

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN BALLET MUSIC BEFORE NATIONAL
UNIFICATION: SOURCES, STYLE, AND CONTEXT

by

MATILDA ANN BUTKAS ERTZ

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the School of Music and Dance
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

September 2010

University of Oregon Graduate School

Confirmation of Approval and Acceptance of Dissertation prepared by:

Matilda Ertz

Title:

"Nineteenth-century Italian Ballet Music Before National Unification: Sources, Style and Context"

This dissertation has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Music by:

Marian Smith, Chairperson, Music
Anne McLucas, Member, Music
Marc Vanscheeuwijck, Member, Music
Jenifer Craig, Outside Member, Dance

and Richard Linton, Vice President for Research and Graduate Studies/Dean of the Graduate School for the University of Oregon.

September 4, 2010

Original approval signatures are on file with the Graduate School and the University of Oregon Libraries.

© 2010 Matilda Ann Butkas Ertz

An Abstract of the Dissertation of
Matilda Ann Butkas Ertz for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the School of Music and Dance to be taken September 2010
Title: NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN BALLET MUSIC BEFORE NATIONAL
UNIFICATION: SOURCES, STYLE, AND CONTEXT

Approved: _____
Dr. Marian Smith

Though not widely acknowledged, ballet and its music were important to the nineteenth-century Italian theatre-goer. While much scholarship exists for Italian opera, less study is made of its counterpart even though the ballet was an important feature of Italian theatre and culture. This dissertation is the first in-depth survey of the music for Italian ballets from 1800-1870, drawing from the hundreds of ballet scores in two important collections: The John and Ruth Ward Italian Ballet Collection, part of the Harvard Theatre Collection, and the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts Research Collections.

After discussion of primary and secondary sources (Chapters II and III), I provide an overview of the context in which ballets were performed during the period (Chapter IV). In Chapter V I discuss musical styles for mime and for dance, and dance sub-

categories such as the *pas de deux*, ballabile, and national dances. I also explore specific commonly occurring choreo-musical sub-topics such as anger, love, storms, hell, witches, devils, and sylphs.

Finally, I examine two complete ballets in detail. Chapter VI on Salvatore Viganò's *La Vestale* includes a discussion of the hitherto neglected manuscript full score and of the published piano reduction. Chapter VII on Giuseppe Rota's *Bianchi e Negri* explores the musical and dramatic adaptation of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. While examining the traits of Italian ballet music as a genre and exploring relationships between music, dance, and libretto, this dissertation initiates a wider discussion of the social-political context of ballet music in nineteenth-century Italian theatrical life during the turbulent decades spanning the 'Risorgimento' period.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Matilda Ann Butkas Ertz



GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
State University of New York College at Potsdam, Crane School of Music

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy, Musicology, supporting area in Piano Performance,
September 2010, University of Oregon
Master of Music in Piano Performance, May 2002, University of Illinois at
Urbana-Champaign
Master of Music in Piano Pedagogy, May 2002, University of Illinois at Urbana-
Champaign
Bachelor of Music, Music Education, certificates in Piano Performance and Piano
Pedagogy State University of New York College at Potsdam, Crane
School of Music, May 2000

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Music and Dance
Piano Performance
Harpsichord Performance
Keyboard Pedagogy

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Graduate Teaching Fellowship at the University of Oregon School of Music (2004-2008), sole instructor of a course on Beethoven for undergraduate music and non music majors and “Guided Listening” for undergraduate music majors (2007); discussion section instructor of Western Art Music History sequence for undergraduate music majors (2005, 2007-2008); teaching assistant for “Pop Music in the Global Context” (2007, 2008), “The History of Rock I/II” (2004, 2005, 2006), “Film: Drama, Music, Photography” and “Art Film” (2005), “Understanding Music” (2006); teacher of applied lessons (music and non-music majors) in harpsichord (2007) and piano (2005)

Active performer on piano and harpsichord (ongoing) including a recent recording and performance project of the complete solo and duet keyboard works of Johann Mattheson (with harpsichordist Bill Carragan) that included a series of performances at Clark University, Worcester, MA, Festival of Baroque Music, Greenfield Center, NY, Boston Early Music Festival Fringe Concert, and the University at Albany Performing Arts Center (2005-2006); frequently accompany and collaborate on piano and harpsichord, from recitative accompaniment for Mozart’s “The Marriage of Figaro” (2007) to new music ensembles and choral accompaniment.

Piano Instructor: private piano studio, all ages and levels, private piano lessons with yearly recitals and enrichment activities, classical and jazz, thirteen years experience (ongoing)

Graduate Teaching Assistantship at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (2000-02), taught group piano class sequence for undergraduate music majors, four levels/semesters; taught private lessons through the Piano Laboratory Program, all ages and levels

Piano Instructor for ISYM (Illinois Summer Youth Music) at the University of Illinois, Piano Camp, daily private lessons in preparation for final recital, classes in theory, musicianship, music history and jazz piano as well as special presentations and performances (2004, 2005)

Piano Instructor at The Music Studio, Albany, NY (2002-2004); taught group classes (musicianship and piano), adults and children, private lessons all ages; prepared students for recitals, evaluations, NYSMTA / NYSSMA participation and performances that included choral work, instrumental ensembles, Orff ensembles, movement, and keyboard solos / ensembles

Student Assistant at The Crane School of Music, SUNY College at Potsdam, NY, (1996-2000), taught group piano for non-music majors (1999 – 2000); taught private and group lessons through the preparatory program (1997-2000), taught private lessons to music students (non-piano majors) (1997 – 2000)

Tutor for SUNY Potsdam Student Services (1996-2000) in music theory, aural skills, music literature and style, as well as calculus

GRANTS, AWARDS AND HONORS:

Graduate Research Award in Music (University of Oregon, 2008)

Graduate Teaching Fellowship in Musicology at the University of Oregon School of Music (2004-2008)

Study abroad scholarship for foreign language study in Italy (2006)

Graduate Teaching Assistantship in Piano Pedagogy at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (2000-2002)

Voted on to the “list of instructors rated as excellent by their students” published by the University of Illinois (2000, 2001)

Outstanding Tutor Award, SUNY Potsdam (2000)

Two time recipient of the Anne Pease Breaky Scholarship for piano, The Crane School of Music, SUNY Potsdam (1995, 1998)

Dean’s and/or President’s List, SUNY Potsdam (1996 – 2000)

Kappa Delta Pi educational honors society, SUNY Potsdam (1998)

PUBLICATIONS:

Matilda Ann Butkas Ertz, “Jean-Madelaine Schneitzhoeffter’s Score for *La Sylphide* (Paris, 1832),” in *La Sylphide*, edited by Marian Smith (forthcoming)

Matilde [sic] Ann Butkas, “George Balanchine” in *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet*, edited by Marion Kant (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 224-236

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank my husband Matthew Ertz and my family: parents June and Albert Butkas, sisters Katrina and Bonnie Butkas, and brother-in-law Tim Murray for their love, support and friendship. I would like especially to thank Matthew Ertz for his transcriptions, library book acquisitions and for taking great care of me. I am indebted to my grandfather, Captain Widmer C. Hansen (1913-2003), for believing in me and encouraging me to pursue my education and passion for music to the highest degree. Thank you Esmé Widmer Ertz for compelling me to finish.

I am extremely grateful to Dr. Marian Smith for her guidance, inspiration, intelligence, editing prowess, and friendship, and to the rest of my committee, Dr. Anne Dhu McLucas, Dr. Jenifer Craig and Dr. Marc Vanscheeujick. Each of you were a unique part of the formation of my dissertation, in addition to being an wonderful committee and excellent instructors during my time at the University of Oregon. I want to thank Dr. John M. Ward for meeting with me in January of 2010 and for tirelessly collecting the wonderful materials in the John and Ruth Ward Italian Ballet Collection at the Harvard Theatre Collection that made this study possible. I would also like to thank all of the librarians and support staff who have helped me in my research at the Harvard Theatre Collection and the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts research collections. Thanks also to Elizabeth Elmi for her translation help. My gratitude also goes to those who housed me on my Boston and New York research excursions.

Finally, I have been blessed with great friends and colleagues, far too many to list here, who have both welcomed, supported and tolerated the sometimes intrusion of this dissertation into my life and theirs, and for discussing details and inspiring my work on many levels. My deep gratitude goes to all of you (you know who you are).

In memory of Captain Widmer C. Hansen
(August 1, 1913 - November 17, 2003)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Introductory Notes.....	9
II. A SURVEY OF SECONDARY LITERATURE PERTAINING TO ITALIAN BALLET MUSIC IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	11
Nineteenth-century Italian Ballet Music.....	11
Italian Ballet History: Theatres, Choreographers, Specific Topics.....	16
Cities and Theatres.....	16
Choreographers.....	23
Specific Topics in Italian Ballet History and Related Scholarship.....	28
Biographies.....	31
Nineteenth-century Ballet Music outside of Italy.....	34
III. PRIMARY AND MAIN SOURCES USED IN THIS STUDY	44
Catalogues and Chronologies Post-1800	45
Almanacs and Chronologies from the Nineteenth Century (pre-1880).....	48
The Nineteenth-century Theatre Chronology	52
Libretti.....	53
Musical Sources.....	65
The Published Keyboard Reduction of Ballet Music	74
Ballet Music Sources in Italy	78
Other Primary Sources and Web Resources	80

Chapter	Page
IV. OVERVIEW OF ITALIAN BALLET FROM 1800-1870.....	85
Introduction—Ballet as a Distinct Genre.....	85
Libretti and Scenarios.....	87
Theatre Orchestras	91
Dancing and Mime.....	95
Music	97
Overview of Ballet from 1800-1830, Viganò's Ballets, the Prevalence of Mime, Gaetano Gioia.....	101
Salvatore Viganò, Mime, the Structure of the Coreodramma and his Use of Music.....	109
Musi	114
Gaetano Gioja (Gioia)	131
Ballet from the 1830-1870: Changes in the Frequency of Ballet Performances, Choreographers and Ballet Masters, Music for Dance and Mime, Waning of Ballet	133
Choreographers and Ballet Masters	135
Music, Mime and Dance.....	138
The Waning of Ballet Performances	147
V. TYPES OF MUSIC IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN BALLET	148
Mime Music and Action Music.....	150
Musical Examples of Mime.....	151
Music for Dancing: Grotteschi, National Dances, Ballabile, Solos, <i>Pas de deux</i>	193
Introduction.....	193
Grotteschi.....	196

Chapter	Page
National Dances	209
The Furlana.....	211
The Tarantella	213
Other Characteristic or National Dances.....	218
Ballabile.....	236
Solos and <i>Pas de deux</i>	247
<i>Pas de deux</i>	251
Musical Topics	263
Supernaturals: Witches, Devils, Willis.....	265
Weather and the Elements	280
Hell, Tartaro, Inferno.....	290
Misery, Jealousy, Trouble, Anger and Deat	298
Love and Other Emotional States	305
Music for Special Dramatic Situations.....	312
Scoring	317
The Banda in Ballet Scores	323
VI. SALVATORE VIGANÒ'S <i>LA VESTALE</i> IN MANUSCRIPT FULL SCORE AND CEMBALO REDUCTION.....	332
Introduction and Overview of Viganò Music and Dance Scholarship	333
The Plot, Origins and Appearance of <i>La Vestale</i>	338
Libretto.....	355
Music and Musical Sources for <i>La Vestale</i>	361
Music and Action: Act I, Jubilant Celebrations for the Feast of Ceres	364

Chapter	Page
Act II: Decio's Plan and a <i>Pas de deux</i> "in the French Style"	373
Act III: Emilia's Downfall	382
Act IV: Emilia Condemned to Death.....	394
Act V: The Live Burial of the Vestale and the Death of her Lover, Decio	398
Restaging <i>La Vestale</i> and other <i>La Vestale</i> Dramas on Italian Stages	409
Conclusions	412
VII. <i>BIANCHI E NEGRI</i>—FROM HARRIET BEECHER STOWE TO THE ITALIAN STAGE	418
Uncle Tom's Cabin in Italy.....	419
Overview of the Sources (Music and Libretti).....	421
The Narrative: Summary, Comparison, and Italian Ballet Plot Stereotypes...	424
Plot Manipulations.....	429
Quadro Secondo / Parte Seconda, Scena Prima, Ricca Cala (Luxurious Room) Celebratory Scene Interrupted	429
Scena Seconda: Capanna (Cabin), the Master's Declarations of Love and Further Reason to Flee.....	431
Scena Terza: Piantagione (Plantation) the Escape, Confusion, and Hunt.....	434
Scena Quarta: Mercato (Market): a) Crowd Scene at Market – Group Dances; b) Slaves in Hiding, Ransom Note, Betrayal, Revenge.....	434
Scena Quinta: Magazzino (Warehouse)	436
The Final Scene: Allegorical Conclusion and Celebration	439
The Music: Overview of the Score.....	440
Opening Music.....	443
Interrupted Ball	444

Chapter	Page
Studying the Illegal Book and an Unsavory Love Declaration	446
Grand Market.....	453
Escaped Slaves in Hiding	454
Epiphany in the Warehouse	456
Risorgimento Politics and Reception.....	465
Conclusions	468
VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	471
Ballet Music as a Genre	471
Ballet Music Genre Characteristics and Traits in Italian Ballet Scores.....	472
Italian <i>Pas de deux</i> , 1800-1870.....	475
The Importance of Mime in Italian Ballet Musical Scores	477
Italian Ballet and Ballet Music: Social and Historical Importance	477
Historiography	480
Conclusions and Further Research	481
Sources	481
Style.....	482
Piano Reductions, Full Scores, and Orchestration.....	483
Film Music and Transcription.....	483
Complete Ballet Case Studies.....	484
Context	485
Politics	486
APPENDICES	488

Chapter	Page
A. A DATABASE OF ITALIAN BALLET MUSIC SOURCES IN COLLECTIONS AT THE NYPL AND HTC (PRINT VERSION).....	488
Introductory Notes and Explanation of Appendices A and B.....	488
B. A DATABASE OF SOME MUSICAL SOURCES FOR ITALIAN BALLETS IN ITALIAN LIBRARIES (PRINT VERSION)	522
C. GLOSSARY.....	549
BIBLIOGRAPHY	552

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Theatre Chronology or Catalogue Sources Published after 1880	47
2. A List of Some Nineteenth-century Italian Theatre Almanacs	54
3. Nineteenth-century Italian Theatre Chronologies	59
4. Statistics from the Ward Collection and the NYPL: Pianoforte Scores found in Both Collections.....	68
5. Statistics from the Ward Collection and the NYPL: Other Score Correlations between the Two Collections.....	69
6. Statistics from the Ward Collection and the NYPL: Correlating Scores within a Collection.....	70
7. Outline of the Music for <i>Giovanna d'Arco</i> , Act IV	165
8. Action and Music for <i>Nicolò de' Lapi</i>	178
9. Sequence of Danced Numbers for <i>La Donna del Bosco</i> , Act V	196
10. Comparison of Gallenberg's <i>pas de deux</i> and <i>gran pas de deux</i>	260
11. Two <i>passi a due</i> by Giuseppe Giaquinto	262
12. "Danza fantastica delle Willi - la selva nera" from <i>Gretchen</i>	274
13. Musical Sources for Viganò's ballets listed by Rossana Dalmonte in "Une écriture corperelle," (1984) 148-155.....	339
14. Additional Musical Sources for Viganò's Ballets from 1800 Available at Collections in the United States and Italy	344
15. <i>La Vestale</i> Libretto and Translation	356

Table	Page
16. <i>La Vestale</i> Contents of Manuscript Full Score and Cembalo Reduction Compared.....	365
17. Some Extant Libretti for <i>Bianchi e negri</i>	422
18. The Main Roles and their Equivalentents in Stowe's Novel.....	427
19. <i>Bianchi e negri</i> Distribution of Dance Numbers and Interlinear Directions in the Piano Score	441
20. Dance and Mime Music: a Continuum.....	475

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example	Page
1. <i>Il Noce di Benevento</i> (Viganò, Süßmayer, 1812, 1822) Scena II, No. 1, Grave “Congiure delle streghe e diavoli”	125
2. <i>Cesare in Egitto</i> (Gioia?, after 1800) Act V, No. 27.....	152
3. <i>Il Noce di Benevento</i> (Viganò, Süßmayer, 1812, 1822), No. 7.....	155
4. <i>Matilda and Malek-Adel “Ballo Storico”</i> (Clerico, Belloli et al., La Scala, 1824) Act II, No. 3	158
5. <i>Giovanna d’Arco</i> (Viganò, various, 1821) selections from Act IV	167
6. <i>Shakspeare [sic]; ovvero, Il sogno di una notte d'estate</i> (Casati, Giorza, 1855) “Ronda delle Guardacaccia”	181
7. <i>Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico</i> (Danesi, various, 1855) “scena di azione”	184
8. <i>Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico</i> (Danesi, various, 1855) excerpt from “Galop, lo strazio del cuore”	185
9. <i>Marco Visconti</i> (Fusco, Bernardi, 1860) No. 5 and No. 6.....	187
10. <i>Brahma</i> (Monplaisir, dall’Argine, 1868), Act III, “Dopo il passo a due”	191
11. a) <i>I giuochi istmici</i> , (Viganò, Weigl, et al.) Act VI, No. 40 “Grotteschi,” Allegro (opening) and b) <i>Die Spanier auf der Insel Christina</i> , (Viganò, Weigl et al.,) No. III, “Grotteschi,” Allegro moderato (opening).....	204
12. <i>Federico, re di Prussia</i> (Garzia, unknown composer and date) transcription of the opening of the Grotteschi, (manuscript score)	206
13. <i>Otello</i> (Viganò, Gallenberg, 1818) Furlana, Allegro, m. 1-16 (AB of section 1), m. 33-49 (AB of section 2).....	212
14. <i>Otranto liberata</i> (Taglioni, Carlini, San Carlo, 1820) “Tarantella”.....	217
15. a) Polka Rhythms and b) Polka from <i>Tutti coreografi; ossia un ballo nuovo</i> (Rota, Giorza, 1856).....	219

Example	Page
16. <i>Sesostri</i> (Taglioni, Carlini and others, 1823) “Arrivo degli Arabi”	222
17. <i>Gretchen</i> (Danesi, Scaramelli, 1855), “Schottisch: Danza delle Ancelle”	227
18. <i>Gengis-Kan</i> (Henry, Brambilla and others, La Scala, 1828) “Ballabile Chinese”	230
19. <i>Uno spirito maligno; ovvero, Metempsicosi di una farfalla</i> (Rota, Giorza, Carlo Felice in Genova, 1858) “Ballabile Chinese”	232
20. a) and b) Excerpts from <i>Tutti coreografi; ossia un ballo nuovo</i> (Rota, Giorza, 1856) Act I, “Ballabile e scena”	242
21. <i>Die Spanier auf der Insel Christina</i> : No. XVII. (Solo de M. Angiolini) middle section in which many changes occur, m. 69 -94	250
22. <i>Il Noce di Benevento</i> (Viganò, 1812 and after) No. 6 Agitato	266
23. <i>Il Noce di Benevento</i> (Viganò, 1812 and after) “Contraddanza delle streghe”	268
24. <i>Fausto</i> (Cortesi, Viviani, 1852) “Preludio” (pages 1-2), No. 1 “Introduzione” (m. 1-11), No. 5 “Ridda Infernale” (opening) and No. 6, (m. 1-8)	269
25. <i>Gretchen: ballo romantico fantastico</i> , (Danesi, various, 1855) Act VI, “danza fantastica delle Willi ... la selva nera” by Enrico Bernardi (beginnings of each new section)	275
26. <i>I giuochi istmici</i> (Viganò, Weigl, Vienna 1803) No. 38 entitled “La Tempesta” m.1-10, 20-25	281
27. <i>Il Noce di Benevento</i> (Viganò, 1822) No. 3 “Temporalì” (storms) (m.1-19)	283
28. <i>Faust</i> , (Cortesi, Viviani, 1852) Act IV, No. 2 “Tempesta”	284
29. <i>Sieba</i> (Manzotti, Marengo, 1880-81), opening and later “Tempesta”	287
30. <i>La Cenerentola</i> (Rossini, 1817) Act II, “Recitativo e Temporale”	289
31. <i>I Titani</i> (Viganò, 1819) Act II, No. 1 “Il Tartaro” by Ayblinger	293
32. <i>Iselda di Normandia</i> (1846, Casati, P. Bellini) No. 4, Allegro, “Infernale” (excerpts)	296
33. <i>Brahma</i> (Monplaiser, dall’Argine, 1868) “Ballabile Tartaro e Finale”	297

