Are the music and the choreography for „The Flower Festival“ Pas de deux by Paulli and Bournonville?

By Knud Arne Jürgensen

To meet with a question like this, put by a dance historian who has dedicated more than a decade to the study of August Bournonville’s ballets, may, of course, at first sight appear to be without sense. Nobody today would probably question August Bournonville’s and Holger Simon Paulli’s paternity of the 1858 Flower Festival Pas de deux.¹

However, it proves how careful research in the field of dance- and theatre history always must be when confronting even some of the most established historical „facts“ or „truths“. Since the Copenhagen première in 1858 of Bournonville’s one-act ballet The Flower Festival in Genzano this pas de deux has become one of the great 19th century Danish choreographer’s most well-known works, and is today in retrospect, sometime considered to be the dance that best expresses the quintessence of his choreographic and musical style.

Moreover, during the last four decades, The Flower Festival Pas de deux has achieved its rightful place in the international repertory of classical ballet. Since its creation this dance has always been particularly popular with the audience. At the first performance at Copenhagen’s Royal Theatre on December 19, 1858 the critic of Berlingske Tidende (20.12.1858) wrote:

Miss Juliette Price performed the leading rôle to the most enthusiastic applause and with that strange blend of grace and virtuosity that is so characteristic of her dancing; and we must in particular emphasize the pas de deux performed by her and Mr. Scharff. The latter deserves our outspoken recognition for his performing of the part of Paolo.

¹. Until recently there seems to have been confusion whether it was Edouard Helsted or Holger Simon Paulli who actually wrote the music for the pas de deux in The Flower Festival in Genzano. On the covers for the two existing recordings of this dance (Danish EMI 165-39262/3; HMV SLS 842) and in the programmes of the Royal Danish Ballet either Helsted or both composers have been listed for many years. A more serious blunder on this matter was recently made by Mr. Ole Nørlyng, who in an article on Bournonville’s composers (published in Perspektiv på Bournonville, Copenhagen, 1980, p. 282) emphasizes „Helsted’s music for the Flower Festival Pas de deux“ as one of the most outstanding examples of this composer’s „refined and elegant style“. The 1858 score for the pas de deux in The Flower Festival in Genzano is Paulli’s autograph.
When the *pas de deux* was first performed outside Denmark in this century by the Danish dancers, Emilie Smith and Karl Merrild, at the London Coliseum on June 8, 1914 the *Morning Post* reported on June 10, 1914:

[Emilie Smith] dances with surprising lightness and address, nothing being more fascinating than the delicate play of her very thin but eloquent arms. She was admirably supported by Mr. Merrild, whose methods are somewhat energetic. The *pas de deux*, which was most favourably received, would have seemed richer and less thin had it stood for some story."

This international popularity of the *Flower Festival Pas de deux* has continued up to our time and at the recent 1992 II Bournonville Festival in Copenhagen the dance was assessed by two American critics as follows:

The pièce de résistance was the *pas de deux* from *Flower Festival of [sic]* Genzano. Long a standard attraction at gala performances worldwide, this duet is a yardstick of classical technique [...] the shimmering aerial dynamics were beautifully detailed, with a freshness and innocence rarely seen and totally emblematic of Bournonville’s creed: „Ej Blot Til Lyst“ (not for pleasure alone) which is the inscription over his royal stage. (Camille Hardy in *The World and I*, June issue, 1992)

Created sixteen years after „Napoli“, the „Flower Festival“ duet again combines suggestions of Italian folk style with the elegant French classicism. (Lewis Segal in *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1992)

The *Flower Festival Pas de deux* is indeed one of Bournonville’s most happy blends of the Italian-Franco-Danish ballet-cultures of his century, and perhaps even more so than has hitherto been thought.

In connection with my current studies on the original sources and the performing history of Bournonville’s ballets in his own lifetime, some unknown sources have been discovered that have shed new light on the genesis of this dance duet. They raise the question whether the *Flower Festival Pas de deux* can, in fact, still be considered an original work by Bournonville and Paulli, or instead perhaps should be regarded as a „re-created“ dance, based on an earlier work by artists deriving from a completely different artistic milieu than the Biedermeier artistic world with which we normally connect Bournonville.

During the examination of the existing musical sources for Bournonville’s 1856 Vienna staging at the Kärnthnerthor Theatre of his ballet *Napoli* some unknown and highly surprising facts about this production came to light.
The 1856 Vienna production of Napoli, which represents the second and last staging outside Denmark during Bournonville's lifetime, contained among other things two new incorporated dances in Act III which replaced Bournonville's original 1842 pas de cinq divertissement in that act. These dances were:

(1) A Pas de quatre choreographed by the Italian dancer, Luigi Gabrielli, and danced by himself and three ladies (Pia Ricci, Eveline Roll and Caroline Dietrich).

(2) A Pas de deux choreographed by the Italian dancer, Lorenzo Vienna (who performed the rôle of Gennaro), and danced by himself and the Italian ballerina, Carolina Pocchini (who played Teresina).

Only very little is known about the music for Gabrielli's Pas de quatre. According to the ophicleide part for Napoli this dance consisted of eight movements as follows:

- „Scherzoso e vivo“ in 6/8 in E flat major (29 meas.)
- „Adagio“ in 12/8 in C major (21 meas.)
- „1.ster Variat:“ (the time signature, key, and number of bars unknown)
- „Var: 2.do“ Allegretto in 2/4 in F major (44 meas.)
- „3tes Variation“ (the time signature, key, and number of bars unknown)
- „Var: 4.to“ in 3/4 in B flat major (58 meas.)
- „Coda“ in 2/4 in G major (52 meas.) followed by a section in 6/8 in E flat major (26 meas.)
- „Galop“ in 2/4 in C major (111 meas.)

