

# Ibsen and the repertory system: *Peer Gynt* on the German stage

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## Abstract

*Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt remained a rarely performed play throughout the author's lifetime. It was not until around the outbreak of the First World War that stage productions of the play began to proliferate. This article examines the pre-1945 production history of the play in the light of a concept that signifies a particular way of composing a repertoire, the repertory system. It was first and foremost prominent stages in Germany that paved the way for Peer Gynt to become incorporated into this system, leading to an exponential growth in number of stage events. The production history illustrates how plays that are performed over a long period of time question the notion of production as a fixed mise-en-scène. Supporting Linda Hutcheon's argument about adaptation as a continuous process, the productions examined here demonstrate that there was no such thing as a standard way to adapt Peer Gynt for the stage.*

## Brief Biography

Jens-Morten Hanssen is Head of Section at the National Library of Norway. He earned a PhD degree at the University of Oslo in 2018 with a doctoral thesis on the early reception of Ibsen on the German stage. During 2001–2014, he was the editor of the trilingual website Ibsen.net. In 1997, he earned a cand. philol. degree in German literature with a thesis on *Dr. Faustus* by Thomas Mann.

Recent book: *Ibsen on the German Stage 1876–1918: A Quantitative Study* (Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, Tübingen 2018). Recent articles: 'Digital Humanities and Theatre Studies: New Perspectives on the Early Reception of Ibsen on the German Stage' (2018), 'The Introduction of Bjørnson and Ibsen on the German Stage' (2016), 'Otto Brahm's Ibsen Cycle at the Lessingtheater in Berlin' (2015).

To judge by the intentions and expectations of its creator, the success of *Peer Gynt* is the story of a dramatic work that became an international theatrical hit against all odds.<sup>1</sup> The work was not written for the stage, and Ibsen was also in great doubt about the work's translatability. 'Of all my works', he famously wrote in a letter to Ludwig Passarge, 'I consider *Peer Gynt* the least likely to be understood outside Scandinavia'.<sup>2</sup> But history proved him wrong, with the play having been translated into at least forty-five languages to date, and the performance database IbsenStage documents that, throughout history, *Peer Gynt* is one of Ibsen's most frequently performed plays. Even so, despite successful productions in Scandinavia, *Peer Gynt* remained a rarely performed play throughout Ibsen's lifetime. It was not until around the outbreak of the First World War that stage productions of *Peer Gynt* began to proliferate. This article sets out to examine the initial decades of the play's stage history in the light of a concept that signifies a particular way of composing a repertoire, the repertory system. I will mainly focus my attention on German productions in the period until 1945, but with a side glance on the Scandinavian productions preceding the introduction of *Peer Gynt* on the German stage.

### **The repertory system**

The term 'repertory' has more or less lost its etymological meaning. According to Patrice Pavis, for instance, 'repertory' is a 'body of plays performed by a theatre in

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<sup>1</sup> This article is an adapted and extended version of a paper presented at the seminar 'Peer Gynt: Ibsen and Philosophy' which took place at the University of Oslo's Centre for Ibsen Studies in December 2017. I thank the organizers Frode Helland, Leonardo F. Lisi, and Kristin Gjesdal for inviting me to talk at the seminar.

<sup>2</sup> Evert Sprinchorn, ed., *Ibsen: Letters and Speeches* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1965), p. 185.

the course of a season’—a definition that captures well today’s use of the term.<sup>3</sup> *The Encyclopedia of World Theater*, on the other hand, defines the term in the light of its etymological meaning as follows:

When a company of actors has several plays ready for production and performs them alternately rather than *en suite* (the same play every evening until the run definitely ends) they are said to be appearing ‘in repertory’. Where permanent companies exist, particularly if they are subsidized National Theatres like the Comédie-Française or the Burgtheater, they have a large repertoire of plays which can be performed in a varied repertory.<sup>4</sup>

The main difference between these two definitions is how they relate to time: Pavis refers to the season, whereas the *Encyclopedia of World Theater* implicitly emphasizes duration and the principle of having a stock of plays to choose from (whereby it is implied that plays appearing in repertory are more often than not performed over a period of time exceeding one theatre season). Furthermore, as suggested by the *Encyclopedia of World Theater* definition, the repertory system is mainly associated with prominent stages in major cities, whether subsidized or not. Only the most prominent stages possess the necessary resources to operate according to the system: it takes, first of all, a permanent ensemble of a certain size; second, a

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<sup>3</sup> Patrice Pavis, *Dictionary of the Theatre: Terms, Concepts, and Analysis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Martin Esslin, ed., *The Encyclopedia of World Theater: With 420 Illustrations and an Index of Play Titles* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1977), p. 228. On the etymology of the word ‘repertory’, see T.F. Hoad, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 399.

certain population basis to provide sufficient audience numbers; and third, accordingly, enough box-office income to run a repertory theatre.

During Ibsen's lifetime, the most prominent stages in the capitals of the Nordic countries were all repertory theatres. These stages—Christiania Theater, Kungliga Dramatiska Teatern in Stockholm, Det Kongelige Teater in Copenhagen, Svenska Teatern and Suomalainen Teatteri in Helsinki—incorporated plays by Ibsen into the repertory system already in the 1860s and 1870s. *The Vikings at Helgeland* was the play that initially paved the way. Opening in 1861, Christiania Theater presented a total of one hundred performances of the *The Vikings at Helgeland* over a period of thirty-five years, with Laura Gundersen playing Hjørdis in nearly all of them.<sup>5</sup>

In the history of Ibsen in performance, the repertory system was crucial in many respects: first of all, dramatic works were not incorporated into the system unless they fared well at the box office. Thus, plays that were performed in repertory secured long-term profits for both playwright (performance fees) and theatre management (net profits). Second, plays that were included into the system were not only distinguished from those that were not in terms of commercial viability, but also in artistic terms. The system marked Ibsen as a distinguished playwright and secured him prestige and recognition. Third, the system provided an opportunity for performing artists to develop, rehearse and refine a role over time. This had social implications when considering the history of Ibsen in performance from the point of view of the artists: the longer an actor performed in a given role, the stronger s/he

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<sup>5</sup> Christiania Theater presented *The Vikings at Helgeland* in a total of seventeen seasons during this period. Source: IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/venue/11704>, accessed 19 September 2018.