Example	Page
34. <i>Matilda and Malek-Adel</i> , (Clerico, various, 1824) Act II, No. 6.....	299
35. <i>Federico, re di Prussia</i> (Viganò, Garzia, unknown date), “Marcia lugubre”.....	301
36. <i>Psammi Re d’Egitto</i> (Viganò, various, 1818?) Adagio, “Marcia lugubre” by Brambilla	302
37. <i>Brahma</i> (1868), Act VI, “Azione mimica” Allegro assai, and Act VII, “Marcia funebre” Allegretto.....	304
38. <i>Cesare in Egitto</i> (Gioia?, ca. 1800-1810) <i>pas de deux</i> between Cesare and Cleopatra (No. 12).....	306
39. <i>Matilde and Malek-Adel</i> (Clerico, various, 1824) lovers’ goodbye.....	309
40. <i>Brahma</i> (1868) Act III, “Adagio del Nido Degli Amori” (Adagio in the lovers’ nest)	311
41. <i>Dedalo</i> (Viganò, various composers, 1818) “Volo e Caduta d’Icaro” (Flight and fall of Icarus)	314
42. <i>Iselda di Normandia</i> (Casati, Bellini, 1846) “Ballabile delle Nereidi” (Dance of the sea nymphs or mermaids)	315
43. <i>Sieba</i> (Manzotti, Marengo, 1881), goodbye music of Quadro II	317
44. <i>Psammi Re d’Egitto</i> (Vigano, various, 1818?) “Marcia lugubre” Adagio by Brambilla (with timpani tremolos marked)	320
45. <i>Il Noce di Benevento</i> (Viganò, Süßmayer, 1812, 1822), No. 8, horn solos.....	320
46. <i>Gretchen: ballo romantico fantastico</i> , (Danesi, various, 1855) Act III, “Marcia trionfale” by Bernardi, trombe (trumpets) and cornette join at various points	322
47. <i>Gretchen</i> (Danesi, Scaramelli, 1855), mazurka “La Gelosia”	326
48. <i>La Vestale</i> , Act II, No. 3, Allegretto by Kinsky.....	375
49. <i>La Vestale</i> , Act II, No. 1, Adagio, “Decio Pensoso”	377
50. <i>La Vestale</i> Act II, No. 4 Adagio by Weigl (transcription with form and instrumental cues marked) “Decio confida all’amico il segreto del suo core”	380

Example	Page
51. <i>La Vestale</i> Act III, No. 1 Adagio by Viganò, “Tempio di Vesta” and No. 2, Lento espressivo (beginning) adapted from Rossini’s <i>Otello</i> duettino “Vorrei, che il tuo pensiero”	384
52. <i>La Vestale</i> Act III, Andante, “Si spegna il fuoco sacro”	391
53. <i>La Vestale</i> Act V, No. 2 Lento, “Marcia funebre,” by Spontini	400
54. a) <i>La Vestale</i> , Act V, No. 5, Largo, “La Seppelliscono” (The burial [of Emilia]) by Lichtenthal and b) harmonic reduction of m. 7-22, with the downbeat of next piece	403
55. <i>Bianchi e negri</i> Andante sostenuto section of No. 4	447
56. <i>Bianchi e negri</i> , excerpt from No. 5, Meno—Allegro.....	451
57. <i>Bianchi e negri</i> No. 11 Larghetto, “Scena mimica danzante-allegorica” (m.1-17).....	458
58. <i>Bianchi e negri</i> , No. 12 Allegro, Scena mimica-allegorica, “la fuga degli schiavi” (Mimed allegorical scene, the flight of the slaves) a) opening (m. 1-12) and excerpts (m. 13-28, (b) ominous music, 45-68 (c) transition, 87-101 (d) conflict, ominous music, 140-end, (e) triumphant music)	461

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Interno dell' I. R. Teatro alla Scala preso nel momento dell'ultima scena del ballo, La conquista di Malacca. ([1820?])	108
2. Domenico Ronzani e Francesca Pezzoli, primi ballerini mimici, nel Teatro di Apollo in Roma nel carnevale del 1835.....	142
3. Polichinelle et grotesques	198
4. Sofia Fuoco nella Tarantella	215
5. La polka, danced by Mad'elle Carlotta Grisi, & Mons'r Perrot at Her Majesty's Theatre. [Polka] (May 1844).....	221
6. All'egregio merito dei conjugi Maglietti, primi ballerini danzante.....	255
7. Madame Brugnioli [Brugnoli] & Samengo	256
8. Ballo I Titani. atto II. Il tartaro.....	292
9. Appartamento nella casa del console Murena.....	379
10. Tempio di Vesta; col simulacro della dea, dinanzi alla quale arde il fuoco sacro	392
11. Basio [sic; should be "Bosco"] sacro contiguo collegio de Flamini, ed al tempio di Vesta.....	395
12. Structure of <i>Bianchi e negri</i>	429

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is the first in-depth study of Italian ballet music in the nineteenth century before national unification. It is first and foremost an investigation of the music for ballets originating and premiering in Italian theaters from 1800-1870, the years that encompass the Risorgimento (resurgence) that resulted in national unification.¹ The premise behind such an investigation is that ballet and its music are neglected aspects of Italian opera theatre, hitherto little-studied by musicologists. The most basic questions at the core of my inquiry are: What are the available sources for studying Italian ballet music? How can this music be described stylistically? How does the music portray the plots of these ballets? What can a study of the music tell us about Italian ballet and Italian opera theatre during the Risorgimento and how can its study enrich current ballet and music history scholarship?

The main sources consulted for the dissertation are the musical primary source materials in the John and Ruth Ward Italian Ballet Collection, part of the Harvard Theatre Collection, and in the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts Research Collections. A survey of presently catalogued materials held in Italian libraries and

¹ There is little agreement about the date for the end of the Risorgimento (“resurgence,” or the struggle for national independence and unification that took place in Italy during the nineteenth century). For the purposes of this study, I have chosen the end date of 1871, the year that Rome was declared the capitol of Italy. The majority of sources I examined span 1800-1870.

archives is also included, though much more work is needed in Italian archives and other collections in the United States (such as the Sowell Collection) and elsewhere.²

The John and Ruth Ward Italian Ballet Collection alone contains an enormous amount of untapped material³—far more than enough for a dissertation-length study—and when combined with the New York Public Library resources, including the Cia Fornaroli Collection (given by Walter Toscanini) and the Lillian Moore Collection, constitutes an extremely rich compilation of Italian ballet music and related source materials currently accessible to scholars. The John and Ruth Ward collection has musical sources for close to one hundred ballets and the New York Public Library contains roughly the same number of Italian ballet music sources. (See Appendix A.)⁴

² The Sowell collection of nineteenth-century Italian ballet materials is a third valuable and important source for musical and other sources, housed at Brigham Young University. Some of the contents of this collection have been unveiled in a pair of exhibit catalogues, and the rest should be included in a forthcoming database. See: Debra H. Sowell, Francesca Falcone, and Patrizia Veroli. *Il ballo romantico, Tesori della Collezione Sowell*. (Palermo: L'Epos, 2007). See also: Debra H. Sowell and Madison U. Sowell, *The Art of Terpsichore: from Renaissance Festivals to Romantic Ballets*, Vol. 44, *Friends of the Brigham Young University Library newsletter*, (Provo, Utah: Friends of the Brigham Young University Library, 1994). Debra Sowell is compiling the database of nineteenth-century ballet repertory (mentioned above) which she presented at the 2009 Society for Dance History Scholars annual meeting (Stanford University, 2009). Her presentation was entitled “Romantic Topography and Modern Technology: Charting the Nineteenth-Century Repertory.”

³ This collection as a whole became open to the public ca. 2005, when John Milton Ward and Morris S. Levy finished a catalogue of the collection for publication. (Some of the materials were still being acquired at the turn of the century.) See: Morris S. Levy and John M. Ward, *Italian Ballet, 1637-1977: a Catalogue*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2005).

⁴ The first research project for this dissertation was my creation of a searchable database for all of these musical sources available in the United States (Appendix A), and to ascertain what sources are available in Italian libraries and archives (in a separate list, Appendix B). While these databases are included in the appendices, they are most useful to scholars in “live” form, where comments can be accessed and they can be sorted according to a wide variety of criteria. The ideal format for such work would be as an on-line database that is frequently updated and cross-referenced. This is where I hope to move this information in order to aid other scholars’ research

For this dissertation I examined musical sources, including manuscripts and printed scores for well over one hundred Italian ballets, in conjunction with important accompanying materials such as libretti, scenarios, theatre almanacs and chronologies, contemporary reviews, treatises and biographies. I discuss these primary sources, as well other important source materials in Chapter III, following a survey of secondary literature in Chapter II (covering literature that pertains to Italian ballet and its music, important ballet music studies, especially those concerning the nineteenth century, and ballet history in general during the nineteenth century).

Since much of the musical source material introduced in Chapter III is only available in the published keyboard reductions, an important sub-topic is the nature of these reductions and comparison with manuscript sources for as many correlating sources as possible. Due to the rarity of manuscript and published pairs, the examination of Viganò's *La Vestale* in Chapter VI is a valuable first in-depth comparison. The simple fact that keyboard reductions were published for public consumption and contain interlinear stage directions—a common practice for publishing companies in Milan and Naples during the nineteenth century—is worthy of study on its own (and is not undertaken in full here). This practice indicates the importance of ballet and ballet music to the nineteenth-century Italian public, musical consumer and theatre-goer, that is generally not a part of current musico-historical topics relating to nineteenth-century Italian theatre, which are mainly focused on opera. Second, the manuscript sources, whether clean autograph full scores, partitura or heavily marked performance or rehearsal

of Italian ballet music, but will take the expertise and guidance of a specialist in library and information sciences in order to function most usefully in its on-line form.

scores (like the *foglietto* or its French sibling, the *répétiteur*) tell their own story about composition and production of the ballets.

Before discussion of the actual musical content in these sources, I provide in Chapter IV an overview of the period. This includes descriptions of the types of ballet, the structure of a night's theatre performance, descriptions of the top theatres, their orchestras and ballet companies, composers and choreographers, and a general outlining of the approach to music and changes in style.⁵ This overview is drawn both from the secondary literature (most notably Hansell and Celi) and primary sources. The music for nineteenth-century Italian ballets should not be studied in isolation from the context in which it lived and neither should an historical survey of Italian ballet ignore the musical components. This chapter is meant to bridge that gap in scholarship.

In the Chapter V I discuss the music for selected ballets out of the hundreds examined. My descriptions are accompanied by plot information (if available) to determine how the scenarios are rendered musically (e.g. what type of music accompanies the love duet, the death scene, the colorful national dances of foreign characters and the supernatural characters). Despite the lack of a choreographic notation systems during the period, it is possible to match the music with the action of the plot

⁵ Historical accounts of Italian ballet have been written by Claudia Celi and Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, but the focus on how music fits into the picture makes my Chapter IV distinct, along with the fact that a study of such a large number primary sources such as scores and libretti informs this chapter. Finally, this chapter is included because it is utterly necessary to untangle and have an understanding of Italian ballet history and context, in order to research the music. See: Claudia Celi, "L'epoca del coreodramma (1800-1830)" and "Percorsi romantici nell'Ottocento Italiano" In *L'arte della danza e del balletto*, ed. Alberto Basso, (Torino: UTET, 1995), 89-116. See: Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera" In *Opera on Stage*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi, Giorgio Pestelli and Kate Singleton, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 177-308.

through examination of accompanying libretti, interlinear stage directions, and period description and images. This is possible for a majority of the scores in the collection.⁶ I differentiate stylistically between the two main types of music found in the ballets: dance music and mime music, and continue by categorizing within these types (e.g. solo, pas de deux, group/ballabile, national dances, mimed action and other stage action). Then I discuss specific choreo-musical topics (e.g. moods such as anger and love, weather and settings such storms and hell or *tartaro*, and specific characters such as witches, devils, fairies and so on). There are strong stylistic correlations between musical segments from diverse ballets for the specific theatrical events and topics mentioned above. For example, witch music nearly always features rapid swirling figurations and heightened tension due to the use of more chromatic passing notes than usual. Broadly speaking, it is usually quite obvious if the music is intended for action or for dancing. The action or mime music is unpredictable and changes abruptly in feel and meter, whereas dance music is regular and predictable.

In Chapters V, VI and VII I examine particular ballets and their music ranging from Viganò's spectacular coreodrammas of the opening decades of the century with epic plots such as *La Vestale* (1818) (discussed as a whole in Chapter VI) and *Giovanna d'Arco* (1820) to the mid-century ballets based on contemporary literature such as *Bianchi e negri* (1853) (discussed in its entirety in Chapter VII), based on Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, or *Fausto* (1852), based on Goethe's play, and

⁶ There are even choreographic notes with the choreographer Antonio Pallerini's scores, which have pictograms drawn into them, though these are exceptional. This group of materials is worthy of a study all its own, since there is a large body of his work, covering especially the period at La Scala from 1862-1876.

Tutti coreografi (1856), a ballet about ballet production in Paris invented by the famous Italian choreographer Giuseppe Rota.⁷ These ballet scores, combined with the literature on which they are based, their libretti, reviews, iconography, and other materials available for public consumption, invite interdisciplinary exploration, and the investigation of musical style and the relationship between music and plot are but one branch of study.

Both *La Vestale* (1818) (Chapter VI) and *Bianchi e negri* (1853) (Chapter VII), are exemplary of the general traits of Italian ballet music as a genre, while they also exhibit typical features of ballets in their respective time periods. *La Vestale* has a pastiche score including opera excerpts and newly composed music by several composers while *Bianchi e negri's* score is mostly by Paolo Giorza and is all newly composed. The music for the two ballets illustrates the contrast of musical-stylistic trends that had taken place in the intervening decades (as discussed in Chapters IV and V). *La Vestale* was, in fact, performed into the 1830s, mounted after Viganò by other choreographers including his brother Giulio. The existence of a manuscript full score for this ballet (discussed here for the first time) provides a valuable tool in researching its music and for comparison with the complete piano score. The ballet *Bianchi e negri*, which was also re-mounted in

⁷ Piano scores and scenarios exist for all of the ballets mentioned here. For *La Vestale* (1818, La Scala in Milan) by Salvatore Viganò with various composers there is also a manuscript full score housed at Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University, and on microfilm at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, which is identified or studied here for the first time. *Giovanna d'Arco* (Viganò, various, 1821) was yet another ballet with a strong female lead role. *Bianchi e negri*, by Giuseppe Rota, with music by Paolo Giorza and others was produced at La Fenice in 1857. *Fausto* choreographed by Antonio Cortesi with music by Luigi Maria Viviani was premiered at the Teatro della Pergola, Florence, 1852 (though there were earlier Faust ballets by Salvatore Taglioni and Jules Perrot). Giuseppe Rota's *Tutti Coreografi* with music Paolo Giorza was staged at the Teatro all Canobbiana, Milan, 1856.

the decades following its premier, is representative of typical mid-century ballets. Furthermore, it was an important part of the transmission of Stowe's novel in theatrical form, and seemed to have had political bearing during the final stages of the Italian Risorgimento. For both case studies, the main focus is on the musical rendition of the plot, examined in detail and in the large-scale structuring of the ballet, while including elements of context, reception and restaging. These case studies are valuable to both musicologists and dance historians alike, as these ballets reveal a vivid and dynamic musical component to the overall spectacle. Especially pertinent to the dance historian is the visual information gleaned through the study of annotated scores. While not detailed choreography, these stage directions bring us a step closer to the stage action (and of course the music with which it was performed).

These productions are inseparable from their distinct contexts – the thriving centers of Milan, Naples, Rome, Venice, and Florence during the turbulent decades spanning from the Napoleonic empire to the Italian unification, or the period of the Risorgimento. The goal of Chapters V, VI and VII is to unlock relationships between music, dance, and libretto for specific ballets while opening discussion of the broader context of ballet music in nineteenth-century Italian theatrical life. While I attempt to separate the research into the categories of a) sources, b) style, and c) context, queries and observations related to these broad areas run as connective threads through the entire dissertation. While there is no way that this dissertation can cover completely such a

broad a topic area, it is my hope that this research will be of use to other scholars' undertakings in music, dance, and theatre.⁸

This dissertation breaks new ground in an area that is largely underrepresented in music and dance scholarship: the actual music for Italian ballets from 1800-1870s. Italian ballets are distinct from the more-studied French, English, and Russian works, even though they had important links to the ballet histories of these nations. The musical sources yield a wealth of information concerning the music-dance-drama relationship, but also help clarify Italian ballet history, theatre, and culture. While much scholarship exists for Italian opera, little musicological study is made of its counterpart even though the ballet was an important feature of Italian theatre and culture. In dance scholarship, the study of the ballet music for Italy during this period has largely been neglected, while ballet and theatre history are the subjects of a growing body of scholarly work. This could be because much of the music for Italian ballets is as ephemeral as the lost choreography of these action and plot-driven ballets themselves. Moreover, rich critical discussion of

⁸ For example, the staging details found in these scores will be essential to any attempts at reconstruction. While a detailed dance score in labanotation is impossible without further choreographic information, the fruits of this type of research could form, for instance, a documentary featuring narration, recordings of the music and stills of the vivid iconography connected with the dancers, sets, costumes and so forth. This could bring the time period back through the use of multi-media showing the many aspects of ballet as a theatre art. Furthermore, historically informed choreography could be created to restage these ballets. A recent excellent study of the choreographer's notebooks of *Excelsior* by Flavia Pappacena is an example of the potential of these sources. See: Flavia Pappacena et al. *Excelsior: documenti e saggi, Chorégraphie*, (Rome: Di Giacomo, 1998). See: Flavia Pappacena, "Analysis and Reconstruction of the Pas de deux in the Third Scene of Luigi Manzotti's "Gran Ballo" *Excelsior* (1881)," In *Die Beziehung von Musik und Choreographie im Ballett Buch*, ed. Michael Malkiewicz and Jörg Rothkamm, (Berlin: Vorwerk 8, 2007), 171-86. Pappacena's work appears to be unrelated to Ugo Dell'Ara's restagings of *Excelsior* in 1964 and for DVD (David Coleman, Ugo Dell'Ara, Luigi Manzotti, and Romualdo Marenco, *Excelsior Ballet in two parts and 11 scenes*, Ratingen: TDK mediactive, 2003.). If Dell'Ara consulted Pappacena's work, it is not cited or revealed in any of the accompanying materials.

ballet music does not appear to be a major part of the reception for these ballets.⁹ Also, the ballets were subject to much recycling and restaging until trends and tastes had changed so much that they were lost or metamorphosed into modern forms that bear little resemblance to their originals. Yet we do have important pieces of evidence that are worth studying: the tangible musical and narrative artifacts of productions and their public consumption. These musical sources are sure to add depth to dance, theatre and music histories as their stories are uncovered and re-told.

Introductory Notes

1. Harvard Theatre Collection is abbreviated in footnotes and elsewhere as HTC; The New York Public Library is likewise NYPL. The location of materials is indicated in citations. When a ballet is first named by title the following information is included in parentheses (choreography, composer, year of premier). Often this information is given in subsequent appearances of a ballet's title.
2. A glossary is included in Appendix C in order to clarify often-used terms, including those in Italian as well as music- and dance-specific terms that may cause confusion. For example, *passo a due* and *pas de deux*, which both mean "a dance for two," are used interchangeably because they are used this way in the primary sources. See page 549.

⁹ Music is mentioned infrequently in reviews of ballet found in theatre almanacs and journals such as *L'Italia nei cento anni del secolo XIX: 1801 - 1900, giorno per giorno illustrata* (Vallardi, 1801-1900) *Teatri, arti e letteratura* (Bologna, 1823-1863), *Strenna Teatrale Europea* (Milan, 1838-1848), *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* (Milan, 1842-1862, 1866-1902) *Il Caffè Pedrocchi* (Padova, 1846-1848,) *L'Italia musicale* (Milan, 1847-1859) and *L'illustrazione Italiana* (Milano, 1873-), amongst others. See bibliography.

3. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. I received translation assistance from Elizabeth Elmi, who looked over and corrected errors (especially making the grammar more faithful to the originals) in my translations during the final stages of preparing this document. The original is given either following the block quotation or in the footnote. I have left spelling, grammar and punctuation as is in all cited material, and when I felt it necessary, indicated spelling and grammar errors with [sic].
4. Due to the large number of musical examples, the expense of obtaining high quality photo-duplications, and the legibility of such examples within the confines of the normal page sizes in this dissertation, musical examples have all been transcribed (for this I owe many thanks to Matthew Ertz). These diplomatic transcriptions are made to be as faithful as possible to the originals, which means errors have *not* been corrected (such as faulty key signatures, wrong meters, inconsistency of accidental use, and so on). If it was deemed necessary, for the sake of clarity, to include an editorial marking, or to include other information such as chord analysis or translation, these are surrounded by square brackets []. Oddities of notation as well as placement of text and symbols have been retained in their original forms and positions as much as possible.