Much more was revealed from the study of the music sources in Austria's National Library of Lorenzo Vienna's pas de deux. In the part for the first violin the complete music of this dance was included (see Appendix II, entry 2). Apart from its introduction this music proves to be nearly identical with that of H.S. Paulli's autograph score for the pas de deux in Bournonville's ballet The Flower Festival in Genzano, premièred almost two years later at Copenhagen's Royal Theatre on 19.12.1858. This rather astonishing fact indicates that the music for Bournonville's 1858 Flower Festival Pas de deux, which hitherto has been regarded as a work composed exclusively by Paulli, must, in fact, already have existed and been performed in Napoli during Bournonville's sojourn in Vienna 1855-56.

2. On 27.6.1843 Napoli was mounted for the first time outside Denmark at Hamburg's Stadttheater. In Hamburg it was staged with new, original décors painted by the French scenographer, François d'Herbès, and was performed five times between 27.6. and 16.7.1843.

3. AWn, signature: O. A. 1036 (Orchesterstimmen)
A pencilled note on the part for the first violin („v[on]: Strebinger“) even provides us with the name of its composer, Matthias Strebinger (1807-1874), who apparently wrote this music in Vienna sometime during late 1855 or early ’56. However, the definitive proof that Strebinger is the true composer of this music was only obtained with the discovery of his autographed score for those parts of the dance that were played by an accompanying brass ensemble seated on stage (the so-called „Banda“). This score together with a contemporary manuscript copy of Strebinger’s full orchestral version were both recently unearthed in Copenhagen’s Royal Library (see Appendix II, entries 3 and 4).

With all these sources now at hand, Paulli should today only be given credit for having arranged and/or re-orchestrated Strebinger’s 1856 score when it was incorporated (probably at Bournonville’s wish) in his score for The Flower Festival in Genzano in 1858. The possibility that Paulli’s and Bournonville’s 1858 Flower Festival Pas de deux could have been incorporated in the Vienna version of Napoli after its 1858 Copenhagen première can be discounted because Napoli was given only three times in Vienna, the last time on February 9, 1856.¹

What, therefore, now remains to be answered is the exact extent to which the 1856 Napoli pas de deux – choreographed by an Italian dancer to original music by an Austrian composer – is really identical with Bournonville’s and Paulli’s 1858 Flower Festival Pas de deux – musically as well as choreographically.

At the 1856 première of Strebinger’s and Vienna’s Napoli Pas de deux the entire Viennese critical establishment emphasized the extraordinary quality of C. Pocchini’s and L. Vienna’s dancing. Among them was the critic of Wiener allgemeine Theaterzeitung who reported on 5.2.1856:


Bournonville, too, seems to have fallen in love with the incorporated Pas de deux in Napoli the moment he saw it. So much is clear from the three preserved music scores of this dance, which he bought directly from Strebinger and paid for out of his own pocket with what appears to be the explicit aim of bringing them to Copenhagen. Some years later these scores were donated by

¹ The original instrumental parts for the 1856 Vienna version of Napoli were packed and sealed after the last performance on February 9, 1856. It was my privilege to be the first to re-open the seals during my recent stay in Vienna in February 1994. This circumstance proves beyond doubt that these parts were never used for any other later performances of Napoli, not in the Austrian capital nor in any other country.
Bournonville as a personal gift to his Danish pupil and favourite ballerina, Juliette Price, who had followed him to Vienna in 1855-56 and in 1858 was the first to play *Rosa* in *The Flower Festival in Genzano* (see Appendix II, notes to entries 3 and 4).

The fact that Bournonville deliberately brought Strebinger's scores with him to Copenhagen in the spring of 1856 seems to indicate that a future Danish staging of this dance must have been very much in his mind long before the idea for *The Flower Festival in Genzano* first struck him in Copenhagen in June, 1857 (see Additional sources).

The plot for *The Flower Festival in Genzano*, which had already been drafted in parts by Bournonville with his projected 1848 ballet *Annitta, eller Viinhösten i Albanerbjergene* (see Appendix II, entry 1), was taken from the third chapter of Hans Christian Andersen's 1835 novel *The Improvisatore* in which a detailed description of the annual flower festival in Genzano is included. Andersen's description was combined with additional narrative material from Alexandre Dumas' *Impressions du Voyage* (1834). Bournonville's definitive 1858 version of the ballet tells the story of a young couple, *Rosa* and *Paolo*, who help an escaped brigand, but are repaid by him only with ingratitude. *Rosa* is held captured by the brigand, but after *Paolo's* successful efforts in liberating his fiancee the ballet ends happily with the couple being reunited in a *pas de deux* together with six girls during the annual flower festival in Genzano.

Apart from using most of the same music the *Flower Festival Pas de deux* also has some striking dramaturgical parallels with Lorenzo Vienna's *Napoli Pas de deux* in that both dances are performed by a young couple, who have recently undergone great perils and suffered long separation, but in the end are happily reunited. This seems to indicate that while Bournonville was still in the midst of choreographing *The Flower Festival in Genzano* he must have come to the conclusion that the 1856 *Napoli Pas de deux* would indeed be the most obvious choice for the finale divertissement in his new ballet.⁵

The only significant musical change that was made by Paulli in Strebinger's score (see Appendix I) is the omission of Strebinger's rather long introduction (41 meas.), which was replaced with a far shorter intrada of only nine bars of fanfare-like chords played by the full orchestra.