‘owned’ the role. Throughout her career as Christiania Theater’s leading actress, spanning close to five decades, Laura Gundersen kept several Ibsen parts in her ‘possession’: besides portraying Hjørdis over a period of thirty-five years, she also appeared as Selma in *The League of Youth* across a run of 122 performances presented over a period of twenty-nine years.<sup>6</sup>

The repertory system led to the formation of a particular breed of actors, the ‘Ibsenite actor’. Here, I use the term in a generic sense, by which I mean that what characterizes the Ibsenite actor is not necessarily that s/he developed a particular acting style on the basis of Ibsen parts and performed his characters in a specific way: rather it is the sheer volume and frequency of Ibsen performances during the course of an entire career span that distinguished the Ibsenite actor. Besides Gundersen, Betty Hennings is a strong exponent of the Ibsenite actor in Scandinavian theatre. At Det Kongelige Teater in Copenhagen, she owned the part of Nora for twenty-eight years (1879-1907). This gave her competitive advantages also outside Copenhagen, as she was invited to make guest performances as Nora in Stockholm, Kristiania, Bergen, Trondheim, Gothenburg, Helsinki, Berlin, and even Prague.<sup>7</sup>

But unlike *The Vikings at Helgeland* and later *A Doll’s House*, *Peer Gynt* was not incorporated into the repertory system in Ibsen’s lifetime. Strikingly, both the very first production of the play at the Christiania Theater in 1876 and the next production a decade later at the Dagmarteatret in Copenhagen were box-office draws and seem to have had every potential of being incorporated into the repertory system, but failed

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<sup>6</sup> Christiania Theater presented *The League of Youth* in a total of twenty-three seasons during this period. Source: *ibid*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/contributor/427226>, accessed 18 September 2018.

to do so for various reasons. Marker and Marker state that the Christiania Theater production of *Peer Gynt* ‘retained in the [...] repertory for an unprecedented run of thirty-seven performances’ and that its run ‘was cut short only because of a fire that partially gutted the theatre in [January] 1877’, during which the sets and costumes were entirely destroyed, their implication being that *Peer Gynt* would have remained in the theatre’s repertoire if it was not for the fire.<sup>8</sup> In 1886, Theodor Andersen’s production at the Dagmarteatret in Copenhagen also fared well in terms of performance figures—the play was presented in a run of forty-two performances—and met with critical approval from, among others, Edvard Brandes who commended the production of being ‘of great significance’.<sup>9</sup> Yet, the Dagmarteatret only presented *Peer Gynt* this one season and never revived the play until the theatre closed their doors five decades later. In order to examine how the play eventually came to be performed in ‘repertory’ in the *Encyclopedia of World Theater* sense of the term, one needs to study the introduction of the play to the German stage.

### **IbsenStage: the database as a research tool**

My methodological approach is informed by developments in the field of digital humanities. I use the relational, event-based database IbsenStage—a website that currently holds close to 24,000 records with data from Ibsen performances world-wide throughout history—as a research tool. Developed on the basis of the relational model for data management, allowing for identification of hidden patterns

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<sup>8</sup> Frederick J. Marker and Lise-Lone Marker, *Ibsen’s Lively Art: A Performance Study of the Major Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 9; Frederick J. Marker and Lise-Lone Marker, *A History of Scandinavian Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 158. *Peer Gynt* was revived at the Christiania Theatre only in 1892, when Bjørn Bjørnson staged it.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Marker and Marker, *Ibsen’s Lively Art*, p. 11.

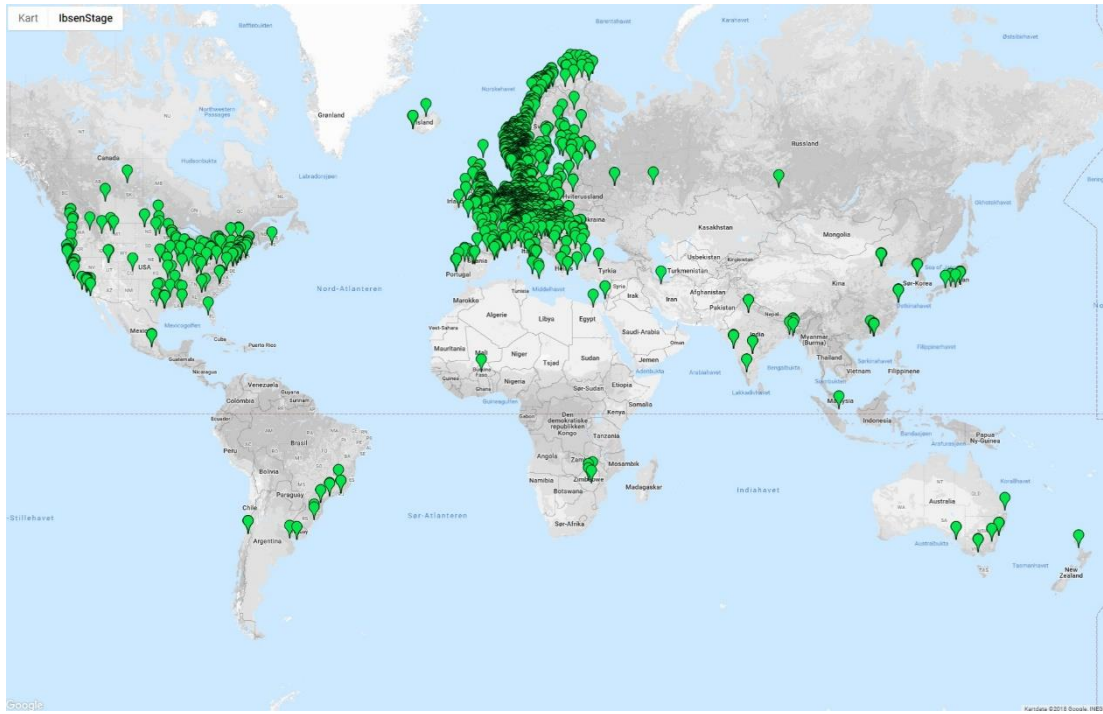
and unseen connections, IbsenStage poses an opportunity of studying Ibsen's global stage history at a distance, where distance is, as Franco Moretti notes, 'not an obstacle, but a specific form of knowledge: fewer elements, hence a sharper sense of their overall interconnection'.<sup>10</sup> Beginning with the big picture, I will then gradually zoom in on a smaller set of *Peer Gynt* performances on the German stage, while making occasional comparisons with the earliest performances of the play on the Scandinavian stage.

Throughout history, *Peer Gynt* is Ibsen's third most frequently performed play with a total of 3,162 global events. In the list of the twelve most frequently performed plays, all but *Peer Gynt* are from Ibsen's so-called cycle of contemporary prose plays.<sup>11</sup> The map interface of IbsenStage shows that *Peer Gynt* has been produced on stage in all six continents of the world (see Fig. 1). However, restricting the time period to the pre-1945 era, *Peer Gynt* was performed in Europe, North America, but only once in Asia—in Japan in 1928—and not at all in Latin America, Africa and Australia (see Fig. 2).