CHAPTER II

A SURVEY OF SECONDARY LITERATURE PERTAINING TO ITALIAN BALLET MUSIC IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

This survey is organized in three parts beginning with the sources closest to the topic at hand: nineteenth-century Italian ballet music, followed by nineteenth-century Italian ballet history and ending with studies of nineteenth-century ballet music not pertaining to Italy, including general but important studies of ballet and dance music.

Nineteenth-century Italian Ballet Music

The music for Italian ballets in the nineteenth century is not only understudied, it is mostly un-studied, with the exception of Viganò's ballet music. Only a handful of scholars have addressed the actual music for Italian ballets during the nineteenth century, and of these, four work with music for ballets by Salvatore Viganò. First, Rossana Dalmonte has written a chapter on Viganò's music in *Il Sogno di Coreodramma: Salvatore Viganò, poeta muto* (ed. Raimondi, 1984), a book dedicated to specific Viganò topics.¹⁰ For her chapter she studies the sources collected at the Archivio del Teatro Municipale "Romolo Valli" di Reggio Emilia and makes many valuable observations

¹⁰ Rossana Dalmonte, "'Une écriture corporelle' la musica e la danza" in *Il sogno del coreodramma: Salvatore Viganò, poeta muto, a cura di Ezio Raimondi*. Vol. 1, *Proscenio; quaderni del Teatro Municipale "Romolo Valli" di Reggio Emilia*, (Reggio Emilia: Società Editrice Il Mulino, 1984), 145-240.

about Viganò's use of music, such as what she calls "Kettenstücke" (brief sequences of musical ideas; literally "chain pieces") as opposed to "forme chiuse" (closed forms). She includes musical examples from several ballets and traces Viganò's growing individualism and desire for control over the music. She also identifies the use of instrumental groups alternating for conversations between performers and the use of recurring motives and "canzone-citazione" (borrowed music).¹¹ Though a much-needed beginning look at Viganò's use of music, Dalmonte's work is in need of updating. For example, a manuscript score for *La Vestale*, unknown to Dalmonte, is the focus of Chapter VI in this dissertation. Furthermore, more musical sources for Viganò ballets are available than Dalmonte lists. (She does, however, include useful appendices containing piano score selections from *Balletto da Diana e Endimione*, *Clothilde Prinzessin von Salerno*, *I giuochi istmici*, *I Titani*, and *Allesandro nell'Indie*.)

Second, Elizabeth Terzian includes a brief discussion of the music in the published piano scores for *Otello* and *La Vestale* in her master's thesis, *Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)* (Master of Arts in Dance History from the University of California at Riverside, 1986).¹² Though her discussion of the music is not deep, her identification of the Spontini and Rossini numbers borrowed for the score to *La Vestale* and her plot comparison to Spontini's opera are valuable. She relies chiefly on

¹¹ This is similar to the *air parlante* discussed by Stephanie Jordan and Marian Smith; see discussion on page 38. See: Stephanie Jordan, "The Role of the Ballet Composer at the Paris Opéra: 1820-1850," *Dance chronicle, New York*, 4, no. 4 (1982): 374-88. See: Marian Smith, "Borrowings and Original Music: A Dilemma for the Ballet-pantomime Composer," *Dance Research, London*, 6, no. 2, autumn (1988): 3-29.

¹² Elizabeth Terzian, "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)," (Master of Arts Thesis, University of California, 1986).

sources at the New York Public Library and also does not identify or discuss the manuscript score to *La Vestale*.

The third scholar to discuss Viganò's use of music is Alberto Rizzuti, in his dissertation (Doctor of Philosophy in Music, University of Chicago, 2001), which addresses the music for the Joan of Arc myth from Schiller's play to Verdi's opera, within the greater context of the Risorgimento.¹³ Rizzuti later published the dissertation section about Viganò's *Giovanna d'Arco* as an article in *Music and Letters* (86:2, 2005). His discussion of *Giovanna d'Arco* relates the ballet to the uprisings of 1821 and his musical-dramatic analysis is detailed and inclusive of period reviews. However, Rizzuti did not have certain numbers in the piano score he studied (though these numbers are available in other scores), which put him at risk of mis-matching the music and plot correlations in the scenes he chose to discuss (see Chapter V for further discussion of Viganò's *Giovanna d'Arco*).

Finally, Francesca Falcone has pursued an aim that I strongly advocate for in this dissertation, namely, the reconstruction of choreography informed by the musical score. In a presentation at the 2005 Bournonville Symposium, Falcone unveiled her reconstruction of the scene in Act III of Viganò's *La Vestale* where Decio and the Vestale, Emilia, meet in the temple (published in the symposium proceedings and later in *Dance Chronicle*).¹⁴ Falcone uses the piano score, libretto, Carlo Ritorni's vivid

¹³ See: Alberto Rizzuti, *Music for a Risorgimento myth: Joan of Arc, 1789-1849*, (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 2001). His section on Viganò's ballet was fashioned into the following article: Alberto Rizzuti, "Vigano's 'Giovanna d'Arco' and Manzoni's 'March 1821' in the Storm of 1821 Italy," *Music and Letters* 86, no. 2 (2005): 186-201.

¹⁴ Francesca Falcone, "The Italian Style and the Period," *Dance Chronicle* 29, no. 3

descriptions, Sanquirico's set, contemporary and sixteenth-century artworks that were admired at the time, and contemporary dance manuals for her detailed reconstruction. Her work is extremely relevant to my discussion not only in relation to *La Vestale*, but more importantly because it demonstrates the great potential stored in musical scores for dance historians and performers alike.

In addition to these three scholars only a few others have looked at Italian ballet music. Rosa Cafiero, in her chapter entitled "Aspetti della musica coreutica fra Settecento e Ottocento," (in *Il Teatro di San Carlo, 1737-1987*, 1987), provides an eight-page overview of ballet music in Naples from 1800-1840 (relevant to this dissertation is the portion that covers the first third of the nineteenth century—ballet music in Naples from 1840 on is not discussed), providing a short biography of Robert Gallenberg (the primary composer active in Naples during the first part of the nineteenth century) and a general description of who made music for ballets at San Carlo.¹⁵ Giving several examples, Cafiero describes Gallenberg's music as in the style of the Viennese classicists, and points out Gallenberg's use of themes from Mozart and Beethoven works, as well as his quotations from operas (especially those of Rossini). She offers a recounting of who composed for certain ballets, quoting with a few reviews that mention music. She also mentions the Neapolitan preference for the French style of ballet over Viganò's coreodrammas (a preference also noted in the work of Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell,

(2006): 317 - 340.

¹⁵ Rosa Cafiero, "Aspetti della musica coreutica fra Settecento e Ottocento," in *Il Teatro di San Carlo, 1737-1987*, ed. Bruno Cagli and Agostino Ziino, (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 1987), 309-32.

discussed below), the use of recurring motives similar to the *leitmotif*, how popular dances such as the polka and waltz were also danced at by the public in balls, and the enjoyment of operatic and ballet music in transcriptions by amateur pianists.

Manuela Jahrmärker includes some discussion of opera and ballet music (along with fine art painting, libretti, and literary movements such as the “Scapigliatura”) in her study *Themen, Motive und Bilder des Romantischen: zum italienischen Musiktheater des 19. Jahrhunderts* (2006). She specifically discusses ballets (many of which were imports) such as *Faust* (S. Taglioni 1838, Perrot, 1848), and Italian versions of *La Sylphide* (*Silfide*) (various choreographers, often restaged in the later 1830s), and *Giselle* (Cortesi / Coralli, 1843-44, Ronzani, 1845) amongst others, focusing on these in particular because they contained fantastic creatures and magic. Her musical examples and main discussions are not centered on the ballet music, however, and many of these ballets are discussed similarly by other dance historians.¹⁶ She also discusses the choreographers who employed romantic themes, including Monticini, Cortesi, Ronzani, Guerra, Borri, Monplaisir and Danesi (mostly active from the 1840s on).

With the exception of Dalmonte these scholars’ aims are not primarily on ballet music itself, or as a genre, but rather how music (for particular ballets) fits into the wider scope of their particular topic, whether it be a specific composer, theme, or a theatre’s history. While the insights in their work have certainly enriched the fledgling study of

¹⁶ Manuela Jahrmärker, *Themen, Motive und Bilder des Romantischen: zum italienischen Musiktheater des 19. Jahrhunderts*, *Forum Musiktheater*, (Münster: Lit, 2006). See especially the following sections: 1. “Romantische Stoffe im italiensichen Musiktheater zwischen 1800 und 1900,” especially the table of works on pages 35-39; 5. “Biographie und Anstellungspraxis des Startänzers und Choreographen sowie zur Tänzerausbildung in Italien”; 6. “Feen und Willis, Luft-, Erd- und Wassergeister” (especially pp. 70-84 on “La Sylphide” und “Giselle”- versionen für Italien.)

Italian ballet music, there is, at present, a large void in scholarly work focused specifically on ballet music in Italy, and especially Italian ballet music as part of the ballet music genre. This has not gone unnoticed by scholars studying Italian ballet history, such as Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, who writes, for example,

Without better knowledge of the music to which choreographers at La Scala during the 1850s and 1860s created their ballets, we lack one of the most vital tools to fuller understanding of the repertory that first exploited these dancing talents. [Here she is referring to the ballerinas from the Scuola di Ballo at La Scala who went on to become famous internationally.]¹⁷

Finally, Claudia Celi, who gives a thorough historical account of Italian ballet (see below) includes some discussion of ballet composers and lists the most prominent for the period, indeed a helpful step in approaching the study of their music.¹⁸ While the body of surviving music for Italian ballets is understudied, the other arm of Italian ballet research—that is, Italian ballet history—has gained much more attention, especially recently.

Italian Ballet History: Theatres, Choreographers, Specific Topics

Cities and Theatres

Particularly since the 1980s, Italian ballet history has begun to receive some much-needed attention. While there is still no work comparable to Ivor Guest's volumes

¹⁷ Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 292.

¹⁸ Celi, "L'epoca del coreodramma (1800-1830)," and "Percorsi romantici nell'Ottocento Italiano," 89-116.

on the history of ballet in Paris and England, there are excellent studies in the form of book chapters that deal with the nineteenth-century ballet history quite thoroughly. (And, Ivor Guest has written an article approaching the topic in general terms entitled, "L'italia e il balletto romantico," (*La danza Italiana*, 1990).) Claudia Celi's chapters in *L'arte della danza e del balletto* and Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell's chapter contribution to *Opera on Stage* ("Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," covering the period from 1640 to the end of the nineteenth century) are among the best and most thorough.¹⁹ Celi's chapters are valuable for the accurate and detailed information about the period's most prominent ballets from 1800-1860. Much of the information is expository, rather than probing detailed questions and problems within the topic. (Celi pursues more detailed studies elsewhere, as discussed below.) Hansell's chapter considers such important topics as the socio-economic influences on Italian theatre, the differences between Italian and French practice, and the major choreographic trends as seen through libretti and period commentary. She covers a large period from the birth of public opera in the 1640s through the end of the nineteenth century and her sections on the 1800s are quite valuable. In both of these studies are descriptions of the main theatres, the ballets that were performed, short biographies of the leading choreographers and general descriptions of the changes undergone in the ballet and theatre world, especially from the Napoleonic

¹⁹ Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera." This chapter was published previously in the Italian edition, for which Bianconi and Pastelli translated Hansell's chapter. See: Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Il ballo teatrale e l' opera italiana," in *Storia dell'opera italiana*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, Vol. 5, part IIa, *Biblioteca di cultura musicale, La Spettacolarità*, (Torino: EDT/Musica, 1988), 175-306. See also: Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Opera and ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan, 1771-1776: a musical and social history" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 1980).

decades at the opening of the century to the gradual waning of ballet which accompanied the flourishing of opera and French grand opera after the mid-century. Hansell in particular traces this trajectory, constantly referring to ballet's counterpart, opera, which is the focus of the multi-volume work she contributes to (*Opera On Stage*). She considers, for example, such hybrid genres as the *opera-ballo*. Hansell's and Celi's pioneering studies have generally been based, however, on non-musical sources, and while they provide much useful detail and bibliographic information that is essential to the study of music, ballet music is not among the many topics in their work.²⁰

For good reason, most of the relevant studies of ballet history and literature for the peninsula concern individual cities and theatres. Partly because Italy was not a unified state until roughly the last three decades of the century, there was great diversity between theatres in individual cities and regions. Those cities with the greatest economic means (such as Milan and Naples) established thriving ballet companies, and thus several cities and theatres form the nucleus from which many individual studies have been made. *La danza in Italia* (edited by Flavia Pappacena, 1998) is especially useful for its coverage of dance at these most prominent theatres – La Scala in Milan, La Fenice in Venice, and Il San Carlo in Naples — each in a chapter, with an excellent bibliography at the end, also organized by theatre.²¹ Rita Zambon's contribution on La Fenice in Venice is most

²⁰ The importance of studying ballet music is not ignored by either Celi or Hansell, as evidenced, for example, in the passage quoted on page 16 of this dissertation. It is not, however, undertaken by either author.

²¹ Nadia Scafidi et al. *La danza in Italia: la Scala, la Fenice, il San Carlo, dal XVIII secolo ai giorni nostri*, ed. Flavia Pappacena, *Biblioteca delle arti*, (Roma: Gremese, 1998).

comprehensive and mirrors the content and scope of Celi's work, with thorough detailing of choreographers active there and descriptions of selected ballets.

The theatres in Venice, and especially La Fenice, are also well served by the work of amongst others, José Sasportes, who has contributed chapters to a number of books dedicated to the theatre.²² Elena Ruffin's articles on theatrical ballet in Venice are also important additions to this city's ballet history.²³ These scholars describe La Fenice similarly. Sasportes sketches out the conflict between ballet and opera, critical ambivalence and the public's love of ballet, competition between theatres, different types of dancers, Salvatore Viganò, the persistence of neo-classicism, the dawn of romantic ballet in the city, important ballets and foreign productions brought there. Elena Ruffin's articles for the journal *La Danza Italiana*, "Il Ruolo del ballo nelle vicende del romanticismo a Venezia," (1990) and "'Il ballo teatrale a Venezia nel secolo XIX'" (1987), concern ballet in Venice for exactly the pre-unification period that I study. Ruffin finds that Venetian ballets, especially in the beginning of the century, contributed directly to the spread of romantic subjects, in their settings and plot contents, and that mythological plots were not as popular as historic ones. Viganò's ballets were well received in Venice and seen as romantic due to their highly emotional content while the

²² See: Giacomo Brighenti et al., *Balli teatrali a Venezia (1746-1859): partiture di sei balli pantomimici, Drammaturgia musicale veneta*, (Milano: G. Ricordi, 1994). See also: José Sasportes, "La danza al Teatro La Fenice 1792-1900," in *Gran teatro La Fenice*, (Köln: Evergreen Taschen, 1999), 277-301.

²³ See: Elena Ruffin, "Il ballo teatrale a Venezia nel secolo XIX," in *La danza italiana, Roma*, No. 5-6, no. Autunno (1987): 151-79, and Elena Ruffin, "Il ruolo del ballo nelle vicende del romanticismo a Venezia," *La Danza italiana, Roma*, no. 8-9, winter (1990): 27-44.

fantastic and irrational romanticism of French imports such as *Giselle* were not as accepted.²⁴

Ballet in Rome has been studied by a handful of scholars, including Claudia Celi, who gives an in-depth description of activity there between 1845-1855—crucial years of revolution during which ballets were greatly affected. She also discusses how imported French ballets were adapted and ends with the works of Giuseppe Rota, which were noted for their balanced pantomime and dancing (setting the stage for the later Manzotti ballets).²⁵ Ornella Di Tondo examines censorship in Rome (*La censura sui balli teatrali nella Roma dell'Ottocento*, 2008), showing that all aspects of cultural life in the city were under scrutiny of the censors, who above all, favored obedience to higher powers whether they be the dominant social class, sex (patriarchy), or the pope. The theatre was one venue in which the public could come into contact with the new nationalist ideas, though in disguised form, since the texts were screened multiple times by the censors who also attended the final rehearsals to ensure that everything from gesture to decor was in line. Sometimes productions were so drastically changed that they were derided by the

²⁴ The romanticism seen by period observers in Viganò's ballets was different from the irrational and fantastic romanticism in French imported ballets such as *La Sylphide* and *Giselle*, which were less widely accepted. Ruffin writes, "Il romanticismo irrazionale e fantastico a questa data non era ancora accettato (e più avanti lo sarà raramente) a Venezia." See: Ruffin, "Il ruolo del ballo," 40.

²⁵ Claudia Celi, "The arrival of the great wonder of ballet: or, ballet in Rome from 1845 to 1855," In *Rethinking the Sylph*, ed. Lynn Garafola, (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 165-80. (This is a translation of the article, "L'arivamento della gran maravija der ballo ossia il ballo a Roma dal 1845 al 1854," *La Danza italiana, Roma*, no. 8-9, no. winter (1990): 73-107.) Celi provides a chronology of the ballets performed at Roman theatres during the period in her Appendix in *Rethinking the Sylph*, 253-257.

audience and outsiders alike, causing much gossip and plays on words.²⁶ (Di Tondo also examines the Italian versions of *La Sylphide* (*La Silfide*) in a forthcoming book on the famous romantic ballet edited by Marian Smith.)

Luigi Rossi and Alberto Testa write about La Scala in Milan,²⁷ while Alberto Testa, José Sasportes and Rosa Cafiero (discussed above) write chapters relating to ballet at San Carlo.²⁸ These studies are broadly aimed at tracing chronologically the performances, active choreographers, dancers and major happenings at the specific theatres and are in line with the aims of providing a theatre's history rather than a probing study on dance itself. Mention of music is made infrequently. Rossi, for example, mentions Viganò's capacity for musical composition and lists the composers whose music was used in the Viganò ballets.²⁹

Volumes taking a specific theatre as their subject largely contain information similar to that found in theatre chronologies, which sometimes accompanied the works. These contain lists of theatre events and goings-on that cover large spans of time.

²⁶ Ornella Di Tondo, *La censura sui balli teatrali nella Roma dell'Ottocento*, 1 ed, *Tracce di Tersicore / CRUD*, Università degli studi di Torino, Regione Piemonte (Torino: UTET università, 2008).

²⁷ See: Luigi Rossi, *Il ballo alla Scala 1778-1970*, ([Milano]: Edizioni della Scala, 1972). See also: Alberto Testa, *Due secoli di ballo alla Scala, 1778-1975: 8 febbraio-8 marzo 1975*, (Milano: Arti grafiche G. Ferrari, 1975).

²⁸ See: Alberto Testa, "Duecentocinquanta anni di balletto al Teatro di San Carlo," In *Il Teatro di San Carlo, 1737-1987*, (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 1987) 333-41, and Rosa Cafiero, "Aspetti della musica coreutica." See also: José Sasportes, "La danza, 1737-1900," In *Il Teatro di San Carlo*, (Napoli: Guida Editori, 1987), 367-96.

²⁹ Rossi, "Il ballo alla scala," 61-62.

(Chronologies are discussed in more detail in Chapter III). Furthermore they often attempt to cover all of the theatre's history from the moment of its grand opening until "giorni nostri." Ranging from scholarly (replete with articles about scenography, architecture and so on)³⁰ to coffee-table style (with lush illustrations, journalistic writing and fewer footnotes),³¹ these volumes offer much good basic information. They necessarily gloss over the finer details, highlighting the major events, and rarely discuss ballet music: indeed, in most cases, they do not discuss it at all. The valuable information, if not included in an accompanying chronology, must be rooted out of the prose, and is not comprehensive. They are useful as a general introduction to the atmosphere and types of events at the theatres as well as a general orientation to the schedules that were maintained and specific events such as theatre closures and important celebrations of aristocratic visitors.³² Mario Rinaldi's *Due secoli di musica al Teatro Argentina* is a

³⁰ Among the scholarly works concerning specific theatres (in addition to all of the chronologies discussed in Chapter III) are those listed in the above footnote, as well as: Giacomo Brighenti et al., *La Danza in Italia XXXX, Balli teatrali a Venezia (1746-1859): partiture di sei balli pantomimici, Drammaturgia musicale veneta* (Milano: G. Ricordi, 1994), which is mostly a chronology.

³¹ While the articles in *Gran teatro La Fenice* (Köln: Evergreen Taschen, 1999) are written by reliable scholars such as José Sasportes and Patrizia Veroli, the general aim of this volume is to a wide audience. This volume celebrates Venice's Teatro La Fenice in the wake of its destruction in 1996 and subsequent reconstruction. The first part is a lush collection of photography covering productions at the theatre during the latter part of the twentieth century and photographs after the fire. This is followed by beautifully illustrated, scholarly, but accessible articles covering the theatre's architecture and ornamentation, two centuries of music and, most important for the ballet scholar, "Dance at the theatre La Fenice: 1792-1900" by José Sasportes.