Paulli, moreover, "re-orchestrated" Strebinger's score to a certain extent, in that he omitted the accompanying brass ensemble (the so-called "Banda") which in Strebinger's version was seated on stage and played amidst the dancing Neapolitans in Act III of *Napoli*.

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⁵ According to his diary (see Additional sources) Bournonville began working on the *Pas de deux* rather late in the creative process of *The Flower Festival in Genzano*. Thus, the music and choreography for this dance seem to have been arranged and established definitively during November 1-9, 1858.
Finally, Paulli's 1858 version differs from Strebinger's score with a reversed succession of Strebinger's two opening movements (*Andante* and *Allegretto*). Paulli's score also holds some minor rhythmical differences and a number of brief music insertions, all presumably of his own composition.

When seen in a more general scheme, these differences are of only minor musical importance, and Paulli's score should accordingly be seen as a light arrangement of Strebinger's music.

These practices of musical borrowing and the rearranging of ballet scores by foreign composers were very common in the preceding century and can be followed in detail in Bournonville's diary entries and written instructions to musical collaborators. Therefore it is perhaps appropriate to briefly mention another striking example of these practices in the Bournonville repertoire.

Paulli's score to the well-known *Pas de trois* from Act 1 of the ballet *Conservatoriet* (1849), for instance, is not, as one has until now assumed, simply an arrangement of the French composer Pierre Rodes' violin concerto in A Major. Instead this work appears to have been borrowed from the French choreographer Jean Baptiste Blache's ballet *Mars et Vénus ou Les Filets de Vulcain* (1826).

The original rehearsal part to this ballet (Library of the Paris Opera: Mat. 19 [151(1), pp. 129-141], contains music which is practically identical to the *Pas de trois* in Paulli's score to *Conservatoriet*. In Blache's ballet this music was also performed as a *Pas de trois* by the French dancers, Lise Noblet (as *Vénus*), Antoine Paul (as *Zéphyre*), and Pauline Montessu (as *Flore*). Bournonville knew the ballet well from his student years in Paris in the late 1820s, and it is natural to assume that he returned to this particular *Pas de trois* when he choreographed *Conservatoriet* twenty years later. Consequently one can ponder whether the borrowing practices associated with the music and choreography of the *Flower Festival Pas de deux* are also applicable in the case of the *Pas de trois* in *Conservatoriet*; in reality should this dance be regarded as a work choreographed by Blache or by Bournonville?

These and many similar examples reveal that a great part of what we until now have considered to be an expression of a specifically Danish ballet culture in the Bournonville repertoire is, in reality, either a descendent from or a direct product of contemporary ballet music written by prominent south and central European choreographers and composers.

In my research I systematically have collected and identified all cases of musical and choreographical borrowings in the Bournonville repertoire so as to reveal, among other things, how complex a phenomenon Bournonville really was (at least during the first thirty years of the almost five decades he served as Copenhagen's ballet-master). The borrowings document how Bournonville made an immediate mental note whenever he heard ballet music outside Denmark so that he might use it later, with the help of Paulli or other Danish composers, in his own ballets in Copenhagen.

Thus much of Danish ballet music from the middle of the 19th century is
The music and the choreography in „The Flower Festival“ actually more of a development of foreign composers’ contributions to this field than it is an expression of a special school of Danish ballet music.

The next question to be answered is if the same thing also can be said about Bournonville’s choreography, in particular that for the Flower Festival Pas de deux? Does this dance as we know it from today’s performances actually represent a choreographic “adaptation” of those steps originally devised by Lorenzo Vienna in 1856?

To answer this question we are somehow less well equipped since so far no choreographic notes for either Lorenzo Vienna’s or Bournonville’s Pas de deux have been traced. We can therefore only turn to Bournonville’s choreography as it has been handed down from one generation of dancers to another for more than a century, in order to look for elements that may point towards an even earlier choreographic source in this dance.

Certainly, the Flower Festival Pas de deux is different from most of Bournonville’s other divertissements. If asked to characterize this dance in a few words one is tempted to call it Bournonville’s only truly international virtuosic showpiece, although he may not have intended it to be so originally.

In no other of his still preserved dances do we find so many unfamiliar steps or such strong pointe work than in the Flower Festival Pas de deux. This is particularly true with the girl’s small gargouillade-like steps in her first solo variation, and her circling en petit manège with four grand jetés in 1st arabesque at the end of the same solo. Also, the girl’s repeated series of quick relevés on pointe in her second solo are not found anywhere else in Bournonville’s other dances.

Another significant difference between Bournonville’s choreography for the Flower Festival Pas de deux and his other dances, is the Coda. Here a close circling is performed four times by the couple with the boy holding the girl while turning in a low leaning position and the girl jumping upright while doing rapid ronds de jambes sautés. It is rather unusual in Bournonville’s choreography for a phrase with this length to be repeated four times and without even the slightest variant.

Even the coquettish and flirtatious play between the girl and the boy in the beginning of the Coda (a choreographic reminiscence of the girl’s steps in her

6. The only choreographic description of the Flower Festival Pas de deux from Bournonville’s hand that has come to light so far is his autographed manuscript written on March 31, 1877 for the last restaging of the ballet in Bournonville’s lifetime, which took place on September 11, 1877. In this manuscript the Pas de deux is described as follows:

„Pas de deux
1. Pige med Tambourin Gruppe og Placement [an oblique line of six dots indicating the exact positions of six female dancers of the corps de ballet]
Adagio og Gruppe.
first solo variation) is not found anywhere else in Bournonville’s œuvre. Here the
girl takes a piqué into 1st arabesque on her right pointe supported by the boy. She
then swivels to the left doing a rotation into arabesque devant after which she
again swivels to the right returning to the 1st arabesque.