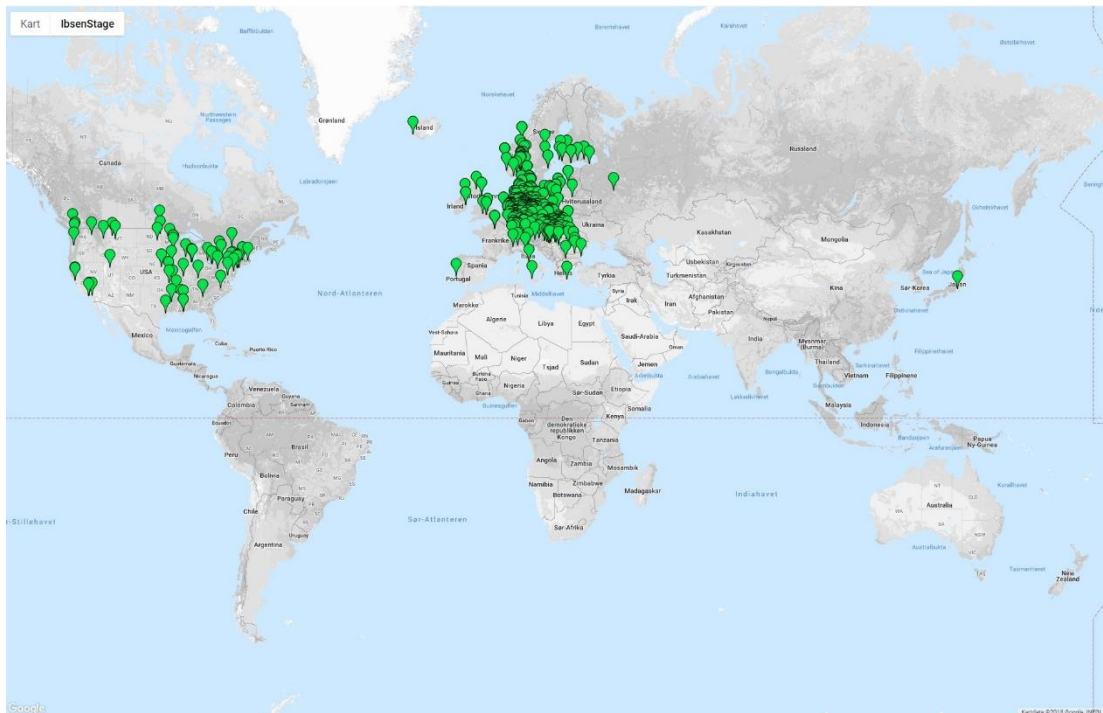
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<sup>10</sup> Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005), p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *A Doll's House* ranks on top of the list with 4,642 events, followed by—with number of events in brackets—*Ghosts* (3,191), *Peer Gynt* (3,162), *Hedda Gabler* (2,766), *An Enemy of the People* (1,699), *The Wild Duck* (1,454), *The Master Builder* (1,073), *Rosmersholm* (930), *The Lady from the Sea* (825), *John Gabriel Borkman* (740), *Pillars of Society* (719), and *Little Eyolf* (564). As of now, IbsenStage holds a total of 23,672 records with data from performances associated with twenty-nine works by Ibsen. Source: IbsenStage, accessed 2 April 2019.



*Figure 1: Map of global Peer Gynt events 1876–2018*



*Figure 2: Map of global Peer Gynt events 1876–1945*



## *Peer Gynt* on the German stage 1902-45

In what follows I will restrict myself to the period until 1945 when *Peer Gynt* according to IbsenStage was performed in a total of 764 events. The proportion of events in the German language during this period was considerable: 58 percent of the events—441 out of 764—were German.<sup>12</sup> The bar chart in Figure 3 visualizes the subset of German *Peer Gynt* events in red as a proportion of the total amount of global *Peer Gynt* events until 1945, displaying the German dominance in greater detail. Most noticeable are the years 1915 through 1920 when nearly all recorded *Peer Gynt* events were German.

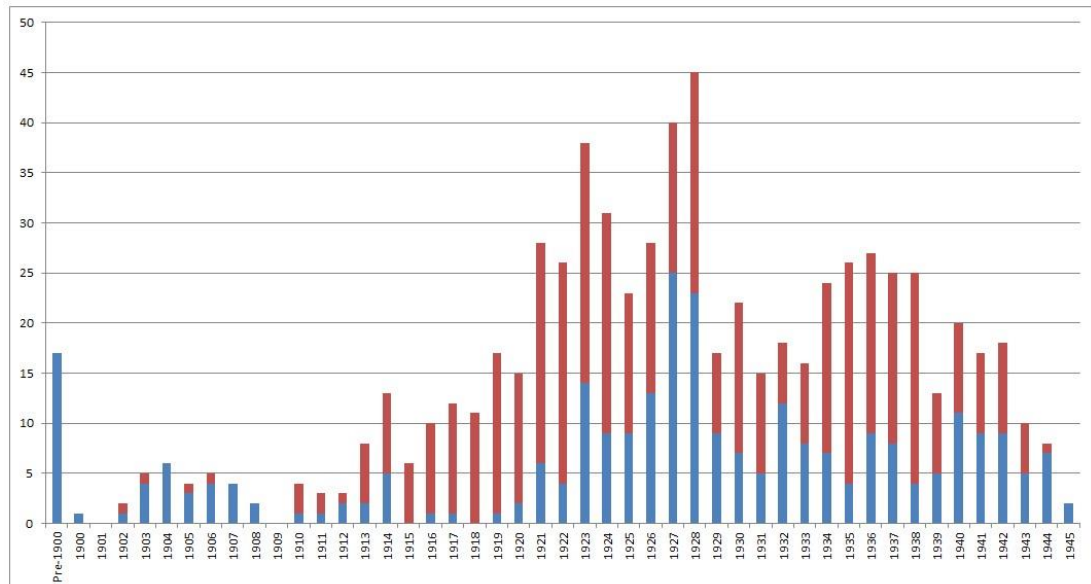


Figure 3: Subset of German *Peer Gynt* events (in red) in proportion to the total set of global *Peer Gynt* events 1876–1945

Zooming in on the *Peer Gynt* dataset 1902-45, the German stage history of the play falls in three distinctive phases: The first phase runs from 1902 until 1910,

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<sup>12</sup> This number includes events in the German language regardless of nation. During the period, German *Peer Gynt* performances were presented at venues in areas today belonging to Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia.

the second from 1910 until 1933, the third coincides with the years of the Nazi regime that closes with the end of the Second World War in 1945.