³² To get a comprehensive grasp on Italian theatre culture, these studies should be combined with more focused work (discussed in "Specific Topics" section of this chapter, e.g. articles from *La Danza Italiana* or *Rethinking the Sylph*, or related works, such as John Roselli's study of the theatre industry and impresarios in *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: the Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984). In general, information should always be cross-checked with chronologies (which are generally

perfect example of such a broadly based volume, which in this case, focuses primarily on opera.³³

Choreographers

Of the famous Italian choreographers that worked in Italy during the period in question, it is Salvatore Viganò who has received the most attention, with the first biography appearing not long after his death in 1821, by Carlo Ritorni (*Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Salvatore Viganò e della coregrafia e de' corepei*, 1838). In this we find a chronological approach to Viganò's life and works and lengthy descriptions of his ballets and ballet plots, with the welcome addition of period commentary, from for example, Angelo Petracchi, La Scala's impresario at the time. Viganò was much copied, noted for his use of music (he even composed music for his ballets) and remained well known to the nineteenth century theatre-goer. His ballets, unlike those of many of the Italian choreographers, were even recalled, for example, in the twentieth-century tomes concerning great ballets and choreographers, such as Cyril Beaumont's *Complete Book of Ballets* (1938) and Lincoln Kirstein's *Movement and Metaphor* (1970).³⁴ More recently, Viganò has been the focus of work by many scholars,

more scholarly) and libretti, as well as theatre almanacs from the period. It can be difficult to acquire accurate information about that actual origins of a ballet including the choreographer and especially the composer of the music.

³³ Mario Rinaldi, *Due secoli di musica al Teatro Argentina*, 3 vols. Vol. 1, *Storia dei teatri italiani*, (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1978).

³⁴ Cyril W. Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets; a Guide to the Principal Ballets of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (Garden City: N.Y., Garden City Pub. Co., inc., 1941);

most notably by Ezio Raimondi, Aurel Milloss, Rossana Dalmonte and Elizabeth Terzian. An edited volume, *Il Sogno del Coreodramma: Salvatore Viganò, poeta muto*, (ed. Raimondi, 1984), contains the works of a group of scholars at the University of Bologna, including Luciano Bottoni, Rossana Dalmonte (who, as already mentioned, writes about Viganò's ballet music), Fabrizio Frasnedi and Anna Ottani Cavina.³⁵ While this volume is an important step forward in Viganò scholarship, Elizabeth Terzian suggests that the book as a whole fails to provide as a useful impetus for further research, pointing out that a complete works list still does not exist for Viganò. The work does indeed need to be updated and much more work needs to be done on Viganò, but I found Dalmonte's chapter, "Une écriture corporelle": la musica e la danza," to be more useful than Terzian implies, and while Fabrizio Frasnedi quotes Ritorni heavily (as Terzian notes), I also found his pursuit of the lost art of tragic pantomime to be probing. While a biographical timeline is included in the end of this volume, what is really needed for Viganò is a scholarly guide to research and catalogue of works with available sources.

Terzian's own thesis (cited above) attempts to provide further depth, exploring Viganò's structuring of ballets and the influence of Johann Jacob Engel's principles on Viganò's approach to mime. She even discusses the music of his ballets *Otello* and *La*

Lincoln Kirstein, *Movement & Metaphor: Four Centuries of Ballet*, (New York: Praeger, 1970).

³⁵ Luciano Bottoni summarizes the period literature (especially reviews and essays) pertaining to Viganò's ballets in his chapter entitled "L'ombra allo specchio. Diacronia di una recezione." Anna Ottani Cavina explores the images that survive from Viganò ballets in "I segni dissolti. Frammenti per un'immagine." See: Raimondi, Ezio (editor) et al. *Il sogno del coreodramma: Salvatore Viganò, poeta muto, a cura di Ezio Raimondi*, Vol. 1, *Proscenio; quaderni del Teatro Municipale "Romolo Valli" di Reggio Emilia*, (Reggio Emilia: Società Editrice Il Mulino, 1984).

Vestale briefly (again, see above). Terzian's own important contribution also needs updating, and she does not provide a complete works list since her focus is on the Milanese ballets. Aurelio Milloss and Giannandrea Poesio have also worked with the main Viganò sources and published articles challenging previous ideas about the great choreographer.³⁶ For example, Poesio sees it as problematic that all Viganò scholarship has been centered on Ritorni's biography and a handful of other sources, and asserts that the links found between Viganò and Carlo Blasis are false and overblown (nonetheless, he relies on the same sources). Poesio's contributions focus on the developments of Italian ballet mime, for which he is the leading scholar at present. Milloss also suggests that the work of Ritorni be reconsidered, especially since we cannot know precisely how certain terms such as "pantomima" should be interpreted, since pantomime is a lost art.³⁷

Other choreographers or ballet masters such as Salvatore Taglioni, Carlo Blasis and Gaetano Gioia have also received recent scholarly attention. Lavinia Cavaletti writes about the prolific Salvatore Taglioni's career in Naples (1806-1865), which lasted for nearly the entire Risorgimento period (and what is seen as ballet's romantic period). Cavaletti points out, along the same lines as many Italian ballet scholars, that while romantic themes appeared in Taglioni's ballets "he did not fully embrace the world of fairies, sylphs, and white tutus."³⁸ Furthermore, she found that pure dance sequences may

³⁶ See Aurelio Milloss' presentation of the above-cited book *Il sogno del coreodramma*, which was published as, "La lezione di Salvatore Viganò," in *La Danza italiana, Roma*, 1 autunno (1984): 7-19. See also: Giannandrea Poesio, "Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture," *Historical Dance: The Journal of the DHDS* 3, no. 5 (1998): 3-8.

³⁷ Milloss, "La lezione di Salvatore Viganò," 7-19.

³⁸ Lavinia Cavalletti, "Salvatore Taglioni, King of Naples," In *Rethinking the Sylph*, ed.

not be related to the plots, which were carried forward by mimes. This article is also valuable for its information on the general happenings at San Carlo and important events of the Risorgimento that affected ballet in Naples.

Gaetano Gioia's career in the early nineteenth century is thoroughly recounted by Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, who asserts that Gioia is as important as Viganò for the period, though often under acknowledged, and that while the two choreographers had certain elements in common, they differed in their working style, approach, and Italian reception. This book chapter includes a chronology, catalogue, list of works and sources ("Gaetano Gioia, il ballo teatrale e l'opera del primo Ottocento" 1996³⁹). Similarly, Giovanni Galzerani is brought into the historical picture by Rita Zambon who provides a two-part profile and chronological works list in "Alla ri-scoperta di Giovanni Galzerani" (1995).⁴⁰

Carlo Blasis, who is widely cited in nineteenth-century ballet studies outside of Italy, has recently received more focused scholarly attention. Flavia Pappacena has published an important volume on his works and treatises entitled *Ricostruzione della linea stilistica di Carlo Blasis* (2003) in which she traces stylistic changes of nineteenth-

Lynn Garafola, (Hanover: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 181-182. (This the Italian translation of the Italian article, "Salvatore Taglioni re di Napoli," *La Danza italiana, Roma*, no. 8-9, no. winter (1990): 109-34.

³⁹ Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Gaetano Gioia, il ballo teatrale e l'opera del primo Ottocento" in *Creature di Prometeo: il ballo teatrale: dal divertimento al dramma: studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*, ed. Giovanni Morelli, Vol. 23, *Studi di musica veneta*, (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996), 191-238.

⁴⁰ Rita Zambon, "Alla ri-scoperta di Giovanni Galzerani: 1a parte, L'interprete," *Chorègraphie, Roma*, anno 3, no. 5 (1995): 35-45; AND "Alla ri-scoperta di Giovanni Galzerani: 2a parte, Il coreografo," *Chorègraphie, Roma*, anno 3, no. 6 (1995): 67-90.

century ballet through the progression of his treatises. This is especially useful in clarifying the influences upon and the aims of Blasis' publications throughout the early-mid century.⁴¹ Poesio, too, discusses Blasis' influence, especially as it concerned male dance technique in the nineteenth century, which Poesio sees as an uninterrupted continuation of late eighteenth century classicist tendencies wherein male roles, dance technique, and mime skills were still held in high regard.⁴²

Of the many choreographers who were well known in Italy during the period 1800-1870, none has received as much attention as Viganò. Furthermore, the great international choreographers active during ballet's "romantic period" (roughly 1820-1860), such as Jules Perrot, Filippo Taglioni, (both active in France) or August Bournonville (Denmark), have received far more attention by ballet scholars than any Italian choreographer. Yet, many of the period's internationally famous dancers were Italian and trained in Italy. Thus, study of Italian ballet masters and choreographers is a missing link not only to Italian ballet history, but also to the larger study of ballet in Europe in the nineteenth century.

⁴¹ Flavia Pappacena, *Ricostruzione della linea stilistica di Carlo Blasis*, Chorègraphie: Nuova serie n. 1, 2001, (Roma: Meltemi, 2003). See also: Flavia Pappacena and Carlo Blasis, *Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis, 1820-1830* (Carlo Blasis' treatise on dance, 1820-1830), (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2005).

⁴² Giannandrea Poesio, "Blasis, the Italian ballo, and the male sylph," In *Rethinking the Sylph*, ed. Lynn Garafola, (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press, 1997) 131-42.

Specific Topics in Italian Ballet History and Related Scholarship

Much high-quality work (as already noted) has been published on particular theatres, dancers, and other aspects of nineteenth-century Italian ballet. Of the specific topics relating to Italian ballet, mime is one of the most important as it is a dominant feature of Italian ballet technique for the period and especially relates to the study of ballet music. Giannandrea Poesio's contributions on mime, gesture, and gender, including the Italian male dancer consistently assert the differences between French and Italian ballet, especially the continued prevalence of mime and the prominence of male dancers and mimes in Italy when they apparently were out of fashion in Paris (see especially, "Blasis, the Italian Ballo, and the Male Sylph," 1997,⁴³ and "Galop, Gender and Politics in the Italian Ballo Grande," 1997⁴⁴).

Rita's Zambon's study, "Quando il ballo anticipa l'opera: "Il Corsaro" di Giovanni Galzerani" [When the ballet anticipates the opera: Giovanni Galzerani's "Il Corsaro"] accounts for the ballet precursors of Verdi's "Il Corsaro," tracing productions from 1815 to 1848, when Verdi's opera premiered in Trieste.⁴⁵ This is just one example

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Giannandrea Poesio, "Galop, Gender and Politics in the Italian Ballo Grande," (paper presented at the Society of Dance History Scholars (U.S.), 20th Conference, Proceedings, Barnard College, New York City, June 1997). See also: Poesio, "Blasis, the Italian Ballo, and the Male Sylph," 131-42. Poesio's dissertation was the initial exploration of this topic: Giannandrea Poesio, *The Language of Gesture in Italian Dance from Commedia dell'arte to Blasis* (Ph.D. diss., University of Surrey, 1993).

⁴⁵ Rita Zambon, "Quando il Ballo Anticipa L'opera: "Il Corsaro" di Giovanni Galzerani," In *Creature di Prometeo: il ballo teatrale: dal divertimento al dramma: studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*, ed. Giovanni Morelli and Aurel M. Milloss, Vol. 23, *Studi di musica veneta*, (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996), 305-314.

of the many ballets that preceded and inspired operas. In fact, the topic of intertextuality between Italian ballet and opera, as well as literature and other forms of theatre, is deserving of several dissertations worth of study. Celi approaches the topic in “La Bohème immaginaria: Umori scapigliati e domestiche virtù nel ballo dell’Italia nascente.” [“The imaginary bohème: bohemian moods and domestic virtues in ballet of nascent Italy”]⁴⁶ No plot existed as a singularity, and the complex web of transmissions and interrelations is only beginning to gain notice and prompt specific studies such as Zambon’s and Celi’s.

Because of ballet’s interconnectedness with opera, studies of dance, gesture and mime within opera are also important. Mary Ann Smart’s *Mimomania: Music and Gesture in Nineteenth Century Opera* (2004) shows how mime and gesture were embodied in the music of opera.⁴⁷ Smart discusses examples from operas ranging from Verdi to Wagner, and especially Auber’s *La Muette de Portici*, unveiling gestural music and new angles from which we might perceive the music in well-known operas, drawing from feminist criticism and film theory. This attention to the gesture in music is indeed one of the primary ways to approach ballet music scores from the same period, which contain both obvious and hidden gestural music waiting to be discovered. Ornella Di

⁴⁶ This brief chapter cites examples as far ranging as Verdi’s *La Traviata* and Salvatore Tagliioni’s adaptations of novels in the 1830s and 40s. See: Claudia Celi, “La Bohème Immaginaria: Umori Scapigliati e Domestiche Virtù nel Ballo dell’Italia Nascente,” In *Creature di Prometeo: il ballo teatrale: dal divertimento al dramma: studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*. ed. Giovanni Morelli and Aurel M. Milloss, Vol. 23, *Studi di musica veneta*, (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996), 323-332.

⁴⁷ Mary Ann Smart, *Mimomania: Music and Gesture in Nineteenth-century Opera*. Vol. 13, *California studies in 19th-century music*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

Tondo's study of the opera-staging manual for Boito's *Mefistofele* reveals important choreographic annotations of the danced scenes in this opera-ballo, which she connects with the sung portions of specific scenes. This is an extremely important study as it provides hints as to how choreography may have looked in Italian ballets from the same time period (by, for example, Giuseppe Rota) or in ballets such as *Faust* with the same characters and subject matter.⁴⁸

There are two important studies of ballet libretti that directly relate to this dissertation, and they are discussed in more detail in the next chapter. First is Selma Jeanne Cohen's 1964 study of the Italian ballet libretti housed at the New York Public Library, dating from 1766-1865, in which she finds recurring plot archetypes and other trends.⁴⁹ Second is Debra Sowell's research into the nineteenth century ballet repertoire in Italy, which involves a database of libretti from her extensive collection. This study was presented at the 2009 Society for Dance History Scholars conference.⁵⁰ Combining the libretti from her personal collection with libretti housed at the New York Public Library, Sowell also finds trends in genre typing including the use of a variety of strains of ballet plots (or genres) and the use of literary subjects for those plots. She maps some of the genre shifts and convergences that seem to occur, according to the statistics

⁴⁸ See: Di Tondo, "Boito's *Mefistofele*." I found that at least two separate *Faust* ballets were staged in Italy: Jules Perrot's *Faust* with music by Giacomo Panizza was performed at La Scala in 1848 and Cortesi's *Fausto* with music by Luigi Maria Viviani (discussed in Chapter V) was performed at the Teatro della Pergola, Florence, in 1852. Blasis attempted to transpose Goethe's *Faust* into a ballet in the mid-1830s.

⁴⁹ Selma Jeanne Cohen, "Virtue (almost) triumphant," *The Dancing Times, London*, (1964): 297-301.

⁵⁰ Sowell, "Romantic Topography and Modern Technology."

gathered from her research and database. While libretto study is a part of most Italian ballet history research, these two studies are particularly important as they attempt to map repertory by surveying large numbers of libretti over long periods of time.

Finally, revisiting Cohen's 1964 study of NYPL libretti, Debra Sowell investigates the Italian adaptation of *Giselle* and *La Sylphide* by Antonio Cortesi, through examination of the libretti, as a further method of understanding Italian ballet plot norms and audience preferences.⁵¹ In the Italian *La Sylphide* the action between James and Madge the witch is developed further and the tragic ending is exchanged for a happy close as Love trumps the workings of Madge and James. The sylphide and James are married on Mount Olympus.⁵² (I would further note that the addition of allegorical figures and mythological locales is completely in line with Italian ballet norms.) *Giselle's* adaptation was even more blatant, as Sowell recounts.

Biographies

The lives of well known choreographers and dancers somewhat peripheral to the main Italian theatres are further sources of useful information about Italian ballet, as many of the great dancers of the nineteenth century were trained in Italy, especially at La Scala. The ballet historian Ivor Guest has dedicated books to the biographies of Fanny Cerrito, Virginia Zucchi, and Jules Perrot (who worked in Italy but were not primarily

⁵¹ Debra Hickenlooper Sowell, "'Virtue (almost) Triumphant" Revisited: of Sylphs and Silfidi," *Dance Chronicle, New York* 18, no. 2 (1995): 293-301.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 297.

employed there), along with an article-length biography about Carlotta Zambelli.⁵³ The dance historian Lo Iacono has published articles on Zucchi and the (post-unification) collaboration between the choreographer Luigi Manzotti and composer Romualdo Marenco, discussing especially the composers' gaining of rights to the music (which had not been the case with ballet music in Italy previously). Maria, Salvatore, and Filippo Taglioni have also been much attended to, due to the advent of *pointe* technique that is so strongly linked to the Taglioni family, though it is Salvatore's career that is of the greatest relevance to this dissertation. These studies contain important factual information, period reviews and some personal correspondence as they encapsulate the careers of these artists, which included some Italian performances. For example, Natalie Lecomte writes about Maria Taglioni's appearances at La Scala when she was well into her career, discussing how she was compared with (and pitted against) Fanny Cerrito (the two were already rivals).⁵⁴ Importantly, much can be learned about Italy through these star dancers because of their Italianate training (as in the case of Virginia Zucchi or Enrico Cecchetti, for example).

As already made clear, notably lacking among secondary sources are studies of composers' music and the choreographers' use of it, with two exceptions from the later

⁵³ Ivor Forbes Guest, "Carlotta Zambelli," *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, Année 21, no. 3 (1969): 199-255; published again as "Carlotta Zambelli, [In 2 parts]," *Dance Magazine*. *New York*, part 1, Feb 1974, 51-66; part 2, Mar 1974, 43-58. See also: *Fanny Cerrito: the Life of a Romantic Ballerina*, 2nd revised ed. (London: Dance Books Ltd, 1974); and, *The Divine Virginia: a Biography of Virginia Zucchi*, (New York: M. Dekker, 1977); and *Jules Perrot: Master of the Romantic Ballet*, (New York: Dance Horizons, 1984).

⁵⁴ Nathalie Lecomte, "Maria Taglioni alla Scala," *La Danza italiana*. *Roma*, no. 8-9, winter (1990): 47-71.

nineteenth century. Though pertaining to the post-unification period and therefore outside the purview of this dissertation, there is also a study on the choreographer Luigi Manzotti's *Excelsior* (with music by composer Romualdo Marengo) by Flavia Pappacena and others (1998), in a volume geared toward the reconstruction of the ballet *Excelsior*. (Detailed discussion of Marengo's music is not included in the volume, but choreographic information from the notebooks is.)⁵⁵ In a chapter entitled "Luigi Manzotti's "Gran Ballo" *Excelsior*," in *Die Beziehung von Musik und Choreographie im Ballett Buch* (2007), Pappacena does in fact, discuss the music in *Excelsior* and includes, in an appendix, a lengthy account from 1886 about "How to write Dance Music."⁵⁶ Finally, there is a forthcoming study on Robert Gallenberg's activity in Naples by Morris S. Levy (already mentioned above, this *is* directly relevant to this dissertation), who is also working with the sources in the John and Ruth Ward Italian Ballet Collection at Harvard.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Flavia Pappacena et al., "Excelsior: documenti e saggi." See footnote 8.

⁵⁶ This account is cited as "*Come si fa la Musica d' un ballo*", *Amore* [which was another Manzotti-Marengo ballet], from a special edition of the *Corriere della sera*, and exceptional supplement to the *Gazetta Musicale di Milano*, Milan, February 1886, page 1, translated by Kenn Hurry. See: Pappacena, "Luigi Manzotti's "Gran Ballo" *Excelsior*" In *Die Beziehung von Musik und Choreographie im Ballett Buch*, ed. Michael Malkiewicz and Jörg Rothkamm, (Berlin: Vorwerk 8, 2007), 185. This volume contains many valuable studies on music and dance, including Ornella Di Tondo's study of the use of staging manuals in dance research ("Italian Opera Staging Manuals (Disposizioni sceniche) and Ballet. An Example: Arrigo Boito's *Mefistofele*," pages 157-70.)

⁵⁷ Morris Levy, Senior Music Cataloger, University Library, from Northwestern University, was awarded the John M. Ward Fellowship in Dance and Music for the Theatre in order to conduct research project entitled "Furio Camillo: Robert Gallenberg, Salvatore Taglioni, and Ballet in 19th Century Naples."

The studies on theatres, choreographers and other topics surveyed here play into the study of Italian ballet music and specific ballets throughout this dissertation and form a rich body of secondary literature on ballet history pertaining to Italy—they provide much material and bibliographic information needed for initial background work for a study of ballet music for the period, included in the overview of Italian ballet from 1800-1870 provided in Chapter IV.