Both of the boy’s two soli seem close to Bournonville’s usual bouncy style in
that the boy’s steps here use mainly the strong beats of the music. However, in
his first solo we find a significant difference from most of Bournonville’s other
celebrated male variations in that this solo follows very simple direct lines in the
use of the stage with a clearly signalled and exact retracing of the path of the
dance.

The boy’s second solo is perhaps the only part of the entire dance which is
fully in Bournonville’s style. This becomes clear through the many sudden con-
trasts between series of high springing steps and earthbound travelling pas de
bourrée-like steps which are performed repeatedly, but each time with subtle
variants.

Taken as a whole it seems, that although the Flower Festival Pas de deux has
been generally acknowledged as one of the most typical expressions of Bour-
onville’s art, it also contains so many „foreign“ elements that we are now forced
to consider it differently from his other works. Knowing that this dance is based
musically on an Austrian composer’s score it seems reasonable also to consider it
as a choreographic „translation into Danish“ of an Italian dancer’s work, but, of
course, worked-out in full accordance with Bournonville’s own artistic creed.

When seen in this perspective the Flower Festival Pas de deux does indeed
represent the most international Bournonville-choreography ever, in which the
stylistic musical and choreographical peculiarities of the Romantic ballet in
Southern, Central, and Northern Europe became fused in a truly unique artistic
symbiosis. The lasting world-wide popularity of the Flower Festival Pas de deux
seems only to confirm this view.

Photos on opposite page:
1. (Top, left) Matthias Strebinger (1807-1874), Austrian composer. Lithograph by Josef Lavos, c.
   1848. Österreichischer Nationalbibliotek, Vienna, Bildarchiv.
2. (Top, right) Lorenzo Vienna (1830-?), Italian dancer and choreographer. Lithograph by C.
   Horergschj from a drawing by Girolamo Franceschini, c. 1856. Private collection, Vienna.
3. (Bottom, left) Holger Simon Paulli (1810-91), Danish composer. Carte-de-visite photograph by
   Georg Rosenkilde, c. 1866. Royal Library of Copenhagen, Kort og Billedsamlingen.
4. (Bottom, right) August Bournonville (1805-1879), Danish ballet-master. Lithograph by Ar-
   mand Rhin (Paris 1854) after a drawing by Edvard Lehmann. (Copenhagen 1853-54). Royal
   Library of Copenhagen, Kort- og Billedsamlingen.
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5. (Bottom) Matthias Strebinger’s autograph score for Lorenzo Vienna’s *Pas de deux* in *Napoli* (1856). Royal Library of Copenhagen, Musikafdelingen.

6. (Top) Matthias Strebinger’s autograph score for the first male variation in Lorenzo Vienna’s *Pas de deux* in *Napoli* (1856). Royal Library of Copenhagen, Musikafdelingen.
7. Holger Simon Paulli's autograph score for the first male variation in Bournonville's *Pas de deux* in *The Flower Festival in Genzano* (1858). Royal Library of Copenhagen, Musikafdelingen.
APPENDIX I

A comparative analysis of the music and the performing history of M. Strebinger's and L. Vienna's _pas de deux_ in Act III of _Napoli_ (Vienna, 1856) with H.S. Paulli's score for A. Bournonville's _Flower Festival Pas de deux_ (Copenhagen, 1858)

According to the part for the first violin for Matthias Strebinger's _pas de deux_ in the 1856 Vienna version of _Napoli_, and his autograph score for those sections of the same dance that were accompanied by a brass ensemble (seated on stage), Strebinger's music consisted of eight movements:

\[1\] „Allegretto“ (in Strebinger's autograph score for „Banda“ the tempo is indicated with „Allegro“), 3/4 time, G major (23 meas.).

This movement continues into a „Mod[era]to assai“ section in 6/8 time which (according to the part for the first violin and Strebinger's autograph score for „Banda“) originally consisted of 20 meas., but was later reduced to 18 meas. with the pencilled cancellation of meas. nos. 19-20.

According to Strebinger's autograph score the entire movement is played by the full orchestra in the pit accompanied by a brass ensemble (the so-called „Banda“) seated on the stage.

Comparative note:
The first movement of Strebinger's _Pas de deux_ is not included at all in Paulli's 1858 autograph score for the _Flower Festival Pas de deux_. Instead Paulli inserted a short „Maestoso“ introduction of 9 bars, presumably of his own composition:

In today's performances of the _Flower Festival Pas de deux_ Paulli's introduction has been replaced by yet another introduction („Andante tranquillo“) of 21 bars:

This new introduction was first added to _The Flower Festival Pas de deux_ in 1957 by Hans Brenaa, when he mounted the dance as an independent divertissement for Kirsten Ralov and Fredbjorn Bjornsson on 29.5.1957, and for the first time performed without the original _corps de ballet_ of six girls.

According to a recent interview with K. Ralov, Brenaa wanted, in 1957, to add a somewhat more „substantial“ musical introduction in order to create what he intended to be „a more suitable musical atmosphere“ for the two soloists, who performed the dance with a new opening tableau in which they were seen standing under a richly decorated arch of flowers.

Following advice from the rehearsal pianist, Elof Nielsen, Brenaa, therefore, decided to make use of a musical excerpt borrowed from Emil Reesen's 1949 score to Harald Lander's divertisse-
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ment Salut for August Bournonville (premièred at Copenhagen’s Royal Theatre on 5.6.1949). In this divertissement the excerpt had originally served as a prelude to Lander’s reconstruction of Bournonville’s 1848 Pas des trois Cousins (first performed at Copenhagen’s Casino Theatre on 20.5.1848). However, before Reesen’s 1949 prelude was added to the Flower Festival Pas de deux it became slightly changed (probably by Elof Nielsen?) through the addition of two new opening bars with modulating chords played by the brass.