In the first phase which only comprises very few productions, amateurs had to lead the way. All German performances of *Peer Gynt* before 1910 were initiated by amateur theatre societies. The very first performance was presented at the Deutsches Volkstheater in Vienna in 1902. It was a matinee performance initiated by the society Akademischer Verein für Kunst und Literatur. The cast was semi-professional, featuring Paul Wiecke from the Hoftheater Dresden, who made a guest performance in the title role. In November 1903, the Lessing-Gesellschaft presented the play at the Theater des Westens in Berlin, featuring Eduard von Winterstein in the leading role. In November 1905, Paul Wiecke reappeared as Peer Gynt in a performance organized by the Münchener Dramatische Gesellschaft. The opening show was given at the Prinz-Regenten-Theater, and in March 1906 the production was transferred and presented with an almost identical cast at the Königliches Hoftheater in Munich. None of these performances won critical acclaim.<sup>13</sup>

The second phase, which will be the main focus of this article, began around 1910 and was instrumental in turning *Peer Gynt* into a repertory play. Professional stages came along, and a new, fairly young generation of aspiring stage directors began to take an interest in the play. German performances of *Peer Gynt* started to proliferate. Between 1913 and 1924, the play was reportedly performed a thousand times only in Berlin and the performances added up immensely not least because of the fact that certain prominent stages incorporated *Peer Gynt* into the repertory

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<sup>13</sup> Jens-Morten Hanssen, *Ibsen on the German Stage 1876-1918: A Quantitative Study* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2018), p. 199.

system.<sup>14</sup> Productions at prominent stages in the major cities stimulated interest among theatre managers in the province, over time this created a strong regional distribution of *Peer Gynt*. Studying the geographical spread of *Peer Gynt* events in Europe reveals that in Russia, France, Italy and the United Kingdom the play was predominantly presented at venues in the capitals—Moscow, Paris, Rome, and London, respectively—whereas the regional distribution is much stronger in the German-speaking parts of Central Europe.

The annual frequency of events suggested in Figure 3 shows that the volume of events was moderate up until 1913; then the event figures display an increasing tendency. Two Berlin productions at the Lessingtheater and the Königliches Schauspielhaus that both premiered during the 1913/4 season were arguably instrumental in sparking off a nationwide interest in the play, but they were preceded by productions in Hamburg, Düsseldorf, and Oldenburg. I will now look closer into how a handful of prominent stages incorporated *Peer Gynt* into the repertory system by performing the play over multiple theatrical seasons.

IbsenStage is an event-based performance database. Event is specified as ‘a distinct happening defined by title, date/s and venue; typically, a performance or series of performances at a venue. [...] Multiple presentations of the same production at different venues (e.g. touring productions) are recorded as separate events.’<sup>15</sup>

There are two ways for a theatre production to accumulate multiple event records in IbsenStage: by way of touring or by way of seasonal re-openings (or both). In other

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<sup>14</sup> Wolfgang Pasche, *Skandinavische Dramatik in Deutschland: Björnsterne Björnson, Henrik Ibsen, August Strindberg auf der deutschen Bühne 1867-1932* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1979), p. 201.

<sup>15</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/learn/show/category/About/content/Data+Models>, accessed 19 September 2018.

words, if a theatre incorporates a play by Ibsen into the repertory system, IbsenStage reflects and documents this by multiple event records. In both cases, touring performances and seasonal re-openings, the records are associated with the record of the premiere performance. IbsenStage thereby lends itself well to the study of theatre performance from the point of view of two perspectives often overlooked due to lack of systematic documentation: the length of the performance run and the scope of touring.

### ***Peer Gynt* enters the repertory system**

The first German stage to incorporate *Peer Gynt* into the repertory system was the Schauspielhaus Düsseldorf. In IbsenStage, the Düsseldorf performances are distributed across eight event records covering a period of eighteen years (1910-28); seven records are registered with Schauspielhaus Düsseldorf as venue,<sup>16</sup> one of them with the Künstlertheater in Munich as venue,<sup>17</sup> as the artistic directors of the Schauspielhaus Düsseldorf, Gustav Lindemann and Louise Dumont, leased the Künstlertheater in Munich for the summer season of 1914, during which they also presented *Peer Gynt* there. During the 1913/4 season two prominent Berlin stages, the Lessingtheater and the Königliches Schauspielhaus, followed Düsseldorf's example. The production at the Lessingtheater premiered on 15 September 1913 and was kept in repertory for ten years; the Lessingtheater performances are distributed across fifteen records, ten of them recorded with the Lessingtheater Berlin as venue,<sup>18</sup> five of them are touring performances presented in 1914 at venues in

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<sup>16</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/venue/12345>, accessed 20 September 2018.

<sup>17</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/venue/14138>, accessed 20 September 2018.

<sup>18</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/venue/12494>, accessed 20 September 2018.

Prague, Vienna, Breslau, and in 1917 at venues in Budapest and once more in Vienna.<sup>19</sup> The Königliches Schauspielhaus production was only performed in Berlin, but was performed in repertory over a period of sixteen years, from February 1914 until May 1930, distributed across seventeen event records in IbsenStage—the production may well have been the biggest-ever box-office draw of an Ibsen play throughout history.<sup>20</sup> At the Stadttheater in Leipzig, *Peer Gynt* was performed a total of thirty-eight times over a period of six years (1916-22), and these performances are distributed across seven event records.<sup>21</sup> In Karlsruhe, *Peer Gynt* was performed in repertory for four theatrical seasons at the Badisches Landestheater (1922-5) in a production directed by Felix Baumbach, featuring Robert Bürkner as Peer.<sup>22</sup> Vienna's leading stage, the Burgtheater, was relatively late in the game; yet their 1925 production directed by Otto Brahm's nephew, Hans Brahm, became a notable success and turned *Peer Gynt* into a repertory piece also in the Austrian capital. The Burgtheater performance run is distributed across eight records covering a period of

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<sup>19</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/event/94628> (Prague), <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/event/94058> (Vienna), <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/event/94066> (Breslau), <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/event/94544> (Budapest), <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/event/94057> (Vienna), accessed 20 September 2018.

<sup>20</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/venue/13887>, accessed 20 September 2018. The production was according to Renate Hoyer performed a total of 716 times; see Renate Hoyer, *Paula Conrad-Schlenther (1860-1938): Vierzig Jahre Tätigkeit am Königlichen Schauspielhaus in Berlin* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1971), p. 115.

<sup>21</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/venue/13566>, accessed 25 September 2018.

<sup>22</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/venue/18906>, accessed 25 September 2018.

six years (1925-31).<sup>23</sup> In IbsenStage, the *Peer Gynt* events in Düsseldorf, Berlin, Leipzig, Karlsruhe, and Vienna add up to a total of fifty-nine records.

The IbsenStage definition of event differentiates between performance and production, and this is a key distinction in the field of performance analysis. The performance is characterized by ephemerality and non-repeatability; it emphasizes the theatrical event as such and its impact on the spectators at a particular point in time and space. The term production on the other hand suggests a more or less fixed 'mise-en-scène' and points to the fact that there are, after all, elements that tend to remain more or less constant throughout a performance run: for instance set, costumes, and performance space.<sup>24</sup>

Yet, plays that are performed in repertory over an exceedingly long period of time inevitably question the notion of production as a fixed mise-en-scène. It goes without saying that there were many cast changes during the performance run of the productions under scrutiny here. As will be shown, the length of the performance also varied greatly, depending on the adaptation and the selection of scenes. At some point, new sets and costumes were made. Technical developments in the field of stagecraft also affected the productions.

Drawing on the IbsenStage dataset, allowing for systematic analysis of plays performed in repertory, I will, in what follows, explore some features of the productions that suggest consistency and other features that indicate how the productions underwent radical change during the performance run.