Nineteenth-century Ballet Music outside of Italy

Ballet music in the nineteenth century is still less explored than ballet history in general and when it is, the Italian context is often approached in relation to the famous operas that contained ballets or by way of famous ballets such as *Giselle* that were imported into Italy. This is beginning to change, especially with the recent completion of several dissertations on nineteenth-century ballet music. Also, general attention has been given to the topic of ballet music in, for example, Humphrey Searle's *Ballet Music: An Introduction* (1958, 1973), which treats the subject matter broadly. This volume is important because Searle considers ballet music as a genre, from its "earlier history" (beginning with antiquity) to 1972, and is one of the first to do so. His discussion of romantic ballet music encompasses twenty pages and mainly involves ballet music as it exists within operas. Roger Fiske's *Ballet Music* (1958) does not address Italian ballet specifically, but like Searle, Fiske examines the music for ballet for a long period of time (from Lully to the early twentieth century). He covers the most famous ballets as case studies and broadly analyzes their musical contents, providing numerous musical examples. His work dates from the same period as Searle's (1958) and their contributions

compose an important beginning in the relatively uncharted territory of nineteenth-century ballet music. Even more general is the *Victor Book of Ballets and Ballet Music* from the same period (Robert Lawrence, 1950). It should be noted that the book geared toward a general audience *Minor Ballet Composers: Biographical Sketches of Sixty-Six Underappreciated Yet Significant Contributors to the Body of Western Ballet Music* (William E. Studwell and Bruce R. Schueneman, 1997) mentions only one composer from Italy for the period, Cesare Pugni, whose work was not predominantly for Italian ballets. Finally, the dance writer Noël Goodwin has contributed several music-related articles to the leading dance reference *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, including the article “Western Music 1800-1900” within the entry “Music for Dance” and articles on composers, including Claude Debussy, Léo Delibes, Manuel de Falla, Maurice Ravel and Petr Ilich Tchaikovsky.⁵⁸

The work of Marian Smith and Roland John Wiley provide the most extensive information on nineteenth-century ballet music to date. Smith’s initial work was focused on the ballets produced for the Paris Opéra. First there is her dissertation *Music for the Ballet-pantomime at the Paris Opéra, 1825-1850* (Ph.D. Yale, 1988), which led to the book *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (2000).⁵⁹ She pursues the multivalent

⁵⁸ Barbara L. Hampton et al., "Music For Dance" *The International Encyclopedia of Dance*, Selma Jean Cohen and Dance perspectives foundation, 1998, 2005 by Oxford University Press, Inc.. *The International Encyclopedia of Dance: (e-reference edition)*. Oxford University Press. Indiana University - Bloomington. May 5 2010 <http://www.oxford-dance.com/entry?entry=t171.e1214.s0008>

⁵⁹ Marian Elizabeth Smith, "Music for the Ballet-pantomime at the Paris Opéra, 1825-1850," (Dissertation, Yale University, 1988); and, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle, Princeton Studies in Opera*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

relationship between the *ballet-pantomime* and operas at the Paris Opéra during the July Monarchy (1830-1848) and especially focuses on musical manuscript scores, such as that for *Giselle*. The work of Smith and Wiley expands and applies beyond the focus on a single city, theatre, and time period, and breaks new ground in the general study of ballet music's role in expressing the action of the libretto. Smith directly addresses music in the theatre context during the nineteenth century, finding types and uses for music and secret clues for the choreography embedded in annotated scores.⁶⁰ Wiley, in his books *The Tchaikovsky Ballets* (1985) and *A Century of Russian Ballet: Documents and Accounts, 1810-1910* (1990),⁶¹ not only gives a thorough accounting for the complex genesis of the ballets *Swan Lake*, *Sleeping Beauty* and *The Nutcracker*, but addresses many of the crucial problems of studying ballet and ballet music. Wiley's detailed discussion of ballet music as a genre, including especially its requirements and needs for "specialist composers" is highly relevant to study of Italian ballet music, especially because much interchange occurred between Italy and Russia during the nineteenth century (a topic in need of further study). Like Smith, Wiley sought out information on the working relationship between ballet composers and choreographers preceding Tchaikovsky, providing information that points decidedly to the composer's subservience to the desires

⁶⁰ See especially chapter one "Music and Story," of *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* for a wealth of information from myriad sources, which paints a vivid picture of the ballet composer's "plight," the types of music that one finds in ballets, excuses for dancing in ballet plots, and many examples taken from primary sources.

⁶¹ Roland John Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's ballets: Swan lake, Sleeping beauty, Nutcracker*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press: New York, 1985); and *A Century of Russian ballet: documents and accounts, 1810-1910*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press: New York, 1990). Wiley has also recently published a biography of Tchaikovsky as part of The Master Musicians series: *Tchaikovsky, The master musicians*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

of the choreographer (as with Jules Perrot and Cesare Pugni).⁶² It is almost certain that this was the case with Italian ballet production as well, as it was for ballets imported with success, such as Perrot's *Esmeralda*, which is referenced in Wiley's opening discussion. Wiley cites important musical traits for comparison with Italy, such as the adaptation of existing music in the beginning of the century moving later to originally composed scores, or the switching out of conductors for ballet and opera. Even more important are two ideas that Wiley brings to the broader study of ballet music for the period that should be borne in mind of researchers and readers alike. First, as already mentioned, Wiley points out that ballet music was written by specialist composers with a great sensitivity to the visual and "awareness that the aural attractions of concert music could be defects in the ballet."

[The specialist] attempted to adjust the level of inherent musical interest at any given moment to enhance the choreography, and realized that any competition of eye and ear for the audience's attention risked the weakening or loss of a desired effect. This procedure tends to produce in a ballet an inverse relationship between interest in music and interest in dance, whereby music makes its strongest impact when solo dance is the least commanding, and vice versa. *The climactic moments of pure music and pure dance almost never coincide, a fact which should give pause to the analyst who seeks to judge ballet music only for its sounds.*⁶³ (Italics mine)

Second, and related to this, is Wiley's caveat that the composer's score and the study of the production "are not always complementary," pointing out that analysis of the score and study of all of the aspects of production are often entirely different approaches and at

⁶² See, for example, the citation of Ann Petrovna Natarova's recollections regarding Perrot and Pugni working together to come up with the "right" motives for a number, in the presence of the dancers in Wiley, "Tchaikovsky's ballets," 3 and n. 12.

⁶³ Wiley, "Tchaikovsky's ballets," 6.

odds with one another, something which he found to be quite evident in Tchaikovsky's ballets.⁶⁴ By examining the overall context and roles played by opera and ballet as well as the music, Smith and Wiley provide the kind of study that could be useful for Italian cities and theatres—study that focuses on the music but considers it on a par with every element of theatrical production.

Further important studies have been made on specific topics in nineteenth-century ballet music, especially French ballet, as well as the music and dance relationship in general.⁶⁵ Marian Smith and Lisa Arkin have unveiled the role and extreme popularity of national or character dance in the chapter "National Dance in the Romantic Ballet," in *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet* (Ed. Garafola, 1997). In "The Role of the Ballet Composer at the Paris Opéra: 1820-1850," (1982) Stephanie Jordan discusses the lack of esteem in which ballet composers were held and their subservience to the choreographer, as well as the use of and transition away from the *air parlant*.⁶⁶ Smith's work on musical borrowings further explores the task of a French ballet composer ("Borrowings and Original music: A Dilemma for the Ballet-pantomime

⁶⁴ Ibid, xii. In this dissertation, I attempt to bridge this gap with Wiley's caveats in mind as I also attempt to follow Smith's example, especially in the organization of my Chapter V, in which the discussion flows directly from what is suggested by the in-depth study of the primary sources, especially the scores.

⁶⁵ In addition to the scholarship dealing with music for ballets in the nineteenth century discussed in this section of the literature review, see also: Lanchbery, John, and Ivor Forbes Guest. "The Scores of *La fille mal gardée* (parts 1-3)," *Theatre Research* 3, no. 1-3 (1961): Part I: 32-42, II: 121-134, III: 191-204; Nils Schiørring, "Bournonville and the Music to his Ballets," *Theatre Research Studies*, II. Copenhagen, Institute for Theatre Research, University of Copenhagen (1972): 84-98; John Hamilton Warrack, *Tchaikovsky Ballet Music* BBC music guides, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979).

⁶⁶ Jordan, Stephanie. "The Role of the Ballet Composer," 374-88.

composer," 1988).⁶⁷ Willa Collins' dissertation, "Adolphe Adam's ballet "Le Corsaire" at the Paris Opera, 1856-1868: A source study" (Cornell University, 2008), explores the original Paris premiere and production history of the famous ballet (and especially its Russian transmission), including its score by Adolphe Adame.⁶⁸ David Day's dissertation, "The Annotated Violon Répétiteur and Early Romantic Ballet at the Théâtre Royal de Bruxelles (1815-1830)," (Ph.D., New York University, 2008) is the first study of ballet music for the important Belgian theatre, which focuses specifically on the role of the violon répétiteur and the music and choreographic instructions for four ballets.⁶⁹ He provides a valuable catalogue of primary sources for the ballet repertory at Brussels from 1815-1830 in the third appendix (with notes on corresponding resources in Paris and Bordeaux and reproductions of watermarks, select copyists, and representative bindings.)

Finally, a group of scholars has explored the music-dance relationship, including Stephanie Jordan and Inger Damsholt, who have drawn from poetry and film theory to create methodologies for choreomusical analysis (though largely dealing with twentieth-century dance works).⁷⁰ More recently, Rebecca Schwartz-Bishir has explored the term

⁶⁷ Smith, "Borrowings and Original Music," 3-29.

⁶⁸ Willa J. Collins, "Adolphe Adam's ballet "Le Corsaire" at the Paris Opera, 1856-1868: A source study." (Ph.D., Cornell University, 2008).

⁶⁹ The ballets are: Fernando Sor and François Decombe Albert's *Cendrillon*, Rodolphe Kreutzer and Louis Milon's *Clari, ou le promesse de mariage*, Kreutzer and Pierre Gardel's *La fête de Mathurine*, and Adalbert Gyrowetz and Jean Pierre Aumer's *Les pages du duc de Vendôme*. See (available only through request to the author): David A. Day, "The Annotated violon répétiteur and Early Romantic Ballet at the Théâtre Royal de Bruxelles (1815-1830)" (Ph.D., New York University, 2008).

⁷⁰ See for example: Stephanie Jordan, *Moving music: dialogues with music in twentieth-century ballet*, (London: Dance, 2000). Jordan's focus is on twentieth-century dance, including choreographers George Balanchine, Frederic Ashton and Antony Tudor, yet the methodologies

musique dansante and the components of music that fit that term for ballet music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in her dissertation, “Musique Dansante and the Art of Ballet,” (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 2008).⁷¹ Schwartz-Bishir offers choreomusical analyses and explores the music of predominately French and Russian composers, including Adolphe Adam, Friedrich Burgmüller, Léo Delibes, Ludwig Minkus, Cesare Pugni, Peter Tchaikovsky, Igor Stravinsky, and Sergei Prokofiev. Finally, Sarah Gutsche-Miller’s forthcoming dissertation, “Pantomime-Ballet on the Music-Hall Stage: The Popularisation of Classical Ballet in Fin-de-Siècle Paris,” (McGill University, 2010) is a thorough exploration of Parisian music-hall ballets between 1872 and 1918 both historically and aesthetically, and includes a discussion of the musical characteristics of the nearly 200 hundred ballets staged during the period. Ole Nørlyng and Eric Aschengreen are both involved with music and dance research for the Royal Danish Ballet in the nineteenth century, especially the choreographer Auguste Bournonville and the ballet *La Sylphide* (Bournonville, Løvenskiold, 1836).⁷²

for examining music and dance are relevant to this dissertation. See also: Inger Damsholt, “Choreomusical Discourse: the Relationship between Dance and Music,” (PhD dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 1999). Damsholt draws especially on film theory in her examination of music and dance relationships and methodologies for examining those relationships.

⁷¹ Rebecca Schwartz-Bishir, “Musique Dansante and the Art of Ballet,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan), In *Dissertations & Theses @ CIC Institutions* [database on-line]; available from <http://www.proquest.com> (publication number AAT 3328948; accessed April 13, 2010).

⁷² See: Erik Aschengreen and Ole Nørlyng, *Balletbogen*, (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1982); see also: Erik Aschengreen and Ole Nørlyng, *Et Folkesagn: ballet af A. Bournonville, musikken af N.W. Gade og J.P.E. Hartmann*, (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Teater og kapel, 1984); see also: Erik Aschengreen and Ole Nørlyng, *La Sylphide: The Ballet - The Music - The Composer*: (København, 1986); see also: Ole Nørlyng and Henning Urup, *Bournonville: tradition, rekonstruktion*, (København: C.A. Reitzel, 1989); see also: Herman Severin Løvenskiold and David Garforth, *Music for the Bournonville ballet La Sylphide*, (Colchester, Essex, England:

The work of these scholars has done much to further the study of music and dance together and in relation to nineteenth century, while also working to dispel myths about romantic ballet (and its music) perpetuated by present-day ballet performance practice and musicological tendencies that have largely neglected dance and dance music.⁷³ The very nature of Italian ballet, with its generous proportion of mime, variety in plot material, colorful characters and national figures and matching expressive music only further disproves popular (previously held) notions of the nineteenth century ballet as abstract dances in white tulle and point shoes, vaguely involving plots full of fairies, sylphs, willis and other supernaturals, accompanied by easily forgettable music.

Finally, ballet music has been included in studies of nineteenth century opera – since the actual music for opera and for ballets embedded in operas is far more accessible to scholars, especially because it was published more often.⁷⁴ Among the more prominent studies in this realm are Knud Arne Jürgensen's *The Verdi Ballets* (1995). Jürgensen's study, anticipated to some extent by a 1984 article on the same topic in *La danza Italiana*

Chandos Records, 1991, Musical recording, CD audio); and: Peter Ernst Lassen et al. *Musikken til Bournonvilles balletter*, (Copenhagen, Denmark: Danacord, 2005. Musical recording, CD audio).

⁷³ Musicologists are not the only ones to so categorize nineteenth-century ballet. Giannandrea Poesio and other authors have recently published work to dispel misinformation about the romantic ballet, (see for instance the many fine chapters in *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet*, ed. Lynn Garafola, Hanover, NH: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press, 1997). Yet a rift still exists between scholarly work and that presented in historically “reconstructed” performances (e.g. Pierre Lacotte's *La Sylphide*). There is clearly much to be done in terms of scholar-choreographer collaboration and education of the dance-going public. See also the note below.

⁷⁴ For a discussion of the historiographical habits of both ballet historians and musicologists, and how they have, in the past, impeded a fuller view of both opera and ballet in their theatre contexts, see Smith, “Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle,” xiv-xvii.

by Martine Kahane,⁷⁵ is an example of the possibilities for music and dance scholarship – though it contains more raw information than synthesis of ideas. Jürgensen brings together manuscript and published primary sources such as scores, libretti, staging manuals, letters, reviews, costume and stage designs and even choreographers' notes to thoroughly document each of Verdi's ballet music insertions for the Paris performances of his operas (danced *divertissements* were obligatory at the Paris Opéra, while Italian opera co-existed with separate autonomous ballets by different composers). Not only are the sources brought together but also a set of three appendices provides actual choreographic details for the female variation from August Bournonville's *Troubadouren* (Act III) and Joseph Hansen's notation of the choreography for *Aida* (1880) as well as a thorough collection of reviews of the Verdi ballets at their premieres. While this work addresses only Verdi and the Parisian scene, its contents bring scholars much closer to neglected nineteenth-century dance artifacts.

Still, studies that consider the music for ballets independent of operas or which deal with ballet music as a genre are relatively few (for the nineteenth century). Most rare are studies of the music for the Italian productions—in fact, I know of none to date for the period in question that attempts to discuss a large amount of the existing music for Italian ballets as a body of repertoire or genre (as has been done by musicologists for genres and repertoire such as nineteenth-century Italian opera).

While the body of secondary literature surveyed here may seem substantial and is quite valuable, it is none-the-less only related or peripheral to the topic of this

⁷⁵ Kahane, Martine. "La danza nelle versioni parigine delle opere di Verdi," *La Danza italiana, Roma*, 1, no. autunno (1984): 43-60.

dissertation. Much more work needs to be done to bring the music from Italian ballets fully into the historical picture and this dissertation only begins that work.

CHAPTER III

PRIMARY AND MAIN SOURCES USED IN THIS STUDY

Primary source material for the period is abundant indeed and includes libretti, musical scores, iconography, setting designs, costumes, cast lists, reviews, theatre almanacs, chronologies, and period commentary from writers such as Stendhal, Lady Morgan (travel memoirs and correspondence) and Ritorni (the biography of Viganò and a book of general musical criticism from the first third of the nineteenth century).⁷⁶ Notably absent from this list is any artifact of the actual choreography—but excellent clues are to be found in the musical scores. This abundance of materials creates its own problems, for all of it needs to be accounted for and organized and the creation of chronologies, catalogues and databases has helped tremendously. Furthermore, these materials have been widely dispersed, often ending up in private hands, or worse, lost. If music for a ballet was not published it could easily be lost as the ballet traveled from theatre to theatre, finally falling from the repertoire. Thus, it was often not collected in a theatre's archive or a yet-to-exist state archive. The property of the choreographer or even the star

⁷⁶ See: Lady Morgan and Sir Thomas Charles. "Italy," (H. Colburn and Co., 1821), <http://www.gale.com/ModernEconomy/> Note: Available to subscribing institutions (last accessed March 1, 2010). See: Stendhal, *Correspondance inédite*, 2 vols. Vol. 1. (Paris: M. Lévy, 1855); and *Voyages en Italie* ed. Victor Del Litto, *Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*, 249 (Paris: Gallimard, 1973). See: Carlo Ritorni, *Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Salvatore Viganò e della coregrafia e de' corepei*, (Milano: Tip. Guglielmini e Redaelli, 1838); and *Ammaestramenti alla composizione d'ogni poema e d'ogni opera appartenente alla musica*, (Milano: L. di G. Pirola, 1841).

dancers, and later in the century, the composer, a musical score could travel all over the peninsula and beyond, only to end up disappearing. The most common existing artifacts of Italian ballet are the multitude of libretti (since so many libretti seem to have been issued).

Still there is much extant music and little of it has received scholarly attention. The John and Ruth Ward Italian Ballet Collection (catalogued recently) and the New York Public Library's collection (both discussed in more detail later) are just two valuable collections containing music. Indeed the similarities in musical contents of these two large collections are worthy of note, seeming to indicate that both collections are strongly reflective of the available materials, rather than haphazard and random in their formation and content.

Catalogues and Chronologies Post-1800

Both contemporary and nineteenth-century efforts have been geared to creating chronologies, which are absolutely necessary to present-day cataloguers and researchers alike. The catalogue of the Ward collection (at HTC) by Levy and Ward names many of these sources dating from the 1870's forward (Levy and Ward's earliest chronologies are for the theatres in Modena and Venice's La Fenice).⁷⁷ Catalogues of collections contained in libraries are a newer endeavor and are finally giving scholars easier access to the primary musical sources: the most prominent cataloguing endeavors are related to specific collections containing music: Toschi: Rome, S. Cecilia—a catalogue / electronic

⁷⁷ See Table 1 and accompanying notes.

database (developed in the late 1980s, early 1990s)⁷⁸, Ward and Levy: Italian Ballet (at HTC)—catalogue (2005); Sowell collection—two exhibit catalogues exist from Brigham Young University (1994, 2007), a database is forthcoming⁷⁹; Cia Fornaroli Collection (at NYPL), 2006-2007. These catalogues often give descriptions and bibliographic data for the primary sources of the collection, in addition to important information about a ballet's premier venue.

The first step in studying the ballet and its music is to find out when and where it was performed, and then subsequently restaged. This is where the theatre chronology is indispensable. Chronologies of specific theatres were produced throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, and exist for many theatres from important cities. Table 1 below lists basic information for chronologies from 1880 forward (earlier chronologies from 1800-1880 are discussed later, as primary sources). Also listed are catalogues, which are further helpful for identifying and placing scores and libretti. They are essential to figuring out a ballet's origin and travels (in the form of traveling productions or restagings by other companies).

⁷⁸ See: Andrea Toschi "Un esperimento di catalogazione elettronica dei balletti dell'ottocento," *La Danza italiana, Roma*, no. 8-9, no. winter (1990): 159-72.

⁷⁹ See: Sowell et al., "Il Ballo Romantico." See also: Sowell and Sowell, "The Art of Terpsichore."