However, none of the music used by Reesen in his 1949 prelude for Lander’s version of Bournonville’s Pas des trois Cousins had ever been part of Paulli’s original 1848 score for this dance. Instead of using Paulli’s original music Lander had for unknown reasons chosen to use excerpts from a score to a much earlier 19th century ballet by the Franco-Danish choreographer, Pierre Jean Laurent, entitled Rosentræet eller Hymens og Amors Forlig. This ballet (for which Laurent had written both the scenario and the music) was premiered at Copenhagen’s Royal Theatre on 22.4.1800, but reached only six performances with the last given on 15.5.1800.

According to the original répétiteur’s copy for Laurent’s ballet (now in DKKk, KTB 136) the excerpt from this score, which was employed by Reesen in 1949 for his version of Pas des trois Cousins, was originally part of the ballet’s second act (score no. 10). Here it is found notated in the same key as in Reesen’s score (G major), but with the time signature as 2/4. Reesen only used two brief excerpts of Laurent’s score, namely meas. nos. 1-8 and nos. 17-27 of the Act II „Andante“ movement (score no. 10), which originally had played for a total of 41 bars:

P.J. Laurent: Rosentræet eller Hymens og Amors Forlig, Act II, score no. 10, Andante, meas. 1-8:

\[\text{violin Solo}\]

P.J. Laurent: Rosentræet eller Hymens og Amors Forlig, Act II, score no. 10, Andante, meas. 17-27:

It was these two excerpts that were Reesen’s musical source for his prelude to Lander’s 1949 version of Pas des trois Cousins, and, in turn, became re-used by Hans Brenaa for his new introduction to the Flower Festival Pas de deux in 1957.
"And[an]te" (in Strebinger's autograph score for "Banda" the tempo is indicated with "Adagio"), C time, B flat major (28 meas.).

In the part for the first violin numerous pencilled notes are included which indicate Strebinger's original 1856 orchestration of this movement, the musical phrasing, etc.

Comparative note:
This section is musically almost identical with the Adage as performed today in the Flower Festival Pas de deux by the girl and the boy together. The only difference is the final section (in Strebinger's and Paulli's versions meas. nos. 21-28) which in E. Reesen's 1949 score to Salut for August Bournonville is written with redoubled values of the notes, thus making the Andante movement today play for a total of 35 meas. instead of the original 28 notated bars.

"Allegretto", 2/4 time, G major (according to the part for the first violin this movement consisted originally of 34 meas., but was later reduced to 30 bars with the omission of meas. nos. 30-33).

In the part for the first violin this movement is followed by a note (written with brown ink) that reads: "Variation folgt".

Comparative note:
This section is musically almost identical with Paulli's 1858 score for the Flower Festival Pas de deux, in which two brief connected solo-variations are performed by the girl and the boy respectively. In Paulli's score, however, the entire "Allegretto" is placed before the "Andante" section.

Paulli, moreover, adds a different ending from Strebinger's version by inserting 8 new bars between meas. 21 and 22 of Strebinger's score, and which, in fact, are an almost exact repeat of Strebinger's meas. nos. 6-10 and nos. 3-5. In this way Paulli's "Allegretto" plays for a total of 38 meas. against Strebinger's original version of 30 bars.

Paulli's score also holds a number of minor rhythmical differencies from Strebinger's score, as is the case with, for instance, meas. 17:

Strebinger (1856 version, first violin, Allegretto, meas. 17):
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Paulli (1858 version, orchestral score, Allegretto, meas. 17):

![Musical notation]

[4] „Moderato“ (in Strebinger’s autograph score for „Banda“ the title and the tempo for this movement is indicated with „Var: No. 1./Allegro”), 6/8 time, E flat major (30 meas.).

Several pencilled notes included in the part for the first violin indicate the musical phrasing of this movement.

The entire movement is in Strebinger’s 1856 version played by a full orchestra in the pit accompanied by a brass ensemble (the so-called „Banda“) seated on stage.

Comparative note:
This section is musically almost identical with the boy’s first solo-variation in the 1858 Flower Festival Pas de deux. Paulli’s version, however, has a slightly different ending in that he inserted seven completely new bars (presumably of his own composition) that replaced meas. 28-30 of Strebinger’s score:

Strebinger’s 1856 version (meas. 27-30):

![Musical notation]

Paulli’s 1858 version (meas. 27-34):

![Musical notation]

Paulli, moreover, indicates the tempo of this movement differently from Strebinger with „All[e]gro non troppo“.

[5] „Brillante assai“ (in Strebinger’s autograph score for „Banda“ the title of this movement is indicated with „Var: No. 2“), 2/4 time, C major (according to the part for the first violin this movement consisted originally of 52 meas., but was already in 1856 reduced to 48 bars with the omission of meas. nos. 44-47).
Comparative note:
This section is musically completely identical with Paulli's 1858 score for the girl's first solo-varia-
tion in the Flower Festival Pas de deux. Paulli, however, indicates the tempo differently from
Strebinger with "Allegro".

[6]
"Coda" (in Strebinger's autograph score for "Banda" the tempo is indicated with "Moderato"),
3/4 time, B flat major (41 meas.).

