 2/4 Waltz. Finally, the Schottische or Rheinlender arrived in the Nordic countries after 1860. However, because this dance had elements of Dreher technique, it was not considered appropriate in the ballrooms of the Norwegian upper classes until the last decades of the century. A small pocket book for dancers describes the steps with the following caveat: ‘Rheinlænder has previously only been seen in less fashionable venues, but since it lately has won its place in the best circles, the author believed he should include it’.

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34 Voss, Der Tanz und seine Geschichte, pp. 340, 369.
35 Zorn and Sheafe, Grammar of the Art of Dancing, p. 771.
37 Urup, Sjöberg, and Bakka, Gammaldans i Norden, p. 278.
Oscar Bie discusses how a number of dances in lively triple time are inspired by Polish national dances, and mentions the Redowa, a Czech dance that was much discussed and criticised in Prague, as Dorota Gremlicová explores more fully in Chapter Six. Bie also describes the Tyrolienne and the Polka-Mazurka, a Polka done in triple time that appeared in Paris in the late 1840s. All these dances appear to have

39 Bie, Der Tanz, p. 235.
been based on elements of the Polish national dance, Masur. This was danced by couples in complex formations reminiscent of a contra dance, whereas the dances listed above stand out as round dances because the couples did not depend on each other for formations. The Mazurka types do not appear much in discussions of the round dance paradigm. Dances identified as Czech and Polish were hardly as politically problematic as the German Waltz throughout Slavic lands, and as they were spread through the aristocracy, they did not have the lower-class flair of the Waltz in Germany.

I have chosen the dances above based my own judgement of which were the most widespread types belonging to the paradigm of round dances. For practical reasons, I have restricted my discussion to material in the English, French, German and Nordic languages.

Fig. 1.17 G. Munthe, *En Østlandsk St. Hansaften*. Lithograph from Chr. Tønsberg, *Billeder af Norges Natur og Folketiv* (Christiania: Tønsberg, 1875). Owned by Egil Bakka, CC BY 4.0.
Dance Names and Imputed Origins

A large number of dance names seemingly attribute particular geographic origins to the dance, such as countries, regions or cities. Examples include the Allemande, the Deutscher, the Hamburger, the Hamburska, the Berliner, the Steierisch, the Tyrolerienne, the Schottische, the Ecossaise, the Françoise, the Polka, the Polonaise, the Krakowiak, the Masur, the Varsovienne, the Warschauer, the English, the Anglaise, the Trondhjemmer, the Bergenser, etc. This reference to the origin (or reputed origin) of a dance accords with a common understanding, shared by dancing masters and dance historians in the nineteenth century, that dances were thoroughly marked by their place of origin and could not be performed as well in other places. For example, here is the explanation of the German dancing master Eduard Friedrich David Helmke (1794–1879):\textsuperscript{41}

\textit{Diversity of dances}. Almost every nation has its own dances, in which its character is also reflected. Many dances from foreign nations have become popular here, but their national origins are rarely obvious, and their aesthetics, that are only maintained by this national character, are lost; therefore, even the most beautiful dance of a foreign nation rarely speaks to us. […] Imagine but the proud, saucy Spaniard alongside the humble, honest German, and the voluptuous Spanish woman against a pure German girl! What a difference!? The flaming tulip and the white lily, […] the tulip can never become lily, and the latter can never become tulip. It is like this with the dancers too: the pure German girl will never present herself in Spanish dances in the same way as real Spanish woman […].

Helmke continues that he sees the Minuet as French and the Waltz as German — that is, he sees the ‘slow’ Waltz as German, but he claims that the ‘Ecossaise-Waltzer’ is Scotch (as the name suggests), and he also mentions the Vienna Waltz, the Russian Waltz, and the Bavarian Galop-Waltz. Helmke is well aware that dances are spreading and being taken up in new countries, but in his opinion, they lose something when danced outside their place of origin.

\textsuperscript{41} Helmke and Petermann, \textit{Neue Tanz- und Bildungsschule}, p. 109. Translation from German by Egil Bakka.
Even a limited study of dance names reveals the variability and the complexity of the relationship between a dance name and the movement pattern to which it refers. In some cases, there is stability — through time as well as space — between the dance name and the movements. By the time the Waltz was well established, there was great consistency between its movement patterns when it was danced socially — and its name. In some cases, a name is kept across languages: for example, the name Polonaise, the French word for Polish, is used for the same movement pattern in many countries, and even though the Swedes and Norwegians have dances they call Polish (Polska — Pols(k) dans), they keep the term Polonaise for the solemn processional dance, whereas Polska/Polsk dans refer to very different dances. The German city Hamburg inspired the term Hamburska and eventually Hambo, which are triple time dances in Sweden. In Norway, Hamborgar (Waltz) and, in a few cases, Hambor or even Hambo refers to a Polka, or, according to late-eighteenth-century terminology, a Waltz in duple time. The very convoluted development of dance names can be observed in source material of which we have precise knowledge. This can also help us to understand some basic principles for the naming of dances, even in the more distant past.

Fig. 1.18 Video: Slangpolska från Skåne, Sweden (possibly danced in the USA), a Polska not influenced by the Dreher. ‘Slangpolska från Skåne’, 2:26, posted online by Steve Carruthers, Youtube, 5 May 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ces253nl19U&t=63s

Fig. 1.19 Video: Anbjørg Myhra Bergwitz and Audun Gruner-Hegge dance the Polsdans fra Finnskogen, which includes Dreher turning, at a national competition in Norway. ‘Polsdans fra Finnskogen V’, 2:55, posted online by Atle Utkilen, Youtube, 23 August 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hB1RJaVBBRk
In conclusion, the dances we are discussing have been used in many different contexts throughout Europe since at least the 1770s. They generally conquered the dance floors of all social classes, but how and when varies from case to case. There are some exceptions: for example, in the Easternmost Balkan countries we can surmise that round dances hardly spread beyond urban people belonging to the upper classes, but since none of our authors are from these countries, we have not been able to establish this for certain. According to Felföldi in Chapter Seven of this volume, the exception probably holds true even for Hungary.
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