Table 1: Theatre Chronology or Catalogue Sources Published after 1880

Author(s) *	Pub. Date	City	Theatre(s)	Dates
*Ajello, Raffaele and Carlo Marinelli	1987	Napoli	Teatro di San Carlo	1737-1987
Basso, Alberto	1988	Torino	Teatro Regio	1788-1936 ?
Bignami, Luigi	1880	Bologna	Teatro Comunale	1783-1880
*Brighenti, Angiolini, Sasportes, Ruffin, Trentin and Rasetti	1994	Venezia	general	1746-1859
Brocca, Ambrogio	1898	Genova	Carlo Felice	April 1828-Feb 1898
Brunelli, Bruno ^a	1921	Padova	<i>all</i>	from end of 16 th c
Cambiasi, Pompeo	1906	Milano	Teatro alla Scala	1778-1906
Cametti, Alberto	1938	Rome	Tordinona, then Apollo	1671-1888
*Celi, Claudia (part of article / book section) ^b	1990, 1999	Rome	Teatro di Apollo, Teatro Argentina	1845-1855
Cervetti, Del Monte, and Segreto	1981-2	Parma	Teatro Regio	1829-1979
Comuzio, Ermanno	1990	Bergamo	Il Teatro Donizetti	1786-1989
De Angelis, Alberto	1951	Tivoli?	Il Teatro Alibert o Delle Dame	1717-1863
-	1954-62	-	<i>Enciclopedia dello spettacolo</i>	-
Fabbri and Verti	1987	Reggio Emilia	Teatro Pubblico, Teatro Filodrammatico	1645-1857
Filippis and Arnese	1961-3	Napoli	Teatro di San Carlo	1737-1960
Gandini, Alessandro	1873	Modena	<i>'i teatri'</i>	1539-1871
Gatti, Carlo	1964	Milano	Teatro alla Scala	1778-1963
Lianovasani, Luigi	1876	Venezia	La Fenice	
Mancini, Cagli, Ziino	1987	Napoli	Il Teatro di San Carlo	1737-1987
Massaro, Maria Nevilla	1985	Padova	Teatro Nuovo	?
* Morini, Ostali and Ostali	1995	Milan	<i>relating to Casa musicale Sonzogno publishing firm</i>	1874 -
* Ricordi and Co.	1892	Milano	<i>catalogue general delle edizioni</i>	-
Rinaldi, Mario	1978	Rome	Teatro Argentina	two centuries
Sacerdote, Giacomo	1892	Torino	Teatro Regio di Torino	?
Sartori, Claudio	1994	-	<i>catalogue of libretti</i>	libretti from 1800 on
*Tintori, Giampiero	1979	Milano	Teatro alla Scala	1778-1977
Zecca-Laterza	1984	Rome	<i>catalogue of Ricordi from 1857 with dates, indexes</i>	-

* The * indicates chronologies not mentioned as sources for Levy and Ward. See: Levy and Ward, "Italian ballet, 1637-1977: a catalogue." For complete bibliographic information on each

chronology, see bibliography, section on chronologies.

^a Not in chronology layout, but the prose is thick with information regarding each season's offerings and is well cited.

^b This is not a chronology, yet the list is useful: See both the Italian and English versions of Celi's study: Celi, "L'arivamento della gran maravija," and Celi, "The Arrival of the Great Wonder of Ballet."

Almanacs and Chronologies from the Nineteenth Century (pre-1880)

In the nineteenth century there was a keen interest in cataloguing theatre events and this impulse is evidenced by the fact that publishing companies were associated with Italian theatres. For the ballet historian, these are excellent resources for unraveling the complicated web of ballets and their travels from theatre to theatre, as well as their reception. The sources produced for major theatres in the nineteenth century were the theatre "almanacco" (almanac) and "cronologia" (chronology).

The almanacco was usually a serial, published each year. The nineteenth century saw almanacs for a wide array of disciplines, hobbies and ideologies. Distinct from journals, reviews and other media, the almanac tends to record happenings in a manner almost like a catalogue or diary. The theatre almanacs record the information about the productions themselves as well as ticket prices, details, new policies, poems, articles, theatre plans, theatre history, new construction of and within the theatres, salaries, lists of patrons (box holders), lists of performances, notices about the theatre, and colored engravings of dancers and singers. Their accounting of the mundane details is revealing, for instance one almanac reveals that the throwing of garbage out the windows of a new theatre had become a problem, and another states that patrons needed to form an orderly line down the street as they await entrance to the evening's performance, not a raucous

crowd. As historical documents these publications are of interest to many fields of inquiry, from architecture to music.

For the major Italian theatres that mounted ballets in the nineteenth centuries, there seems to have been a surge in almanac publication between 1800 and 1840. In fact, I could find no theatre almanac dated later than this, which suggests changes in production and consumption of information by the theatre-going public. In the first third of the century, almanacs were produced for theatres in cities including Milano, Torino, Napoli, Reggio Emilia and Genova. Milanese almanacs appear to be the most numerous of extant almanacs, as many have ended up in collections in the United States (at the New York Public Library, Harvard Theatre Collection, and other major universities). It is uncertain how many more are housed in Italian archives or un-catalogued in databases, though the almanacs of the Sowell collection and the information therein have prompted Professor Debra Sowell to create a database of mainly libretti for study of nineteenth-century ballet repertory.⁸⁰

Pertinent to the ballet-music scholar, in addition to the purely factual information about the season, are the synopses and commentary or discussions about the ballets performed. These almanacs seem to be collector's items—like souvenir programs—and they sometimes included colored lithographs of famous dancers. Pocket-sized (about 3x5 inches), these were nicely bound little books with decorative gold framing on their hard covers (unlike libretti, which are floppy with thick paper covers that have not held up as well over time). The company G. Pirolì was the main publisher of Milan's theater

⁸⁰ Sowell's forthcoming database is discussed under libretti section, below. Databases such as Worldcat and its Italian counterpart OPAC SBN yield relatively few almanacs.

almanacchi and while the tone and authorship of the writing differed from year to year, the presentation was the same. Most of the almanacs currently found in the U.S. are at the NYPL, which has nearly twenty almanacs ranging from 1817 – 1836.⁸¹

The almanac for the season from 1818-1819 (Milan) features an unusually large amount of poetry, with many sonnets in the beginning. The author weaves poetry of his own and others into much of its content. The almanac from the season 1824-1825 (published in 1826, Milan), a beautifully printed booklet covered in green with gilded gold page edgings, features a title page with a gathering of musical instruments and theatrical masques in color. Typical of theatre almanacs from the period, this booklet opens with a table of the saint's days with illustrations at the top (found in many almanacchi). This is followed by a preface explaining what one will find in the booklet (in this case, the three seasons: Autunno 1824, and Carnevale and Primavera 1825). Descriptions of old theatres follow (e.g. the semicircular formation of Greek and Roman amphitheaters) before the actual discussion of the seasons. A typical ratio of operas and ballets per season at this time was six to four, with the ballets further subdivided into heroic and "mezzo carattere" categories. Each would receive a synopsis and review, if it had not already played in a previous season.⁸² The reviews ranged from a brief mention of the work's success to a thoughtful and probing critique of a work, depending on the author.

⁸¹ For a list of some extant theatre almanacs see Table 2 below; for noteworthy contents see the "notes" column within the table.

⁸² "[Clerico ballets]." *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1826. Milano, Fratelli Ubicini [1825]* (1826) (housed at NYPL for the Performing Arts, Research Collections).

Sometimes, the almanac, generally a book of 100 or more pages, might include a list or chronology of the theatre or a hefty article by a well-known figure (such as Carlo Blasis). The almanac for La Scala in Milano in 1817 is one of those cases. It appears that a chronology for La Scala including the dramatic and pantomimed works performed there from 1778-1817 was a part of the *Almanacco per l'anno 1817*. In addition to sometimes containing or being part of a theatre chronology, the almanac, in turn, was mentioned occasionally in the published libretto for a production.⁸³

During the second half of the century, the almanac may have become less financially feasible for publishing companies—perhaps because patrons were also buying libretti, sheet music and lithographs, and reading commentary in their local theatre journals, such as the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* (though none of these media were newly emergent when the almanac faded). The turbulence of the Risorgimento may have also affected the publishers of these volumes. The urge to catalogue the productions of theatres continued in the form of the theatre cronologia, which may have even replaced the almanacco. Chronology publications appear throughout the nineteenth century and both pre- and post-date the period 1800-1870. There are, however, fewer chronologies from the eighteenth century and most of those created in the nineteenth century were published later, appearing in regular quantities from the 1860s on. In Table 2 below is a

⁸³ A search for almanac sources yields quite a few libretti where the almanac is named in the contents of the particular libretto. It remains unclear why this is the case. No libretto that I examined contained almanac contents and the two types of publications are related but clearly distinct.

list of almanacs available in the HTC and NYPL collections as well as those catalogued in other library collections.⁸⁴ (Chronologies from 1800-1880 follow in Table 3.)

The Nineteenth-century Theatre Chronology

The theatre chronology (cronologia) differs from the almanacco first of all in scope. It covers large time spans, sometimes centuries of productions, from the specific theatre's birth up to the date of the chronology's publication. While primarily concerned with listing productions and details thereof, the chronology is not always limited to these lists. In a few cases they may contain information similar to that found in the almanac. For example, Bignami's *Cronologia di tutti gli spettacoli rappresentati nel gran Teatro Comunale di Bologna: dalla solenne sua apertura 14 Maggio 1763 a tutto l'autunno del 1880* contains "annotazioni storiche sull'arte musicale e della danza di Felice Romani" (historical annotations on the musical and dance arts by Felice Romani). Cambiasi's account of La Scala between 1778-1906, updated from the version that ended with 1872, contains 350 illustrations, notes on the Teatro della Canobbiana as well as historical and statistical notes. A few of the almanacchi listed in the above table contained chronologies and therefore are listed again in Table 3 below, in the list of important Italian theatre chronologies from the nineteenth century.⁸⁵ These are the chronologies I found to be most

⁸⁴ I generated this list by examining library catalogues in the United States, including WorldCat, on-line catalogues at Harvard and the New York Public Library, as well as Italy's OPAC-SBN. In addition, I pursued information from almanac sources cited in secondary literature on Italian theatre and dance for the period, in which theatre almanacs are mentioned from time to time.

⁸⁵ I created this list through searches of various on-line library catalogues (such as

useful in the pursuit of ballet premieres and restagings, as well as for statistics relating to ballet productions, choreographers and dancers.

Theatre chronologies were produced throughout the twentieth century (and are still created, as listed above in Table 1), and range from scholarly lists of activities (like catalogues) to ornate coffee-table style volumes with pictures and general historical accounts, articles and so forth (a kind of merging of the almanac and chronology into one book).

Libretti

Literally thousands of libretti are found in libraries and collections both public and private in the United States and Europe.⁸⁶ The published libretto (synopsis or scenario) for a ballet usually gives the choreographer, program, cast, and synopses of the evening's theatre events, and is part of the booklet with the opera libretto, though it cannot be overemphasized that libretti are not to be entirely trusted when it comes to correctly naming the composers of music for ballets, especially early in the century.

WorldCat, Harvard University, the New York Public Library, and OPAC-SBN) in order to ascertain what theatres had chronologies and when the earliest chronologies were made (during the nineteenth century). The chronologies in this table were used to track ballets, choreographers and composers for the major Italian theatres. The * indicates a chronology listed in the previous table of chronologies since 1880 (Table 1).

⁸⁶ The main collections of libretti used in this dissertation are described in this section and are held at NYPL and HTC. The Sowell Collection is a third important collection in the United States while the Silvestri collection contains many Italian opera libretti and is housed at The Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra. Another major collection of Italian opera libretti from 1600 to the twentieth century, the Kraus Libretto Collection, is held at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin. Miscellaneous libretti can be found in other libraries, but the above-named collections are the most substantial for Italian ballet scenarios.

Table 2: A List of Some Nineteenth-century Italian Theatre Almanacs

Title	City, Pub.	Theatre(s)	Year(s)	Where?	Notes
Il Teatro alla Scala Almanacco	Milano, Fratelli Ubicini	Teatro alla Scala	1800s?	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Netherlands (location unspecified)	
Almanacco dei teatri di Torino per l'anno ...	Torino, Onorato Derossi	all?	1800s	U of Chicago, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (location unspecified)	
Cronologia drammatica, pantomimica del R. Teatro alla Scala in Milano. Almanacco per l'anno 1817-[1818]	Milano, G. Maspero (pub 1817)	Teatro alla Scala	1778-1816	NYPL	3 volumes, vol. 2 Teatro alla Canobbiana and vol. 3 Teatro Carcano; chronology is from 1778-1816
Almanacco teatrale, dedicato alle dame, per l'anno 1818, con figure. 1. anno.	Milano, P. e G. Vallardi	mainly the Teatro alla Scala	1818	NYPL	Chiefly poems. Includes brief article on Teatro alla Scala, Milan, 3 plans of the theater, and a list of boxholders
Almanacco dei teatri di Torino per l'anno 1820	Torino, Onorato Derossi "stampatore, e librajo dei teatri"	Teatro Regio and others	1819, 1820	Columbia University	(From title) Contenente la serie dei drammi rappresentati nel Regio Teatro ... una nozione sui teatri in generale, descrittiva di quelli di Torino, la pianta del Regio Teatro col suo indice, la veduta del sipario del R. Teatro colla sua descrizione, e la destinzion de' palchi del R. Teatro.
Almanacco 1821, Anno 1	Milano, Fratelli Ubicini	Teatro alla Scala	1820, 1821	NYPL	Synopses and commentary on ballets by Salvatore Viganò performed during the 1818-1820 seasons: <i>Otello</i> , <i>La Vestale</i> , and <i>I Titani</i> . Includes engravings, full-length, of Nicola Molinari as <i>Otello</i> , Antonia Pallerini as <i>La Vestale</i> , and Maria Bocci as Thia in <i>I Titani</i> .
Almanacco	Milano, Fratelli Ubicini	Teatro alla Scala	1821	NYPL	Title varies; vol. for 1821 has title: I. R. Teatro Grande della Scala in Milano, anno primo

Table 2 continued

Title	City, Pub.	Theatre(s)	Year(s)	Where?	Notes
I.R. Teatro alla Scala Almanacco 1823	Milano, Fratelli Ubicini	Teatro alla Scala	1823	U. of Illinois San Francisco State U.	
Almanacco 1824	Milano, Fratelli Ubicini	Teatro alla Scala	1824 (pub. 1823)	NYPL	Synopsis of <i>Castello degli spiriti</i> by Luigi Henry and of two ballets by Francesco Clerico presented during the 1822-23 season: <i>Maometto</i> and <i>Adelaide di Guesclino</i>
Indice o sia catalogo dei teatrali spettacoli musicali italiani di tutta l'Europa (also in chronology table, below)	Origin: Milano Reprint: Pesaro Rossini Fouundation	various	1820-23	Indiana U., U. of Texas at Austin	
Annali del teatro della città di Reggio	Reggio Emilia, Coi Tipi del Nobili	all?	1825-30s	HTC	Also called "Memorie de'spettacoli rappresentati in Reggio..." or "Almanacco del teatro di Reggio..."
Almanacco 1826	Milan, Milano, Fratelli Ubicini	La Scala	1826 (1824-1825 season)	NYPL	Synopses of ballets by Jean Coralli performed during the 1824-25 season: <i>Le nozze di Zefiro e Flora</i> , <i>Paolo e Rosetta</i> , <i>Belisa, ossia La nuova Claudina</i> , and <i>La statua di Venere</i> ; ballets by Francesco Clerico performed during the 1825 season: <i>Matilde e Malek-Adel</i> , <i>Il solitario</i> , <i>Il ritorno degli Argonauti</i> , and synopsis of Giovanni Galzerani's ballet <i>Antigone</i> performed during the 1825 season. Includes colored engravings of Giuseppe Bocci as Creonte, re di Tebe, and of Teresa Héberlé as Venere
Almanacco galante. Dedicato alle dame, also entitled: Rossini e la musica; ossia, Amena biografia musicale, Almanacco galante, dedicato alle dame	Milano, A.F. Stella, Venezia, G. Orlandelli	La Fenice	1826, 1827	NYPL	Contains the Almanacco per l'Anno 1827, Anno 1, and chapters on Angelica Catalani, Filippo Galli, Luigi Lablache, Alessandro Rolla, Luigi Marchesi, Giuditta Pasta and Nicola Tacchinardi. Mainly biographies. Venetian version contains: Teatro della Fenice, Almanacco pel 1826. Article on Carlo Blasis and engraved portrait. Includes discussion of two ballets by Giovanni Galzerini [sic], <i>L'eroe peruviano</i> and <i>La Virginia</i>

Table 2 continued

Title	City, Pub.	Theatre(s)	Year(s)	Where?	Notes
Il Nuovo gran teatro di Genova: con rami. Almanacco per l'anno 1827: contenente l'indicazione delle ferie dei tribunali di Torino e di Genova, e dell'arrivo e partenze dei corrieri, e della diligenza	Torino and Genova: Carlo Domenico Benferreri	mainly Il Nuovo Gran Teatro di Genova	1827	Canadian Center for Architecture	contains "Teatro di Genova" and "Almanacco per l'anno 1827"
Almanacco teatrale per l'anno 1829	Milan. Fratelli Ubicini	Teatro alla Scala	1829 (1827-1828 season)	NYPL and Getty Research Institute, California	Discussion of ballets by Luigi Henry performed during the 1827-1828 seasons at the Teatro alla Scala, Milan: <i>Arminio</i> , <i>Gengis-Kan</i> , and <i>La silfide, o Il genio dell'aria</i> . Includes colored engraving of Antonio Ramacini in the title role of Arminio; ballets by Antonio Cortesi (1827): <i>Zaira</i> and <i>Alceste</i> ; <i>Zeffiro</i> by Antonio Guerra (1828); <i>La Virtù Premiata</i> by Giovanni Battista Giannini (1827); and <i>Eutichio della Castagna, Il Paria, Il flauto incantato</i> by Salvatore Taglioni. Includes colored engraving of Maria Conti as Neala in <i>Il Paria</i>
Almanacco teatrale per l'anno 1828	Milano	Teatro alla Scala?	1828-9	Sowell collection, Brigham Young University	Discussion of the ballets performed at La Scala's Autumn 1828-29 season, reviews for 6 Galserani [sic] ballets: <i>Agamennone</i> , <i>Gli spagnoli al Perù</i> , <i>Rosemonda</i> , <i>Buondelmonte</i> , <i>Enea nel Lazio</i> , and <i>Odoardo Stuart</i> ; one ballet by Bertini: <i>Contadina bizzarra</i> ; 8 hand colored engravings, audience reconstruction possible
Almanacco dei teatri di Torino per l'anno 1830.	Torino, Derossi, e Lib. dei Teatri	Teatro Regio, Teatro Carignano	1830	NYPL	Includes lists of dances and performers in three theatres in Turin 1700 to 1830. Mentions choreography and appearances by Mion, Viganò, Pietro and Gaspare Angiolini, Blasis, etc
Almanacco del teatro Reggio per l'anno 1835	Bologna, Coi Tipi del Nobili	various, inc. other theatres across Italy	1830s, 1835	HTC (also digitized in 2008 for Google books)	Also titled: <i>Annali del teatro della città di Reggio</i> , mention of ballet is mixed into reviews of entire evenings, mention made of: Maria Taglioni, ballets <i>il Pascià di Giannina</i> , <i>Luca e Lauretta</i> , and much more

Table 2 continued

Title	City, Pub.	Theatre(s)	Year(s)	Where?	Notes
La Scala Almanacco 1831	Milan, Fratelli Ubicini	La Scala	1830	NYPL	Synopses and discussion of Luigi Henry's ballets from 1830: <i>Adelaide di Francia</i> , <i>La festa da ballo in maschera</i> and <i>Macbeth</i> ; colored engraving of Maria Conti en travesti in the ballet <i>La festa da ballo in maschera</i> ; Giovanni Galzerani's <i>Ottaviano in Egitto</i> , and <i>Baiazet, ballo tragico</i> ; includes colored engraving of Antonio Ramacini in Turkish costume
Lezioni di ballo giusto l'uso delle civili conversazioni. [Almanacco per l'anno 1831]	Milano, Giuseppe Crespi	-	1830	NYPL	Contains Carlo Blasis' "Lezioni di ballo giusto l'uso delle civili conversazioni"
Lezioni di ballo giusta l'uso delle civili conversazioni : (tratte dalla ... opera del signor Blasis intitolata: Code complet de la danse [itself extracted from The code of Terpsichore]). Almanacco per l'anno 1833	Milano, Giuseppe Crespi	-	1832	NYPL, microfilm reproduction	Contains Carlo Blasis' "Lezioni di ballo giusto l'uso delle civili conversazioni" extracted from the Code of Terpsichore.
Almanacco dei teatri di Torino per l'anno 1833: contenente la serie dei drammi rappresentati nel Regio teatro dal 1700, e quelli rappresentati nel Teatro Carignano dal 1765 a tutto il carnevale del corrente anno ...	Torino, Onorato Derossi	Teatro regio and Teatro Carignano	1833	Getty Res Inst.	Illustrated with two folding engraved plates, including a plan of the Teatro Regio by Boasso after a design by Oliani, and an unsigned plate depicting the scene from an unidentified spectacle. Includes bibliographical references. Also includes a chronology. (Listed again in chronology table below.)
Almanacco de' Reali Teatri S. Carlo e Fondo dell'annata teatrale 1834	Napoli	San Carlo e Fondo	1834-35	Sowell Collection	names, positions, salaries, etc. history of San Carlo, reviews of the seasons productions, lithographs – possibly the same as the NYPL and Harvard source listed below
Almanacco de' reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo dell'annata teatrale 1834 ...	Napoli, Flautina	San Carlo Teatro del Fondo	Published 1835, 1834 season	NYPL, HTC, Brigham Young University	Articles on Carlotta Grisi, Fanny Cerrito, Leopoldo Adice
Galleria teatrale d'Italia. Almanacco per l'anno 1833-[35]	Milano, pub. C. Canadelli	various?	1833-35	NYPL	Introduction, anno 2-3, signed: F. R. [Francesco Regli] Numerous references to ballets performed.