Comparative note:
Except for the first 22 bars this movement is musically completely different from Paulli's 1858
Flower Festival Pas de deux in that Paulli here added two longer insertions (presumably of his
own composition). The first of these are 16 bars which were incorporated between meas. 22
and 23 of Strebinger's score:

The second addition consists of a new ending of 33 bars(1855,925)(250,85),(730,828) (also presumably by Paulli) which were
placed after what is meas. 36 of Strebinger's score:

By inserting this new ending Paulli had to cancel the last five bars (meas. nos. 37-41) of
Strebinger's original waltz which played as follows:
Because of these changes the waltz played for a total of 85 bars in Paulli's 1858 version against Strebinger's original score of only 41 meas.
Paulli, moreover, indicated the tempo of the waltz differently from Strebinger with „Allegro“.
In the 1858 version of the Flower Festival Pas de deux the waltz was (according to pencilled notes in the 1884 répétiteur's copy) performed by a corps de ballet of six girls, who danced around the leading couple holding flower garlands. Only in meas. 39-85 were they joined by the boy, who performed a solo in their midst.

[7] „Allegro 66“, (in Strebinger's autograph score for „Banda“ the tempo is indicated with „Allegro vivace“), 2/4 time, E flat major (38 meas.).

This movement is in Strebinger's 1856 version played by a full orchestra in the pit accompanied by a brass ensemble (the so-called „Banda“) seated on the stage.

Comparative note:
Apart from Strebinger's upbeat of semiquavers (which in 1858 were changed by Paulli to quavers) and the accompanying brass ensemble seated on stage (which was omitted by Paulli) Strebinger's music of this mouvement is completely identical with Paulli's 1858 score for the Flower Festival Pas de deux.
In the dance this movement is performed as the girl's second solo-variation.

[8] „Allegro“ (in Strebinger's autograph score for „Banda“ the tempo is indicated with „Vivace“), 2/4 time, E flat major (47 meas.).

This movement is in Strebinger's 1856 version played by a full orchestra in the pit accompanied by a brass ensemble (the so-called „Banda“) seated on stage.

Comparative note:
Apart from a repeat of the first 32 bars (added by Paulli in 1858) and Strebinger's accompanying music for brass ensemble (later omitted) this movement is musically completely identical with the Coda section of Paulli's Flower Festival Pas de deux. Because of Paulli's repeat of meas. 1-32 the entire Coda played in 1858 for a total of 79 meas. against Strebinger's 1856 version of only 47 bars.
In the 1858 version of the Flower Festival Pas de deux the Coda was originally danced by six girls (meas. 1-32), who were later joined by the girl and the boy in meas. 33. At the end they all danced together forming a group with the six girls encircling the couple while holding flower garlands.
APPENDIX II

The original music and choreographic sources for the Flower Festival Pas de deux

LIBRARY SIGLA (in alphabetical order):

AWn: Österreichischer Nationalbibliothek, Wien (Musiksammlung).
AWth: Österreichischer Theatermuseum, Wien.
DKKk: Det kongelige Bibliotek, København (Musikafd./Håndskriftafd./Danske afd.).
DKKkt: Det kongelige Teater, København (Musikarkivet).
SSkma: Musikalska Akademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm.
USNYp: New York Public Library, New York City (Dance Collection, Lincoln Center).

1. Manuscript scenario. Ms. Autograph by Bournonville. Brown ink. 10 pp. (20,7 x 17,2 cm)
   Annitta, eller Viinhösten i Albanerbjergene. Ballet i to Akter af August Bournonville/ 1848.
   Signed and dated: „Fredensborg d. 22 Sept. 1848."
   [DKKk; NKS 3285 4° 2 A-E]
   This 1848 autograph libretto for Bournonville's projected ballet Annitta, or The Wine Harvest in the mountains of Albano seems to have served as basis for most of the dramatic action in the first section of his 1858 ballet The Flower Festival in Gienzano.

2. Instrumental part (first violin). Ms. Copy by an unknown hand. Brown ink. 1 vol. 45 pp. (33,4 x 25,7 cm)
   Napoli/Violine I/1.3.ter Act/[…]v: Strebinger/Violine 1.mo/1./Pas de deux
   Unsigned and undated [c. 1855-56]
   [AWn; O. A. 1036 (Orchesterstimmen)]
   The music for Strebinger's Pas de deux is included on pp. 13-23. Numerous pencilled notes are inserted in this part indicating the original orchestration of Strebinger's score, and which movements were accompanied by a brass ensemble (the so-called „Banda“) seated on stage. Other musician's notes in this part indicate the musical phrasing and give some alternative tempi. All together these notes provide a definitive proof that the Pas de deux was actually played as part of the three Vienna performances of Napoli in 1856.

3. Orchestral score for a brass ensemble (the so-called „Banda“) seated on stage. Ms. Autograph by M. Strebinger. Brown and black ink. 1 vol. 14 pp. (33 x 25,6 cm)
   Signed „Strebinger“, undated [1855-56]
   [DKKk; C II, 105, Efterslæt 3 (M. Strebinger, Ballo Napoli)]
   This autograph score by Strebinger appears (according to its title-page) to have been bought by Bournonville in Vienna and later donated by him (according to his autographed note „Propriété de M.Ile Price“) to the Danish ballerina, Juliette Price. Price danced the Flower Festival Pas de deux together with Harald Scharff at its Copenhagen première in 1858. The score was bought in 1902 by Copenhagen’s Royal Library from the actor, Carl Price, who was a relative of Juliette Price and may have received it from her previously.