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<sup>23</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/venue/14147>, accessed 25 September 2018.

<sup>24</sup> Christopher B. Balme, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

## The female Ibsenite as a social hub

As already pointed out, the repertory system provided an opportunity for actors to develop and refine the performance of a specific role over time. In some cases, actors claimed a kind of ownership to particular parts. However, by analyzing links between actors and role attributes in IbsenStage, a striking pattern emerges: the actors who in the course of their career managed to achieve a position where they could claim ownership to specific Ibsen parts were predominantly female actors. The part of Nora stands out. Holledge, Bollen, Helland, and Tompkins have studied the global performance history of *A Doll's House* and suggest that it was the early Noras from Scandinavia, UK, and the European mainland who secured Ibsen's first international successes; notably Betty Hennings, Johanne Dybwad, Janet Achurch, Agnes Sorma, Eleonora Duse, Suzanne Després, among others.<sup>25</sup> Considering the subset of German Ibsen events in the period of the German Empire in isolation, Agnes Sorma was by far the most prominent German Nora, appearing in the part in a total of fifty-five events both in and outside the borders of Germany, the majority of which were solo guest performances.<sup>26</sup>

The German *Peer Gynt* events reflect this pattern. Take the two Berlin productions for example: during the performance run at the Lessingtheater four different actors played Peer Gynt: Friedrich Kayßler, Heinrich Salfner, Theodor Loos, and Raul Lange. The role of Mother Aase on the other hand lay in the hands of one single actress, Ilka Grüning, throughout the performance run. During the run at

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<sup>25</sup> Julie Holledge, Jonathan Bollen, Frode Helland, and Joanne Tompkins, *A Global Doll's House: Ibsen and Distant Visions* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

<sup>26</sup> See IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/contributor/427367>, accessed 20 September 2018.

the Königliches Schauspielhaus there were five different Peer Gynts: Carl Clewing, Hans Mühlhofer, Gustav May, Günther Hadank, and Otto Laubinger. Here also, one single actress, Paula Conrad, played Mother Aase throughout the sixteen-year long performance run. Comparing *A Doll's House* events with *Peer Gynt* events on the German stage, there are contrasting patterns at work: Due to the dominance of Agnes Sorma and a few other prominent German Noras—first and foremost Auguste Prash-Grevenberg, Thessa Klinkhammer, and Lilli Petri—the dissemination of *A Doll's House* on the German stage followed a hierarchical pattern. Considering the body of stage artists involved in presenting *A Doll's House* on the German stage as a social network, these five leading actresses appear as the hubs in the network. The dissemination of *Peer Gynt* on the other hand followed the principle of horizontality. No male actor stood out from others in terms of claiming ownership to the title part. Instead, the Mother Aases appear as hubs in the network of stage artists engaged in producing *Peer Gynt* on the German stage. In a network, hubs are highly connected nodes that are instrumental in keeping the network from falling apart. The female artists appearing as Mother Aase were tying together otherwise unconnected segments of the German *Peer Gynt* network.

Mother Aase plays only a marginal role in scholarly literature about Ibsen's 'strong' female characters.<sup>27</sup> In the early stage history of *Peer Gynt*, the significance of the role was nevertheless underscored by the tradition of cutting acts 4 and 5, thereby letting the play end with Aase's death—a tradition that was clearly encouraged and justified by Ibsen's own suggestion to leave out '[a]lmost the whole

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<sup>27</sup> See Elizabeth Robins, *Ibsen and the Actress* (London: Leonard & Virginia Woolf, 1928); Lou Andreas-Salomé, *Ibsen's Heroines* (Redding Ridge: Black Swan Books, 1985); and Joan Templeton, *Ibsen's Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).



of the fourth act' and shorten the fifth act considerably, as laid out in his letter of 23 January 1874 to Edvard Grieg whom Ibsen commissioned to write incidental music to the 1876 premiere at the Christiania Theater.<sup>28</sup> None of the performances during the initial 1876 run in Kristiania presented only acts 1-3. However, towards the very end of the performance run in Copenhagen in 1886, when the Norwegian actors Henrik Klausen and Sofie Parelus made a guest performance as Peer and Aase, respectively, only the first three acts were performed.<sup>29</sup> Then, some years later, the Swedish actor and theatre director August Lindberg came up with the idea of focusing exclusively on the title character and his mother; Lindberg pioneered the tradition of performing the first scene of the first act (the so-called buck ride) and the final scene of the third act (Aase's death) in isolation, demanding only two actors on stage (Aase and Peer Gynt). Lindberg was the first one to stage the two scenes in isolation as part of a composite program presented on tour in the southern parts of Sweden in 1892.<sup>30</sup> Later on, stage artists in Helsinki, Bergen, and Kristiania, among other places, followed the example set by Lindberg. Without a doubt, the scenes were selected for performance for leading actors to demonstrate virtuosity, but also

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<sup>28</sup> Sprinchorn, *Ibsen: Letters and Speeches*, p. 146.

<sup>29</sup> Klaus Neiiendam, 'The Second Staging of *Peer Gynt*, 1886'. *Theatre Research International*, 2, 2 (1977), pp. 104-117, here p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> In a series of touring performances during September 1892, the two *Peer Gynt* scenes were presented as part of a program including Molière's play *The Imaginary Invalid*; cf. 'Teater och Musik', *Svenska Dagbladet*, 30 August 1892, at Svenska dagstidningar, <https://tidningar.kb.se/1767385/1892-08-30/edition/0/part/1/page/3/>, accessed 8 March 2020, and Lindberg's contributor page at IbsenStage, <https://ibsenstage.hf.uio.no/pages/contributor/431148>, accessed 2 October 2018.

(as the scenes were very often performed in combination with Grieg's music) to arouse the sentiments of the audience.

### **The appeal of Grieg's music**

The impact of Grieg's music on the global stage success of *Peer Gynt* can hardly be overestimated. Several composers have written music to the play, and Grieg was not even the first to do so—the Swedish composer August Söderman wrote incidental music to the play already in 1870, but the performance history up until the Second World War is entirely dominated by a preference for Grieg's music, to the extent that *Peer Gynt* the stage play is almost inconceivable without it.<sup>31</sup> Grieg's music quickly became a guarantee for success. But his *Peer Gynt* music was a success on its own terms as well. By the end of the First World War, *Peer Gynt* led three lives: in print, in concert halls, and on stage. By 1918, four different German editions of *Peer Gynt* were available in print: Reclam's edition in Ludwig Passarge's translation which was published in 1881 and appeared in a second revised edition in 1887; Fischer's edition in Christian Morgenstern's translation which was published in 1901 as part of Fischer's ten-volume collected works edition; Dietrich Eckart's adaptation published in Berlin in 1912 and in a second revised edition in Munich in 1917 and reprinted in 1922; and, finally, the edition of Ludwig Fulda's translation published in Stuttgart in 1916. All these versions were used on the German stage, with two of them—Morgenstern's translation and Eckart's adaptation—standing out.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Hans Midbøe, *Peer Gynt, teatret og tiden. I: Ludvig Josephson og den 'eldre' tradisjon* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1978), pp. 27-31.