Table 2 continued

Title	City, Pub.	Theatre(s)	Year(s)	Where?	Notes
Almanacco del Teatro di Reggio per l'anno MDCCCXXXV.	Bologna, pub. Nobili e Comp; Reggio Emilia	Teatro Reggio	1834	NYPL	Index of works on pages 167-170.
Almanacco de' reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo dell'annata teatrale 1835 ...	Napoli, Flautina	San Carlo and Teatro del Fondo	1835	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Netherlands (location unspecified)	
REPRINT OF: Almanacco dei reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo	Originally Napoli, Flautina (1835) pub. by G. e M. Benincasa in 1987	San Carlo e Fondo	1835 / 1987	NYPL and elsewhere	Reprint with introduction by Francesco Canessa.
I teatri di Milano. Almanacco 1836, Almanacco del Teatro di Reggio per l'anno MDCCCXXXV	Milan, Fratelli Ubicini (1835), Bologna, Nobili e Comp (1834)	Teatro alla Scala and Teatro Carcano	1836	NYPL	"Teatro Carcano, stagioni di primavera ed estate" Discusses Blasis ballets <i>Venere e Adone</i> and <i>Elina</i> and Includes colored engraving of Luigia Colombon as <i>Venere</i> (Venus) in <i>Venere ed Adone</i> .
Tersicore citareda; almanacco per l'anno 1837	Venezia, G. Antonelli (1827?)	?	1837	NYPL	"Giornale per l'anno 1837" contains poems
Teatro della Fenice, almanacco galante dedicato alle dame	Venezia, G. Orlandelli	La Fenice	1839	Bibliotheque Nationale de France	Le faux titre porte: "Memoria storica del teatro la Fenice, in Venezia, almanacco pel 1839" (variation on the title)

Table 3: Nineteenth-century Italian Theatre Chronologies

Author*	Title	Pub. Date	City	Theatre(s)	Dates
<i>anonymous</i>	Cronologia drammatica, pantomimica del R. Teatro alla Scala in Milano. Almanacco per l'anno 1817-[1818]	1817	Milano	La Scala, Teatro dalla Canobbiana, Teatro Caracano	1778-1816
<i>anonymous</i>	Indice o sia catalogo dei teatrali spettacoli musicali italiani di tutta l'Europa, reprint title: Almanacco drammatico	1820-23	originally pub. Milano, reprint: Pesaro Fondazione Rossini as part of <i>Saggi e fonti, 2.</i>	-	quaresima 1819 a tutto carnevale 1820-quaresima 1822 a tutto il carnevale 1823
Donati, Paolo (supposed author)	Cronologia drammatica, pantomimica e comica del Ducale Teatro di Parma, compilata da P. D. Opera completa	1830	Parma	Teatro Ducale di Parma	? - 1830
<i>anonymous</i>	Almanacco dei teatri di Torino per l'anno 1833: contenente la serie dei drammi rappresentati nel Regio teatro dal 1700, e quelli rappresentati nel Teatro Carignano dal 1765 a tutto il carnevale del corrente anno ...	1833	Torino, pub. Onortao Derossi	Teatro regio, Teatro Carignano	“contenente la serie dei drammi rappresentati nel Regio teatro dal 1700, e quelli rappresentati nel Teatro Carignano dal 1765 a tutto il carnevale del corrente anno”
Romani, Luigi *	Teatro alla Scala: Cronologia di tutti gli spettacoli rappresentati in questo teatro dal giorno del solenne suo aprimento sino ad oggi	1862	Milano	La Scala	“all” up to 1862
Gandini, Alessandro *	Cronistoria dei teatri di Modena dal 1539 al 1871	1873	Modena	<i>'i teatri'</i>	1539-1871
Conte Giorgio Ferrarini; Vincenzo Tardini	Cronistoria dei teatri di Modena dal 1873 a tutto il 1881	1873 (?)	Modena	<i>'i teatri'</i>	1873-1881

Table 3 continued

Author*	Title	Pub. Date	City	Theatre(s)	Dates
Gandini, Valdrighi and Ferrari-Moreni	Cronistoria dei teatri di Modena dal 1539 al 1871, del maestro Alessandro Gandini. Continuazione ...Aggiunta al capitolo IX che tratta del Teatro Comunale	1878	Modena	'i teatri' esp. Teatro Comunale	1539-1871
Lianovasani, Luigi (pseud. for Giovanni Salvioli)	La Fenice, gran teatro di Venezia. Serie degli spettacoli dalla primavera 1792 a tutto il carnevale 1876	1876	Venezia	La Fenice	1792-1876
Bignami, Luigi Romani, Felice *	Cronologia di tutti gli spettacoli rappresentati nel gran teatro comunale di Bologna dalla solenne sua apertura 14 maggio 1763 a tutto l'autunno del 1880 con introduzione compilata dall' ex artista cantante Luigi Bignami, e annotazioni storiche sull' arte musicale e della danza di Felice Romani	1880	Bologna	Teatro Comunale	14 maggio 1763 – autunno 1880
Ademollo, A. *	Bibliografia della cronistoria teatrale italiana	1888	Milano – pub. in Gazzetta Musicale di Milano 43: no. 35-36	?	?
Sacerdote, Giacomo *	Teatro regio di Torino: cronologia degli spettacoli rappresentati dal 1662 al 1890 corredata da brevi cenni storici intorno al teatro	1892	Torino	Teatro Regio di Torino	1662 - 1890
Brocca, Ambrogio *	Il Teatro Carlo Felice. Cronistoria dal 7 aprile 1828 al 27 febbraio 1898	1898	Genova	Carlo felice	April 1828-Feb 1898
Cambiasi, Pompeo *	Rappresentazioni date nei reali teatri di Milano, 1778-1872	1872	Milano	La Scala (mainly?)	1778-1872
Cambiasi, Pompeo *	La Scala 1778-1906 (new, improved edition of above)	1906	Milano	La Scala	1778-1906

The * indicates a chronology listed in the previous table of chronologies since 1880 (Table 1).

Ballet scenarios range from brief synopses to lengthy detailed accounts of the action, and occasionally were published in isolation (not in the same booklet as the opera libretto). It is likely that any Italian opera libretto will have information regarding the ballets with which it was performed; therefore, no opera libretto can be ruled out as a source of ballet information unless one knows the cataloguing protocol for a particular library or collection (or has seen the libretto). The library catalogues at Harvard University and The New York Public Library provide the details of both operas and ballets if they exist in the booklet, but not all catalogues can be relied upon for this information.

The Harvard Theatre Collection houses thousands of Italian libretti of which several hundred specifically contain information about both opera and ballet. Many of these belong to the John and Ruth Ward Collection, while the rest are part of the Harvard Theatre Collection. The New York Public Library also has several hundred libretti with most of the ballet libretti collected by Walter Toscanini.⁸⁷ The Toscanini collection of libretti, of which there are nearly three hundred, are catalogued chronologically and represent a wide cross section of Italian theatres including the cities of Verona, Padova, Venice, Milan, Torino, Bologna, Rome, Verona, Firenze, though not as many from Naples as might be expected. A third major collection of Italian ballet libretti is the Sowell Collection, housed at Brigham Young University, which is still being catalogued at present.⁸⁸ Debra Sowell's 2009 presentation at the Society for Dance History Scholars

⁸⁷ For a profile of Walter Toscanini, see: Patrizia Veroli, "Walter Toscanini, Bibliophile and Collector, and the Cia Fornaroli Collection of the New York Public Library," *Dance Chronicle - Studies in Dance and the Related Arts* 28, no. 3 (2005): 323-62.

⁸⁸ See: Sowell, "Romantic Topography and Modern Technology."

and two exhibition catalogues and give an idea of the contents: *Il ballo romantico. Tesori della collezione Sowell* (Sowell, Falcone and Veroli, 2007) and *The Art of Terpsichore: from Renaissance Festivals to Romantic Ballets* (Debra and Madison Sowell, 1994).⁸⁹

These collections are valuable for Italian ballet (and opera) as is the Silvestri Collection of Italian libretti (held at The Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra).⁹⁰

If a ballet scenario is printed with an opera, often the company of dancers is named in the beginning of the booklet, after the singers for the opera. Then the ballet scenario with the title, cast and other information, appears between the acts of the opera or at the end of the booklet. The title of the opera appears on the front cover and the title of the ballet on the back. The title of the ballet is almost always followed by a descriptor of the type of spectacle (e.g. allegorical, historical, fantastic). This is the most common format.

Several important features of Italian ballet become apparent through the study of libretti. When comparing the ballet company (listed in the beginning of the booklet, usually after the orchestra personnel) against the cast lists (the roles actually played in a particular ballet, listed after the ballet title page, located between acts of the opera), the “*primi ballerini seri*” and the “*primi ballerini francesi*”—sometimes with the terms “*assoluti*” (absolute) or “*di rango Francese*” (of French rank) attached—almost never

⁸⁹ See: Sowell et al., “Il ballo romantico.” See also: Sowell and Sowell, “The art of terpsichore.”

⁹⁰ See: Martine Kahane, “Archives of the Dance (4): A. The Library and Archives of the Paris Opéra: part 2,” *Dance research, London*, 3, no. 1 (1984): 67-71.

play a character role. (These terms, which are interchangeable, do not indicate nationality or dramatic import, rather they indicate that the dancers were academically trained in what we now call classical ballet technique—in the “French style.”) Yet, there must have been dramatic rationale for them to dance, such as celebrations and festivals. Beginning in the 1830s a page with the distribution of dances “distribuzioni delle danze” appears in the libretto, usually placed before the plot description. If this page is included, we then can see when and how the dancers of these ranks took part. Otherwise one must hope there is mention within the plot of their dances, or that the musical score contains pieces entitled “passo a due” and so on. This “distribuzione delle danze” page is like an advertisement for the danced parts of the ballet, and can be helpful in identifying the names and types of national dances when they are not explicitly identified in the plot or musical score.

In general large numbers of dancers took part in the ballets, and the numbers of male and females across all levels of the hierarchy were evenly distributed, from the *primi ballerini seri* to the *corps de ballet* made up of students. Usually the scenario is prefaced by a short essay by the choreographer entitled “Al rispettabile pubblico,” or “Argomento” which prefaces the plot details and may explain the way in which the particular plot came into existence, and, especially, how it has been adapted from its literary roots, if that is the case (and often it was). This is also found in opera libretti of the period. Viganò was known to have done away with this format, starting the plot without any preface (as will be discussed in Chapters IV and VI, especially concerning the opening of *La Vestale* in 1818.) Yet, the practice remained in a majority of the libretti

di ballo for the entire period surveyed. Much of the information gleaned through survey of these libretti is included in Chapter IV and the specific libretti referenced in the discussion of particular ballets and their music are cited throughout.

Regarding ballet genres, I observed that until the mid-century it was common to see two ballets—one serious and one of mezzo-carattere—per evening (and per opera). Debra Sowell found some interesting trends in her study of Italian libretti throughout the nineteenth century. First, she cites a trend from serious to comic, especially from 1815-1875, where it appears that the comic, mezzo-carattere and serious converge.⁹¹ Sowell also embarks on a study of her collection combined with libretti at Harvard, NYPL, and in Italian library catalogues in order to compare with English and French genre identifications of famous ballets to those in Italy, finding that Italians were more likely to label a ballet with a genre classification.⁹² (The ballets investigated by Sowell include *La Sylphide* and *Giselle*—ballets that in Italy were most often termed “fantastico,” an Italian way of identifying that these French ballets were different from many Italian ballets.) Sowell also found that the terms fantastico and romantico only begin to be used in the 1830s and spiked in use in the middle decades.⁹³

⁹¹ Sowell, "Romantic Topography and Modern Technology," 226.

⁹² Ibid. 229.

⁹³ Ibid. 229-230. My findings concerning the use of the term ‘fantastico’ and the Italian view of ballets with silfs and other supernaturals as different confirm what other Italian ballet history scholars have observed (such as Sowell and Hansell). For example, an Almanacco from San Carlo e Fondo from 1834-35 describes a successful ballet "Il Candidato Cavaliere" where a silf helps a knight defeat evil (Amalia Brugnoli played the silf) but was seen as “in a genere del tutto nuovo” (an entirely new genre). This particular ballet played in the same season as the restaging of Viganò’s *La Vestale*, where Antonia Pallerini played the title role but was seen as too

Musical Sources

Musical scores are much harder to come by than libretti, but fortunately some have survived Risorgimento turbulence and two world wars—both in published piano reductions and manuscript sources. (It is the choreography that is irretrievable except for a few isolated examples of notation preserved in musical manuscript sources and choreographer production notes from later in the century.) The general outlines of the danced and mimed structure can be re-created through careful examination of scenarios and musical sources with interlined stage directions. The musical sources that do survive constitute an excellent means of ascertaining information about performance practice of ballet in the nineteenth century. (The contents of these sources are more thoroughly discussed in Chapter V.)

Generally the musical sources fall into two categories: the printed keyboard reduction and the manuscript score. The manuscripts scores split into a few categories: the rehearsal score (often a *foglietto* containing two or three staves and usually well marked and sloppy in script), the full score (often an autograph from which parts were extracted, less often a well-marked conductor's score), and the parts (these are the rarest items in the collections studied). The Ward collection contains roughly one hundred and fifty musical sources. Of these, close to ninety-five different ballets are present as well as some unidentified ballet music. There are a large number—nearly seventy—of printed

old for the part of a vestal virgin. See: Almanacco de' reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo dell'annata teatrale 1834. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Flautina, 1835, 116 (HTC).

pianoforte reductions of Italian ballets, reflecting the advent of newly established and highly successful publishing companies, such as Ricordi in Milan, at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Ricordi, whose premises were near La Scala, “became closely related to the music performed there.”⁹⁴ After 1817, Ricordi published reductions of complete ballets, which were a relative rarity until the twentieth century.⁹⁵

The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts has close to one hundred Italian ballet music scores, of which the majority are keyboard reductions. There is some overlap between the Ward and NYPL collections in the area of published materials, whereas the manuscript sources are not redundant (as should be expected). However, in some instances a manuscript source correlates with a published source between the two collections. For example, *Agamennone* (Galzerani, Pagni, 1828) has a manuscript full score at Harvard and a piano score published by Ricordi in Milano housed at the New York Public Library. There are over twenty ballets with scores in common between the collections and I have identified seventeen identical or nearly identical sources. (See list below, Tables 4, 5 and 6.)

Highly significant then—due to their rarity—are the manuscript scores. These include manuscript full scores (not all are complete ballets), *foglietti* (two-three staves, with cues, used by the conductor or orchestra leader) and parts. There are also a few

⁹⁴ Richard MacNutt, (Introduction) in: Levy, Morris S., and Ward John M. *Italian Ballet, 1637-1977: a Catalogue*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2005), XI.

⁹⁵ MacNutt claims that these were the only published piano reductions of a complete ballet until the twentieth century. MacNutt, in Levy and Ward, “Italian Ballet,” XII.

examples of manuscript banda scores, manuscript répétiteur and manuscript choreographic production notes. Overall, there are over seventy manuscript sources between the two collections, and for several ballets, a group of manuscript sources exist. For example, Harvard has six distinct manuscript sources for the ballet *Zelia* composed by Costantino dall'Argine, by the choreographer Antonio Pallerini, who were active in the final decade of the period I studied, beginning in the 1860s.⁹⁶ Most importantly, interlinear or annotated stage directions are often found in both printed and manuscript sources. Stage directions in the Italian sources are the most valuable tool in unlocking the relationship between music and libretto, a step in the direction of re-imagining choreography.

I have created a database listing each title, choreographer, composer, premiere location and date, source type (along with existence of interlinear stage directions and scenario in many cases), publishing date and company, location of the material, and instrumentation. I hope to put this database online, in its searchable and sortable format. Please refer to Appendix A to see the print form of this database, which I organized chronologically by the “sort date,” a date I have applied to the source based on evidence or estimation when no evidence is available. Some of the features of the Ward and New York Public Library collections are in Tables 4, 5 and 6 below.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ These sources originate from two separate productions: Choreographic production notes, two manuscript foglietti, and a manuscript full score exist for the Teatro Apollo performance during carnevale of 1865, and a manuscript banda score and manuscript full score exist for the Teatro Carlo Felice performance in the spring of 1866.

⁹⁷ For more detailed information on the ballets and scores listed in the table please refer to Appendix A.

Table 4: Statistics from the Ward Collection and the NYPL: Pianoforte Scores found in Both Collections

Pianoforte scores found in both collections ^a	Relationship
<i>Acbar, Gran Mogol</i> (1819)	2 pf sources match, 1 other
<i>Alessandro nell' Indie</i> (1820)	same
<i>Bianchi e negri</i> (1853)	same
<i>Brahma</i> (1868)	2 pf sources match, 1 other
<i>Esmeralda</i> [Import] (1844, 1845)	maybe same, diff. pub. & no. of pgs.
<i>Faust</i> (1852)	same, yet different publisher
<i>Flik e Flok</i> (1862)	likely same
<i>Giovanna d'Arco</i> (1821)	mostly the same, one has more nos.
<i>La Contessa d'Egmont</i> (1861)	likely same
<i>La Vestale</i> (1818)	same
<i>L'anello infernale, ossia Folgore</i> ^b (1862)	likely same, one pf has more pieces
<i>Mirra; ossia La vendetta di Venere</i> ^c (1817)	same
<i>Nicolò de' Lapi</i> (1858)	same
<i>Nostradamus</i> (1862)	same
<i>Otello</i> (1818)	likely same, diff. nos. of pgs.
<i>Prometeo, Il</i> (1813)	various separate nos., some match ^d
<i>Psammi, Re d'Egitto</i> (1817)	likely same, diff. nos. of pgs.
<i>Tutti Coreografi; ossia un Ballo Nuovo</i> (1856)	same

^a The abbreviation 'pf(s)' stands for "pianoforte score(s)," meaning a reduction for keyboard instrument of any type, though most are for the pianoforte (piano). MS stands for manuscript. I note that publications that are "likely the same" in table four because I was not able to compare them side by side, but all or most details, such as same title, publisher, and number of pages, point to an identical match. If two sources are said to match, I am highly certain of their sameness.

^b See also the correlations in the tables below between manuscript and printed sources at both collections.

^c Listed as *Mirra; ossia La Vendetta di Venere* in NYPL and as *La Vendetta di Venere* in HTC.

^d See Table 6 below.