4. Orchestral score. Ms. Copy by an unknown hand. Black ink. 1 vol. 54 pp. (32,7 x 25,7 cm)
   Propriété de M.Ile Juliette Price/von Strebinger/Pas de Deux./Jfr Prices Eiendom
   Unsigned and undated [c. 1855-56]
The score was bought in 1902 by Copenhagen's Royal Library from the actor, Carl Price, who was a relative of Juliette Price and may have received it from her previously.

According to Bournonville's two autographed notes on the title-page ("Propriété de Mlle Price") it was most probably brought to Copenhagen by him and later donated to Juliette Price, who was the first to dance the Flower Festival Pas de deux in Copenhagen in 1858. The score must almost certainly have been copied in Vienna at Bournonville's direct request (perhaps by the Italian "Capelmester Ricci" from whom he regularly received music copies during his sojourn in Vienna 1855-56). This theory is confirmed by the fact that the title of each movement and the names of the instruments are all given in Italian. Moreover, the score clearly refers to Strebing's autograph score for an accompanying brass ensemble seated on stage (see entry 3) with a note on p. 25 reading: "Con Banda Tutta".

The score holds a number of minor rhythmical differences from Paulli's 1858 autograph score for the Flower Festival Pas de deux. It is also orchestrated differently in that it includes an ophicleide which does not appear at all in Paulli's 1858 orchestration.

The score was bought in 1902 by Copenhagen's Royal Library from the actor, Carl Price, who was a relative of Juliette Price and may have received it from her previously.

5. Manuscript scenario. Ms. Autograph by Bournonville. Black ink. 1 vol. 10 pp. (22,8 x 16,9 cm)
   Blomsterfestyen i Genzano./Ballet i een akt/af/August Bournonville/1858.
   Signed and dated: "Kbhvn d 31:e August 1858."
   [DKKk; NKS 3285 4° 2 A-E]

   [7 numbered drawings and choreographic diagrams for the "Flower Dance" ("Blomsterdands")
   in Scene 12]
   Unsigned and undated [1858?]
   [USNYp; Dance Collection (microfilm)]

   107 paginated pp. and two blank pp.) (25,2 x 33,5 cm)
   267/Blomsterfestyen i Genzano./Partitur
   HSpaulli."
   [DKKk; CII, 114k]
   Paulli's untitled music for the Flower Festival Pas de deux appears in this score as "No. 12" (pp. 198-198).

   3 vl I, 1 vl II, 1 vla, 2 vlc e cb, fl, cl 1/2, tr 1/2, trb, timp, gr cassa e tri, piano.
   Unsigned and undated [1858]
   [DKKk; KTB 267]
   These parts represent the only original parts that have survived from the 1858 Copenhagen
   premiere of The Flower Festival in Genzano.

9. Printed scenario. 1 vol. 11 pp. (19,7 x 12,7 cm)
   Kjobenhavn, J.H. Schubothes Boghandel, 1858
   [DKKk; 17, - 175 8°]
Piano score. Ms. Copy by an unknown hand. Brown ink. 1 vol. 11 pp. and 1 p. blank. (35.5 x 26.1 cm)

Piano score. Ms. Copy by an unknown hand. Brown ink. 1 vol. 11 pp. and 1 p. blank. (35.5 x 26.1 cm)

This is the earliest known arrangement for piano of the *Flower Festival Pas de deux*. It was probably arranged (perhaps by Paulli?) for publishing purposes and is musically completely identical with Paulli's 1858 version.

Choreographic note. Ms. Autograph. Brown ink. 1 vol. 12 pp. (22.8 x 18.2 cm)

This manuscript contains Bournonville's autographed notation of the complete mime and choreography for *The Flower Festival in Genzano* with the exception of the *Pas de six*, the *Pas de deux*, the *Flower Dance (Blomsterlandes)* and the *Saltarello*.

The dramatic action is divided into nine scenes and two *Changements* ("Osteri Stue" and "Gaden i Genzano"). For each scene there are inserted choreographic numbers which probably refer to similar numbers inserted in the not yet traced répétiteur's copy from the 1858 première.

Répétiteur's copy. Ms. Copy by an unknown hand. Brown ink. 1 vol. 41 pp. (33.6 x 25.6 cm)

This répétiteur's copy includes the complete music for Section II of *The Flower Festival in Genzano*. It was written in connection with the 1884 restaging at Copenhagen's Royal Theatre and contains numerous pencilled notes indicating the names of the dancers who performed each section of the ballet. The music for the *Pas de deux* is included on pp. 12-25 and is completely identical with Paulli's original 1858 version.

**ADDITIONAL SOURCES**

In his diary (now in Copenhagen's Royal Library, NKS 747 8°, kapsel 3) Bournonville noted about the creation and the 1858 Copenhagen première of *The Flower Festival in Genzano*:

23.7. and 27.7.1857: "Læst og speculeret paa mine nye Balletter"

31.8.1858: "Reenskrevet et Program til en lille ný Ballet, Blomsterfesten i Genzano"

6.9.: "begyndt den ný Ballet 1.ste Deel med Helsted"

7.9.: "Mode [...] med H Paulli, der gav mig Saltarelle af den ný Ballet"

14.9.: "arbeidet med Paulli og senere paa Eftermiddagen med Helsted"

15.9.: "arbeidet med Paulli"

25.9.: "Eftermiddag arbeidet med Helsted – endelig 1°"

27.9.: "Op Kl 6, componeret paa min ný Ballet [...] componeret den Hele Eftermiddag"

28.9.: "1.ste Indstuderingsprøve paa „Blomsterfesten i Genzano“ [...] componeret"

29.9.: "2.den Indst-prøve paa „Genzano“ [...] Eftermiddagen skrevet og componeret"

30.9.: "skrevet og componeret, arbeidet med Helsted"

1.10.: "komponeret"