<sup>32</sup> Hanssen, pp. 202-3. See also note 41 below.

Moreover, the distribution of Grieg's orchestral suites must be drawn into consideration, particularly since they were published long before the score to the stage music. The entire score of Grieg's stage music, Opus 23, was not published until 1908, after both Ibsen and Grieg had died. At the end of the 1880s, Grieg prepared two orchestral suites, the first of which was published by C.F. Peters in Leipzig on 18 January 1888 (Op. 46), while the second suite (Op. 55) was printed in 1893. In 1888 and 1889, *Peer Gynt Suite No. 1* was played in concert halls in cities such as Leipzig, Berlin, London, Paris, and New York, and in 1891 the publisher told Grieg that the suite was being performed in Asia, Africa, and Australia.<sup>33</sup> In other words, Grieg's *Peer Gynt* became a global success long before *Peer Gynt* the stage play. After a concert of the first suite in Vienna in January 1891, the leading Viennese critic Eduard Hanslick assumed that '[b]efore long it may well be that Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* will continue to live only through Grieg's music, for so far as I am concerned this music contains in each of its movements more poetry and artistic insight than all five acts of Ibsen's play put together'.<sup>34</sup> Although this was a prophecy that eventually proved false, the statement bears testimony to the level of recognition and acclaim that Grieg's *Peer Gynt* music received on its own terms, at a moment when the theatre-going public of Central Europe had not yet witnessed *Peer Gynt* produced on stage with Grieg's music.

Leading critics were negative towards Grieg's music when *Peer Gynt* was introduced on the German stage, the objection being that the music drew attention at the expense of the drama and distorted it. After having attended the Lessingtheater's

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<sup>33</sup> Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg: The Man and the Artist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), p. 182.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 183.

performance in September 1913, Julius Hart complained that he did not recognize the performed work, ‘for it was a mixture of concert, cinema, paintings collection, opera, drama, tragedy, comedy and pantomime’.<sup>35</sup> In his review of the same performance, Siegfried Jacobsohn declared that ‘[i]t was utterly wrong to let a grand and noticeable orchestra play Grieg’s entire score’, as the music became ‘an end in itself’ and ‘ruined the atmosphere of the performance’ instead of enhancing it.<sup>36</sup> A few months later, Jacobsohn was even harsher in his review of the performance at the Königliches Schauspielhaus in Berlin: Ibsen’s ‘craggy’, ‘biting’, and ‘deeply ambiguous’ masterpiece, he argued, has turned into a ‘gentle’, ‘flat and dull’, ‘musically bloated fairy folk play’.<sup>37</sup> This alleged lack of coherence between the drama and the music—so aptly summarized by a Danish critic who lamented in 1944 that ‘Grieg makes *Peer Gynt* romantic—but *Peer Gynt* is an anti-romantic work!’—

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<sup>35</sup> ‘[...] denn es habe sich um eine Mischung aus Konzert, Kino, Gemäldesammlung, Oper, Schauspiel, Tragödie, Komödie und Pantomime gehandelt.’ Hart, quoted in Heiko Uecker, ‘Peer Gynt in Deutschland: Vorläufige Bemerkungen und Marginalien zu einem vielleicht möglichen Projekt’, *Contemporary Approaches to Ibsen* 5 (1985), pp. 154-179, here p. 163. Translations of quotes from German sources in the running text are prepared by myself.

<sup>36</sup> ‘Es war schon grundfalsch, Griegs Musik [...] vollständig und von einem reichlichen und sichtbaren Orchester spielen zu lassen. Was die Stimmung gehoben hätte, wenn es auf ein paar Töne beschränkt und im Hinter- und Nebengrund gehalten worden wäre, das zerstörte sie als Selbstzweck und im Vordergrund immer wieder.’ Siegfried Jacobsohn, ‘Brahms Erbe’, *Die Schaubühne*, 9, 39 (1913), pp. 913-919, here p. 916.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Aus Ibsens schroffem, zerklüftetem, beißendem, abgründig vieldeutigem, blutendem und blutig reißendem Höhenwerk ist ein sanftes, zuckriges, überdeutliches, glatt und plattes, musikalisch aufgeschwemmtes Märchenvolksstück in Knallbonbonreimen geworden.’ Siegfried Jacobsohn, ‘Peer Gynt’, *Die Schaubühne*, 10, 9 (1914), pp. 239-242, here p. 241.

quickly became a commonplace in Ibsen criticism.<sup>38</sup> However, as Heiko Uecker has pointed out, critics and audience members parted way in their appraisals.<sup>39</sup> Grieg's music was roundly faulted by many critics but strongly applauded by the audience.

The Nazi years constitute their own phase in the German stage history of *Peer Gynt*, characterized by a clear preference for Dietrick Eckart's adaptation. Although Eckart died nine years before Hitler came to power, he is strongly associated with the history of National Socialism. He was imprisoned for participating in Hitler's Beer Hall Putsch in Munich in 1923, and the second volume of *Mein Kampf* is dedicated to Eckart. From 1933 onwards, he was posthumously celebrated as a pioneer of the Third Reich and as Germany's first National Socialist.<sup>40</sup> Before Hitler's rise to power, German *Peer Gynt* events divide in two equally sized camps of those preferring either Morgenstern or Eckart; during 1933-45, however, Eckart dominates almost entirely.<sup>41</sup>

Uwe Englert claims that Eckart followed a twofold strategy of ideologization and sentimentalization in adapting Ibsen's play. In opposition to Georg Brandes' view, according to whom Ibsen had written a satirical play, Eckart interpreted *Peer Gynt* as a metaphysical drama of redemption, peaking in the final scene in which Peer at the

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<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Marker and Marker, *Ibsen's Lively Art*, p. 24.

<sup>39</sup> Uecker, 'Peer Gynt in Deutschland', p. 154-79.

<sup>40</sup> Uwe Englert, *Magus und Rechenmeister: Henrik Ibsens Werk auf den Bühnen des Dritten Reiches* (Tübingen: Francke, 2001), p. 43.

<sup>41</sup> The IbsenStage dataset shows that pre-1933 46 percent of German *Peer Gynt* events used Eckart's adaptation, while 47 percent used Morgenstern's translation; during 1933-45, on the other hand, 80 percent used Eckart, while only 19 percent used Morgenstern. Source: IbsenStage, accessed 25 September 2018.

return to Solveig finds salvation and elevation to his Higher Self. Englert further maintains that Eckart's adaptation is pervaded by an Aryan Christian spirit and transforms Ibsen's drama into a Germanophile *Tendenzstück* ('tendentious play'). Sentimentalization is achieved by highlighting the lyrical parts at the expense of the parts that are intellectually burdensome, by a deliberate use of simple rhymes, and by highlighting Grieg's music.<sup>42</sup> Eckart placed a particular emphasis on Grieg's music, so much so that he included references to Grieg's score in the book edition of his adaptation, with clear instructions on how to use it on stage.<sup>43</sup>

Eckart was shameless and aggressive in his efforts to promote his own adaptation of *Peer Gynt*. In his 1914 pamphlet *Ibsen, Peer Gynt, der große Krumme und ich*, Eckart attacked Christian Morgenstern—whose *Peer Gynt* translation was generally considered to be much more faithful to Ibsen's original—on the one hand, and critics on the other hand, who had condemned the performance at the Königliches Schauspielhaus, the first theatre to produce his adaptation of the play.<sup>44</sup> Parallel to this, Eckart made copies of the director's notes of Reinhard Bruck, who directed the performance at the Königliches Schauspielhaus, and sent them to provincial stages. According to Englert, this led to that Carl Clewing who portrayed the title character at the Königliches Schauspielhaus was frequently invited to make guest performances as *Peer Gynt* outside of Berlin and could do so with minimal rehearsal

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<sup>42</sup> Englert, *Magus und Rechenmeister*, p. 43-90.

<sup>43</sup> Henrik Ibsen, *Henrik Ibsens Peer Gynt in freier Uebertragung für die deutsche Bühne eingerichtet, mit Vorwort und Richtlinien* von Dietrich Eckart, nebst 9 Szenenbildern nach Originalradierungen von Otto Sager (Munich: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1917).

<sup>44</sup> Dietrich Eckart, *Ibsen, Peer Gynt, der große Krumme und ich* (Berlin: Verlag Herold, 1914).

time, since the stages he visited produced the play according to a *mise-en-scène* he was already familiar with—a *mise-en-scène* that thus came to function as a model.<sup>45</sup>

The female actors playing Mother Aase and the use of Grieg's music were thus features suggesting consistency, but it is important to qualify the argument. First of all, the Mother Aases represented continuity, but needless to say the performance of actresses such as Ilke Grüning and Paula Conrad, respectively, developed and changed over time. Secondly, Grieg's music was used and adapted in a multitude of different ways. I now turn to more clear-cut examples of features that were subjected to continuous change. In the case of *Peer Gynt* the process of adapting the dramatic text to a performance script is very likely to start out with a process of cutting text and/or cutting scenes. The selection of scenes for inclusion or exclusion in turn affects the length of the performance.

### **Adaptation as a continuous process**

*Peer Gynt* illustrates several of Linda Hutcheon's main arguments in her book *A Theory of Adaptation*. She points out that the word 'adaptation' refers to both a product and a process of creation and reception. Adaptations are so much a part of Western culture, she goes on, that they appear to affirm Walter Benjamin's insight that storytelling is always the art of repeating stories'—and we may add: repeating stories in endlessly new ways.<sup>46</sup> The stage history of *Peer Gynt* demonstrates that there exists an endless variety of ways to adapt *Peer Gynt* into a performance script. The table in Figure 4 includes a sample of early Scandinavian and German

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<sup>45</sup> Englert, *Magus und Rechenmeister*, p. 55.

<sup>46</sup> Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. xvi, 2.

productions of the play: scenes that were included are marked with a black circle whereas the blank cells indicate that the scenes were dropped.

Acts	1		2		3	4					5						No. of scenes		
	Buck ride	Wedding	Herd girls	Dovre	Aases death	Morocco	Slaves	Thief, fence	Anitra	Memnon	Cairo	Shipwreck	Priest speech	Auction	Dewdrops...	PG, Button		Thin man	PG & Solv
CT 1876	●	●	●	●	●				●		●	●				●	●	●	11
Copenh. 1886	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●				●	●	●	14
Gothenb. 1892	●	●	●	●	●	●			●			●				●	●	●	11
CT 1892	●	●	●	●	●														5
Norrköp. 1892	●				●														2
Wien 1902	●	●	●	●	●				●		●	●	●			●		●	11
Munich 1905	●	●	●	●	●				●		●	●		●		●	●	●	12
Hamb. 1910	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●		●			●	●	●	14
Düss. 1910	●	●	●	●	●				●				●			●	●	●	10
Düss. 1912	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	17
Lessing 1913	●	●	●	●	●	●			●		●					●		●	10
Kgl. Sch. 1914 (two-evening)	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●		●	●		●		●	●	●	14
Kgl. Sch. 1914 (one-evening)	●	●	●	●	●				●		●	●		●		●	●	●	12
Düss. 1915	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●		●	●	●			●	●	●	14
Leipzig 1916	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●		●					●	●	●	12

*Figure 4: Selection of scenes in fifteen Scandinavian and German Peer Gynt productions<sup>47</sup>*

The table displays the whole spectrum, with Norrköping 1892 presenting only two scenes, the buck ride and Aase's death (Lindberg's touring production), at one end of the extreme, and Düsseldorf 1912 presenting all scenes except the fifth act's auction scene at the other end of the extreme. In 1892, Christiania Theater followed the example set by the Copenhagen Dagmarteatret at the end of their performance run and presented only the first three acts of the play. The majority of the stages in this sample presented versions including ten to fourteen scenes. There are for

<sup>47</sup> Sources: Playbills and theatre reviews held by the National Library of Norway and the Centre for Ibsen Studies.



instance four stages that included fourteen scenes, but no selection is identical. In fact, by close inspection one sees that there are no identical pairs in the sample.

In Düsseldorf, Gustav Lindemann and Reinhard Bruck staged two joint productions of *Peer Gynt*, the first of which premiered on 3 June 1910, while the premiere of the second was spread over two nights on 16 and 17 June 1912.<sup>48</sup> Bruck's and Lindemann's long-standing quest for the most appropriate stage version of *Peer Gynt* illustrates the extent to which the play in itself is a theatrical laboratory for trial and error. The 1910 production consisted of two parts: part one corresponded to the first three acts of Ibsen's play, while part two skipped the entire fourth act and the first two scenes of the fifth act, beginning instead with the churchyard scene that signified Peer's return home. All scenes showing Peer's wanderings abroad were deleted, and in their stead a voice was heard before the raising of the curtain after the intermission relating these events very briefly in combination with Grieg's music.<sup>49</sup>

However, there was a disturbing lack of coherence between the two parts that the voice-over could not remedy, as pointed out by critics and also realized by the two stage directors. Due to this, Bruck and Lindemann presented a new two-evening version of the play in 1912, with all five acts being included this time. On the first evening, the first three acts were performed more or less in the same manner as in 1910. The following evening, the fourth and fifth acts were performed almost in their entirety, only the fifth act's auction scene was left out.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Manfred Linke, *Gustav Lindemann: Regie am Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus* (Düsseldorf: Michael Triltsch Verlag, 1969), pp. 93-6.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