2.10.: "3.die Indstuder paa Blomsterfesten [...] arbeidet med Helsted"

3.10.: "Møde med Lehmann"
The music and the choreography in „The Flower Festival“

4.10.: „skrevet og componeret“
6.10.: „en Times Indstudering paa Blomsterfesten“
8.10.: „besøgt […] Helsted […] arbeidet med Helsted“
9.10.: „5.te Indst. paa Blomsterfesten“
10.10.: „skrevet og comoneret den hele Formiddag“
11.10.: „skrevet og comoneret den hele Formiddag“
12.10.: „Prove Kl 15.6.te Indst. paa Blomsterfesten“
13.10.: „Prove 7.de Indstudering Blomsterfesten“
14.10.: „8.de Indst. paa Blomsterfesten“
15.10.: „componeret paa Saltarello’er“
16.10.: „lille Prøve paa Saltarello’en […] componerede lidt“
17.10.: „skrevet, arrangeret, componeret […] Prove 9.e Indstudering […] Eftermiddagen hjemme og componeret indtil Kl 9“
18.10.: „kom hjem, fik jeg Brev med Tilsigelse at møde til Audients hos H. M. Kongen, Imorgen Kl 9“
19.10.: „10.de Indstudering“
20.10.: „kom hjem, fik jeg Brev med Tilsigelse at møde til Audients hos H. M. Kongen, Imorgen Kl 9“
24.10.: „Arbeidet med Helsted. – Frokost der“
25.10.: „skrevet og componeret“
26.10.: „12 Indstudering paa Blomsterfesten“
28.10.: „skrevet og comoneret“
29.10.: „Modtaget den sidste Scene af Helsted“
30.10. and 31.10.: „skrevet og comoneret“
1.11.: „skrevet og arrangeret, indleveret Regien til den ny Ballet. Prøve […] fuldendt" til Balletten“
2.11.: „Prove paa Blomsterfesten“
3.11.: „14.de Indstudering paa Blomsterfesten“
4.11.: „Prove paa Blomsterfesten 15.de Indstudering“
6.11.: „16.de Indstudering paa Blomsterfesten“
8.11.: „17.de og sidste Indstudering paa Blomsterfesten“
9.11.: „Prove paa Pas de deux til Blomsterfesten“
10.11.: „Costumemode paa Blomsterfesten“
11.11.: „Prove paa hele Blomsterfesten, der varer 53 Minutter“
12.11.: „lille Prøve paa Blomsterfesten“
17.11.: „Prove paa Blomsterfesten for Directeurerne“
24.11. and 27.11.: „Prove paa Blomsterfesten“
9.12.: „passet Prøver paa Blomsterfesten“
10.12.: „Arrangement prøve paa Blomsterfesten“
11.12.: „lille Prøve paa Blomsterfesten“
13.12.: „Prove paa […] 1.ste Deel af Blomsterfesten […] fuldført Programmet og bragt det til Bogtrykkeren“
14.12.: „1.ste fuldstændige Prøve paa Blomsterfesten, der gik udmærket“
15.12.: „Correctur paa Balletprogrammet […] Aftenprøve paa Blomsterfesten“
17.12.: „Generalprøve paa Blomsterfesten der gik udmærket godt“
18.12.: „Costuméprøve og Revisitorsprøve paa Balletten“
23.12.: „til Audients for H. M. Kongen, der i de naadigst Udtryk bevidnede mig sin Tilfredshed med Forestillingen aføres“.
SUMMARY

Are the music and the choreography for The Flower Festival Pas de deux by Paulli and Bournonville?

Since the creation in 1858 of August Bournonville’s and Holger Simon Paulli’s Flower Festival Pas de deux this dance has achieved its rightful place in the international repertory of classical ballet. It represents one of Bournonville’s most happy blends of the Italian-Franco-Danish ballet-cultures of his century, and perhaps, even more so, than has hitherto been thought.

In connection with a current research project on the original sources and the performing history of Bournonville’s ballets in his own lifetime, some unknown sources have been discovered that have shed new light on the genesis of this dance duet. They raise the question whether the Flower Festival Pas de deux can, in fact, still be considered an original work by Bournonville and Paulli, or instead perhaps should be regarded as a „re-created“ dance, based on an earlier work by artists from a completely different artistic milieu than the Biedermeier artistic world normally connected with Bournonville.

Through the examination of the existing musical sources for Bournonville’s 1856 Vienna staging at the Kärnthnerthor Theatre of his 1842 ballet Napoli, some unknown facts about this production have come to light. They prove that the music for what in 1858 became The Flower Festival Pas de deux was originally composed in Vienna by the Austrian composer, Mathias Strebinger, and first performed in Act III of Napoli to choreography by the Italian dancer, Lorenzo Vienna.

These practices of musical borrowing and the rearranging of ballet scores by foreign composers and choreographers were very common in the preceding century and many striking examples of these practices can be found in the Bournonville repertoire.

The article discusses these aspects by focusing, in particular, on the genesis of The Flower Festival Pas de deux. This dance documents how Bournonville made an immediate mental note whenever he heard ballet music outside Denmark and then used it later, with the help of Paulli or other Danish composers, in his own ballets in Copenhagen.

Moreover, the article reveals that a great part of what we hitherto have considered to be an expression of a specifically Danish ballet culture in the Bournonville repertoire is, in reality, either a descendent from or a direct product of contemporary ballet music written by prominent south and central-european choreographers and composers. Thus, much of Danish ballet music from the middle of the 19th century is actually more of a development of foreign composer’s contributions to this field than it is an expression of a special school of Danish ballet music.