The following year, the collaboration between Bruck and Lindemann came to an end, as Bruck moved to Berlin to join the team of stage directors at the Königliches Schauspielhaus in Berlin. Lindemann for his part remained head of the Schauspielhaus Düsseldorf together with his wife Louise Dumont for the rest of his career. However, for the summer season of 1914 they took over the direction of the Münchner Künstlertheater and transferred their ensemble to Munich, where Lindemann staged *Peer Gynt* over again, reconceptualizing virtually every aspect: the leading parts were recast, the set and costume design was new, and the adaptation was fresh. The final scene was indicative of Lindemann's new approach. Dissatisfied with the harmonizing closing vision of the 1910 and 1912 productions, he dropped the Pietà image of Peer lying in Solveig's lap. Instead, Peer lay outstretched, dead, in front of a wall, while Solveig descended from the wall, kneeled, and spread her arms over Peer's body.<sup>51</sup> The button moulder's last words, 'We shall meet at the last cross-road, Peer; / And *then* we'll see whether –; I say no more', were deleted.<sup>52</sup> In October 1915, Lindemann presented a reopening of *Peer Gynt* in Düsseldorf. The Munich version remained the basis for this and all subsequent reopenings of the play at the Schauspielhaus Düsseldorf in 1918, 1921, and 1927.

At the Königliches Schauspielhaus in Berlin, *Peer Gynt* initially premiered in a version spread over two nights. The first night included acts 1-3, whereas acts 4 and 5 were played on the subsequent evening. The two-evening performance of the play was presented for a period of four weeks, then the production was condensed

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 100-1.

<sup>52</sup> Henrik Ibsen, *The Oxford Ibsen*, III: *Brand, Peer Gynt*, trans. James Kirkup and Christopher Fry, with the assistance of James Walter McFarlane and Johan Fillinger (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 421.

into one evening and presented as a one-evening performance most probably for the entire rest of the run. At the transition from two-evening to one-evening performance, the opening scene of the fourth act, the scene on the coast of Morocco, was dropped.

Hutcheon argues that ‘an adaptation is a derivation that is not derivative—a work that is second without being secondary. It is its own palimpsestic thing’.<sup>53</sup> As Ibsen made clear in his letter of 8 August 1867 to his publisher Frederik Hegel, his *Peer Gynt* is, in itself, an adaptation of folkloristic material collected, transcribed, and retold by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen in the 1840s.<sup>54</sup> As Ibsen himself some years later initiated the first stage production of the play, he acted as his own adapter and commissioned Edvard Grieg to compose incidental music, the idea being to adapt *Peer Gynt* into ‘a musical drama’, as Ibsen noted in a letter to Josephson on 6 February 1874.<sup>55</sup> The initial decades of the stage history of the play, however, demonstrate that there was no such thing as a standard way to adapt *Peer Gynt* for the stage, and the productions examined here adds further force to Hutcheon’s argument about adaptation as a continuous process.

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<sup>53</sup> Hutcheon, p. 9.

<sup>54</sup> ‘It may interest you to know that Peer Gynt was a real person’, Ibsen told Hegel, ‘who lived in Gudbrandsdal, probably at the end of the last century or the beginning of this. His name is still well known among the peasants there. But of his exploits not much more is known than is to be found in Asbjørnsen’s *Book of Norwegian Folk Tales*, in the section ‘Mountain Scenes.’ So I have not had very much to work with, but on the other hand I have had so much more freedom to invent.’ Sprinchorn, *Ibsen: Letters and Speeches*, p. 64.

<sup>55</sup> Mary Morison, ed., *The Correspondence of Henrik Ibsen* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1970), p. 272.

## Conclusion

*Peer Gynt* was introduced on the German stage at a moment when Ibsen was well established and well in the process of being canonized as the father of modern drama, or one should rather say the father of modern prose dramas. IbsenStage reveals that from around 1910 onwards Ibsen's so-called cycle of contemporary prose plays gradually began to lose momentum. Thus, *Peer Gynt* became pivotal in renegotiating Ibsen's legacy on the German stage, as there seems to be a connection between the increasing popularity and the strong distribution of this specific play from the 1910s onwards and the gradual decline of Ibsen's socio-critical plays, *A Doll's House* in particular.<sup>56</sup> In this article I have examined the introduction of *Peer Gynt* on the German stage in view of the repertory system and I argue that German theatres paved the way for the play to become incorporated into this system. As a result of this, the play experienced an exponential growth in number of stage events, as may be witnessed in IbsenStage. Prominent stages in major or midsize cities were leading the way in this process. Two Berlin productions were particularly successful in terms of audience response which in turn stimulated a nationwide interest in the play, also on the part of a vast number of provincial stages.

I have demonstrated the use of IbsenStage as a research tool. Its relational data model brings to the fore patterns previously unaccounted for, the connection between the growing stage success of *Peer Gynt* and the repertory system being itself an example of one such pattern. IbsenStage also shows that the repertory system was instrumental in the formation of the Ibsenite actor, signifying a stage artist who over time assumes ownership to Ibsen roles. Recent studies on *A Doll's House* have

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<sup>56</sup> Hanssen, *Ibsen on the German Stage 1876-1918*, pp. 197-227.

revealed that a relatively small body of prominent Noras were dominating the global dissemination of the play in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>57</sup> In the network of stage artists involved in presenting *Peer Gynt* on the German stage, it is not the male actors portraying the leading character, but rather the Mother Aases who appear as the hubs. In other words, the strong and profound relationship between Ibsen and female stage artists suggested by Elizabeth Robins and others is not restricted to strong female characters like Nora, Hedda, Mrs Alving, and Rebecca West.<sup>58</sup> Conversely, my study seems to indicate that the pattern does not apply to Ibsen's male protagonists, as there were no male artists claiming a similar ownership to the *Peer Gynt* part.

Furthermore, I have argued that the growing popularity of *Peer Gynt* the stage play in the pre-1945 period is inconceivable without Grieg's incidental music. Critics and audience members parted way in their appraisals, as Grieg's music was roundly faulted by many critics for drawing too much attention at the expense of the drama, but strongly applauded by the audience, many of whom were already familiar with his orchestral suites from concert halls. The use of Grieg's score implied an element of sentimentalization, and this is nowhere more clear than in the widely used, ideologically permeated *Peer Gynt* adaptation of Dietrich Eckart, who explicitly emphasized Grieg's music.

*Peer Gynt* came into being as a work of adaptation of folkloristic material, thus by itself challenging the concept of the original work. At the transition from closet drama to playscript adaptation is the key, and the initial decades of the stage

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<sup>57</sup> See Holledge et al., *A Global Doll's House*.

<sup>58</sup> See Robins, *Ibsen and the Actress*.

history of the play demonstrate that there is no such thing as a standard way to adapt *Peer Gynt* for the stage. Using source material to chart a sample of fifteen Scandinavian and German productions according to which scenes were selected and deselected illustrated the argument, as it showed that there were no identical pairs in the sample.