Table 5: Statistics from the Ward Collection and the NYPL: Other Score Correlations between the Two Collections

Other score correlations between the two collections		
Title, Choreographer, Composer, Year	HTC (Ward collection) formats	NYPL formats
<i>Agamennone</i> (Galzerani, Pagni, 1828)	“Terzetto ballabile” in MS full score	ballabile in printed pf reduction (Note: it has not been determined if these have the same music)
<i>Amore e Dovere</i> (Galzerani, various, 1819)	scribal MS score of cembalo reduction	printed reduction for cembalo
<i>La fata malvagia</i> (Vestris, Pacini et al. 1822)	printed pf score, 13 pages	MS score on microfilm
<i>La Niobe</i> , or <i>Niobe</i> (Gioia, Gallenberg, Carlini, et al. 1816 La Scala, 1822 San Carlo)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1816 MS pf score, 15 pages • 1816 printed pf score, 9 pages, pub. Ricordi Milano • 1822 separately printed pf scores by Girard, Napoli “Ballabile” “Passo delle ore” “pezzi” 	MS score on microfilm
<i>L’Anello Infernale; ossia Folgore</i> (Pallerini, Giorza, 1862)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MS short score (autograph) • printed pf score, Ricordi, Milano, 31 pages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • printed pf score, Ricordi, Milano, 64 pages • printed piano score, Ricordi Milano, entitled <i>Folgore</i>, 31 pages
<i>Sesostri</i> (S. Taglioni, Carlini et al. 1823 at La Scala, 1824 at San Carlo)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • printed pf score, Girard, Napoli, 23 pages • printed pf score, Girard Napoli, “Pas de trois” 5 pages 	• MS score on microfilm

**Table 6: Statistics from the Ward Collection and the NYPL:
Correlating Scores within a Collection**

Correlating scores within a collection		
Title, Choreographer, Composer, Year	Correlation materials	Collection
<i>Castore e Polluce</i> (Taglioni, Raimondi and Brambilla, La Scala 1820, San Carlo 1821)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pf score by Ricordi, Milano, 1820, 15 pages, composed by Brambilla • Pf score by Girard, Napoli, 1821, 10 pages, composed by Raimondi 	HTC
[Import] <i>Caterina; ou La fille du brigand</i> (Perrot, Pugni and Bajetti 1847) ^a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pf score by Ricordi in Milano, 132 pages^b • Pf score by F. Lucca in Milano, 86 pages 	NYPL
<i>Clara</i> (Pallerini, Giorza and Scaramelli, 1859)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MS foglietto • MS full score 	HTC
[Import] <i>Esmeralda</i> (Perrot, Pugni and Bajetti, 1845) ^c	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pf score by Ricordi in Milano, 59 pages • Pf score by F. Lucca in Milano, 26 pages 	HTC
<i>Fantasie d'un Poeta a Roma</i> (1863, Parma)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MS full score, autograph 	HTC
<i>Fantasie: Visione di un Poet</i> (1864?, Torino?) (Pallerini, dall'Argine)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MS répétiteur with interlinear stage directions 	HTC
<i>Favilla</i> (?, Giorza, ?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MS foglietto (scribal) • MS banda score of selection(s) • MS full score of "Ballabile perisano" and "Finale" 	HTC
<i>Florina</i> (Pallerini, Giorza, 1858)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MS foglietto • MS full score, missing a few nos. 	HTC
<i>Folgore</i> – see <i>l'Anello Infernale</i>	-	-
<i>Ghengis-Kan / Gengis-Kan</i> (Henry, Brambilla and/or Gallenberg, 1819, 1828)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1819 Pf score by Ghirard, Napoli, composed by Gallenberg, 14 pages • 1828 Pf score by Ricordi, Pozzi e Co., Firenze; Ricordi, Milano, composed by Brambilla et al. 8 pages 	HTC
<i>Il Cavaliere del Tempo</i> (Garzia, Gallenberg and Belloli, 1815)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pf score of selected pieces, 31 pages • Pf score of gran quintetto, 11 pages 	HTC
<i>Nadilla; o Il Lago delle Fate</i> (Pallerini, Giorza, ?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MS foglietto (scribal) 29 pages • MS foglietto (scribal) 107 pages • MS full score (autograph) 127 pages 	HTC
<i>Niobe</i> (Gioia, Gallenberg and Carlini et al. 1816, 1820)	<i>See table 5 above.</i>	HTC

Table 6 continued

Correlating scores within a collection		
Title, Choreographer, Composer, Year	Correlation materials	Collection
<i>Nyssa e Saib</i> (Pallerini, dall'Argine, 1867 at the Teatro Apollo, Rome, 1868, Teatro regio, Torino)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1867 choreographer's production notes, MS foglietto, MS full score (autograph) • 1868 2 MS full scores by Antonio Bauer, MS banda score, MS répéteur, MS répéteur with choreographic directions 	HTC
<i>Ondina; o La Grotta d'Adelberga</i> (Pallerini, dall'Argine, 1866)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MS foglietto • MS full score (autograph) • MS full scores 	HTC
<i>Otranta Liberata</i> (S. Taglioni, Carlini, 1820)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • printed pf score "Pezzi scelti" • printed pf score "Tarentella" 	HTC
<i>Sesostri</i> (S. Taglioni, Carlini et al. 1823)	<i>See Table 5 above.</i>	HTC
<i>Telemaco</i> (Duport, Carafa et al. 1820)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • printed pf score, Girard, Napoli, "Ballabil de' baccanti" • printed pf score, Girard, Napoli, "pas de deux" 	HTC
<i>Tippoo Saeb</i> (S. Taglioni, Carlini and Romani et al. 1823)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • printed pf score, 4 hands, Girard, Napoli, 4 pages • printed pf score, 6 pages 	HTC
<i>Zelia</i> (Pallerini, dall'Argine, 1865 at the Teatro Apollo in Rome, 1866 at the Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1865 choreography production notes, MS foglietto (scribal); MS foglietto; MS full score (autograph) • 1866 MS banda score; MS full score 	HTC

^a This ballet was actually an import, having first been performed on March 3, 1846, at Her Majesty's Theatre, London, with choreography and libretto by Perrot and music by Cesare Pugni.

^b My attempt to compare these two sources was foiled as this first score could not be found on the shelf as of January, 2010.

^c This ballet was also an import, first performed at Her Majesty's Theatre in London, March 9, 1944, with music by Cesare Pugni, choreography by Jules Perrot and the libretto also by Perrot, based on Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*.

I found that the choreographers most well represented in the Ward and NYPL collections are Antonio Pallerini (1819-1892), Salvatore Viganò (1769-1821), Gaetano Gioia (c. 1760-1826), Salvatore Taglioni (1789-1868), Giuseppe Rota (1823-1865), and Ippolito Monplaisir (1821-1877). Those with several ballets are Louis / Luigi Henry (1784-1836), Jules Perrot (1810-1892), Paul Taglioni (1800-1884), Giovanni Casati (1811-1895), Giovanni Galzerani (1790-1853) and Armand Vestris (1795-1825). Those with only a few works include Pasquale Borri (1820-1883), Luigi Manzotti (1835-1905), Ferdinando Pratesi (1831-1879), Urbano Garzia (n.d., active at the same time as Salvatore Viganò), Antonio Cortesi (1796-1879), Carlo Blasis (1795-1878), and a handful of others.

The composers most well represented in the collections are Paolo Giorza (1832-1914), Costantino dall'Argine (1842-1877), Robert Gallenberg (1783-1839), Luigi Carlini (n.d. active early in the century), Pietro Raimondi (1786-1853), and Romualdo Marengo (1841-1907). Those named in relation to a few scores are Cesare Pugni (c. 1802-1870), (Peter) Ludwig Hertel (1817-1899), Michele Carafa (1787-1872), Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli (1817-1876) and a few others. In the early part of the century most of the ballet scores were pastiches, that is, combination of pieces by various composers, often with opera excerpts. The most frequently appearing composers who wrote music or whose music was adapted were Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868), Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) (both of whose music was often adapted), Paolo Brambilla (1786-1838), Joseph Weigl (1766-1846), Robert Gallenberg, Pietro Lichtenthal (1780-1853), Michele

Carafa and Paolo Giorza (who was active later than most of the aforementioned composers).

The theatre that is most well represented in the collections is the Teatro alla Scala in Milan (often referred to simply as “La Scala”). The ballet music sources associated with this theatre in the Ward Collection and at the NYPL far outnumber those from everywhere else. San Carlo in Naples is a distant second, followed by Carlo Felice in Genoa, the Teatro alla Canobbiana (Milan), and the Roman Teatro Apollo and Teatro Argentina. Other theatres associated with just a few musical sources are the Teatro del Fondo in Naples, Teatro della Pergola, Florence, the Teatro Grande, Brescia, the Teatro Grande, Trieste, and the Teatro Regio in Turin. There are still many sources that have yet to be linked to a theatre. It is also very important to note that I list only the premiere venue of a ballet, for the most part, and that ballets did travel from theatre to theatre. Several examples of a ballet appearing at two theatres within a year’s time are already evidenced in Tables 4, 5 and 6, above. With further research into this topic, including the work of Debra Sowell, a lost repertory of ballets may indeed be established beyond those that have been canonized. This prospect is interesting, since it is currently theorized that ballet may have waned in part because of a failure to form a standard repertory similar to that of nineteenth-century opera.⁹⁸

Finally, a word about publishers. It is at once obvious that Ricordi in Milano is by far the best-represented publishing firm in these two collections, from roughly 1813 throughout the period. F. Lucca in Milano published many ballet scores starting in the

⁹⁸ This is most clearly articulated by Hansell in “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera.”

mid-century. Girard in Naples seems to have been slightly less prolific, and flourished in terms of publishing ballet scores in the second and third decades of the century. Other publishers account for the rest of the materials, but do not have anywhere close to the numbers of publications that flowed from the three big firms. In any case, the business of publishing the piano reductions seemed to have thrived, with some ebb and flow, during the entire period.

The Published Keyboard Reduction of Ballet Music

The topic of keyboard reductions deserves a more thorough treatment than that which I provide here. But it is crucial to any study of Italian ballet music, for much of the surviving source material is in that form. The rise of the cembalo, fortepiano and finally pianoforte (piano), aided by the industrial revolution, has been well documented. Keyboard instruments became a mainstay in every home, and especially prized by the burgeoning middle class. This gave rise to the need for teachers and teaching repertoire, and all of these pianists wanted to be able to play the well-known arias from operas, and as it turns out, ballets. It is no exaggeration to call the nineteenth century the age of the piano transcription. The advent of professional concert pianism and increasingly technical and dazzling compositions was accompanied by an explosion of amateur pianism with a body of easy-to-play repertoire that included ballet music.

In the 1820s, Ricordi, one of the largest publishers of music for home enjoyment, published ballet music geared for just this purpose as part of a series called the “Biblioteca di Musica Moderna” (Library of Modern Music). Sub-categorized into years

(“Anni”) and classes (“Classe”), as a method of organizing the series, many ballet scores, such as *Matilda and Malek-Adel “Ballo Storico”* (Clerico, Belloli et al., La Scala, 1824) and *Ottavia*, (Gioja, Raimondi, La Scala, 1823) are part of this series. These scores were often extensive, encompassing whole ballets or at least whole acts of ballets, with interlinear directions. Ricordi was at the forefront of publishing ballet scores, especially in the beginning of the century, and published entire ballets in keyboard reduction, such as *La Vestale* (Viganò, various, La Scala, 1818).⁹⁹ These almost always contained interlinear directions concerning the stage action. Musicians, often amateurs, were employed to reduce the full score.¹⁰⁰

During the same period (the 1820s) Girard in Naples published the pianoforte scores to ballets performed at San Carlo, such as *Sesostri* (S. Taglioni, Carlini, San Carlo, 1823). Giuseppe Galuzzo was one such amateur who reduced various select pieces including the “Ballabile delle Cariatidi,” “Allegro con Brio,” and the “Finale of Atto 2, ridotto a Fantasia,”¹⁰¹ “Congiura,” “Arrivo degli Arabi,” “Andantino,” and a “Pas de deux.” There are no interlinear stage directions. These publications of “pezzi scelti” were

⁹⁹ See Appendix A for indications of which scores belong to this series.

¹⁰⁰ The layout at the beginning of the century is distinct, with oblong pages, an ornate title page naming the ballet, the choreographer, the reducer and the dedicatee.

¹⁰¹ This indication is interesting as it implies that, in terms of common practice for a “fantasia,” the main motives and material are taken and developed. This was often done with opera and is also cited by Jürgenson for some of Verdi’s ballet music. Furthermore, some of Verdi’s ballet music, transmitted in some sort of arrangement, was then used for actual balls. See Jürgenson, “The Verdi Ballets.”

usually over twenty pages in length and similar in style and layout to the Ricordi publications.

Girard's *Sesostri* and Ricordi's *La Vestale* illustrate the general differences between the two firms' approaches to publishing ballet music. Milanese publications included a lot of stage direction information and Neapolitan scores seem to be aimed at a more purely pianistic enjoyment, and extraction of specific pieces with the absence of plot details: The Finale of Act II in *Sesostri* is reduced to a Fantasia—at the whim of Galuzzo rather than just a piano reduction straight from the ballet. Also, it seems that Ricordi had more interest in publishing complete or quasi-complete ballets while Girard selected the “più applauditi” (most applauded) pieces (even though the selection of the “più applauditi pezzi” was typical for any publishing house). *Pas de deux* were extracted from Henry-Gallenberg ballets performed at San Carlo in the previous decades, such as *Othello* (1808) and *La Morte de Cleopatra* (1809), and published in the early 1820s. In fact most of the scores from Girard are a particular danced piece such as a tarantella, *pas de deux*, *pas de trois* or ballabile, rather than a mix of mime and dance music. Girard's proliferation of ballet music was short lived, likely due to changes in the firm after Giuseppe Girard's death in 1827, as the new director, Guglielmo Cottrau, apparently published very few piano scores.

Another trend that began in the second decade and grew more popular was the use of famous dancers as a selling point. A *pas de trois* was extracted from *Sesostri* and published on its own with reference on the title page which read:

Pas de Trois / Eseguito dal Sig. Hullin e le Sig. Vacque-Mulin e Sichera / Aggiunte nel Ballo Sesostri / Musica Variata dal Signor N... / sul Tema del Sigr. Cav. Carafa / O Cara Memoria / ridotto facilmente per Pianoforte solo / Dal Sigr. Dilettante D. Gius. Galluzzo / Napoli / Presso Gius. Girard / Editore di Musica str. Toldeo N. 177

Pas de Trois / executed by Mr. Hulan and Mrs. Vacque-Mulin and [Mrs.] Sichera / added into the ballet Sesostri / music varied (adapted into variations) by Mr. N... / on the theme by Mr. Carafa / O Cara Memoria ("Oh sweet memory") / easily reduced for solo piano by Mr. D. Gius. Galluzzo, amateur / Napoli / Published Gius. Girard / etc.¹⁰²

This is an early example of a famous duet or other number for which the dancers are named. In 1823 Girard also published a *pas de deux* "eseguito da conjugi Taglioni..." while the first existing La Scala extraction of this type in the collections is from an 1845 import (Fanny Elssler and Jules Perrot are named in the "pezzi scelti" for *Esmeralda*.)

Not until the late 1840s would another firm rival Ricordi in ballet music publication, when the company begun by Francesco Lucca became active in this endeavor (Lucca had apprenticed with Ricordi). Competition grew between the firms, especially concerning the rights to operas by great composers such as Verdi and Wagner, until Ricordi eventually absorbed Lucca in 1888. Lucca was prolific throughout the period studied in this dissertation, and beyond, publishing ballet music from a wider variety of theatres than simply those ballets performed at La Scala. In fact, the number of ballet music scores published by Ricordi steeply declined after 1830. Especially during the 1830s sources are scarce from Ricordi, who up until this point had published ballets chiefly from La Scala. The periods of ballet music publishing activity for the top three

¹⁰² Luigi Carlini and Giuseppe Galuzzo, *Pas de trois: eseguito dal sigr. Hullin e le sigre. Vacque-Mulin e Sichera aggiunto nel ballo Sesostri*, (Napoli: Girard, 1823). (Part of the Ward Collection, HTC).

publishers help explain the dearth of published sources from the 1830s, as no one was active in publishing ballet scores during the 1830s, but all other decades are covered by one firm or more. (Ricordi published ballets from 1813 on, Girard from 1810-1830, and F. Lucca flourished in terms of ballet scores at the mid-century.)

An offshoot of and counterpart to the piano reduction was the subsequent band arrangements that were published or at least formed in manuscript arrangements for "banda militare." While these sources are not common in the two primary collections studied for this dissertation, quite a few exist in Italian libraries from especially the 1820s and late 1840s, where a series of ballet numbers were adapted "ad uso delle fanfare de' Battaglioni Cacciatori" (for use in a fanfare by a battalion of hunters).

Ballet Music Sources in Italy

Finally, my preliminary search of what sources may be collected in Italian libraries and archives, for the purpose of future research in Italy, shows that ballet scores are scattered all over the peninsula. Likely there is much that is not listed in on-line catalogues. According to my searches, it appears that the most promising locale for ballet music study is Naples. Naples libraries house many of the libretti from productions at San Carlo and close to one hundred ballet music sources. Of special interest are the nearly eighty manuscript sources at the Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella, though many of these are scores are of a single danced number and it is unclear how many others are full ballet manuscripts.

Effort has been made to make some of these ballet scores available digitally through the The Italian Digital Library Portal and Cultural-Tourist Network:

www.internetculturale.it. Two such ballets are autograph manuscript full scores of Salvatore Taglioni's *Nadina, ballo fantastico in tre scene* (1852) and *Lauretta e Lubino, ballo in tre atti* (c.1856) in autograph manuscript both with music by Giuseppe Giaquinto.

Other important libraries for ballet music sources are the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi - Milano, the Biblioteca del Civico istituto musicale Gaetano Donizetti - Bergamo, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana - Città del Vaticano, the Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati - Ostiglia, the Biblioteca nazionale centrale – Firenze and the Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia – Rome. Having examined on-line catalogues for libraries across Italy as well as SBN OPAC (a national search engine for Italian libraries), I have created a database of close to two hundred musical sources. This constitutes Appendix B, which is in the same format as the database for sources in the United States. The make-up of the HTC and NYPL collections already discussed is similar to those evidenced in my initial list of Italian sources. For example, many of the materials in Appendix B are keyboard reductions published by Ricordi in Milan. One distinguishing factor for Naples libraries is that much more musical material from Naples ballets is present in Neapolitan libraries than in the HTC and NYPL collections and great efforts have been made on the part of Naples libraries and archives to catalogue materials and make them available to scholars. Thus, there are many ballets by Salvatore Taglioni and Luigi Henry, the main choreographers in Naples, with music by various authors including Robert Gallenberg, Luigi Carlini and Giuseppe Giaquinto.

Some items in the database of Italian musical sources are especially noteworthy. First there are several transcriptions of ballet music for wind bands and the “banda militare,” which is certainly related to the use of such bands in the actual theatre productions. (See discussion of the “banda sul palco” and of “scoring” in Chapter V.) Secondly, there is a sizeable group of manuscript reductions for keyboard instruments, including reductions for cembalo in the early part of the century. These sources are scarce in the United States collections and may help provide valuable information in the study of the process of the keyboard transcription.

Finally, there are many Italian sources for ballets that are also present in the United States collections, including *La Vestale*, *Niobe*, *Il Noce di Benevento*, *Acbar Gran Mogul*, *I Titani*, *Giovanna d’Arco*, *Sesostri*, *Tippoo Saeb*, *Romanov*, *Bianchi e negri*, *Flik e Flok*, *Brahma* and *Sieba*. It will take further investigation to see if these sources match, though the published piano scores likely do. Clearly much work remains to be done with musical sources in Italian libraries.¹⁰³

Other Primary Sources and Web Resources

While the musical sources are the focus of my work, other valuable materials in both the Ward and NYPL collections (and elsewhere) play an important role in this dissertation: costume and set designs, biographical information on dancers and artists, journals and critical literature, and treatises on technique. There are abundant sources

¹⁰³ While much work still needs to be done on the database of Italian musical sources (Appendix B), including filling the holes and providing more accurate dates for listed sources, this database makes an excellent tool for rough comparisons and planning of future research.

useful for the choreographic context of Italian ballet (though not the actual choreography), including most famously the treatises of Carlo Blasis. Italian cities published many journals that discuss music, dance and theatre. These are difficult to lay hands on and are only partially indexed by scholars. For example, the Retrospective Index of Music Periodicals (RIPM) contains lists of Italian period journals related to music and accompanying descriptions of their most useful contents, but little mention of dance is made. Yet, ballet and specific ballets are mentioned in many period journals, some of which have become available digitally through cooperation between Google books and libraries such as the HTC and NYPL, and other on-line sources (see below). Much of the information in these sources relating to Italian ballet still has to be discovered, and it is not often referenced in the secondary literature. Great efforts have been made to incorporate these sources into the discussion of the ballets and their music in Chapters IV and V.

In addition to the online catalogues of the major research libraries in which collections are housed, there are several useful websites for connecting with Italian ballet scholarship and source materials. For example, AIRDANZA is created by the Italian Association for Research in Dance, and was established in 2001 by dance scholars. The aim is to promote dance scholarship and access to scholarly information. The site contains a list of members (scholars), and information about conferences, publications and research in Italy. DHDS Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society's website originates from the United Kingdom and maintains journals with articles available online and in PDF

format. The New York Public Library's exhibit "500 Years of Italian Dance: Treasures from the Cia Fornaroli Collection" (October 17, 2006 - January 20, 2007), was encapsulated digitally in a highly informative format (curated by Lynn Garafola, with Patrizia Veroli, after a project conceived by José Sasportes and Patrizia Veroli).¹⁰⁴ In addition, the New York Public library has an outstanding collection of digital images (many part of the above-mentioned collection), which include lithographs, and watercolors of dancers, stage designs (especially by Alessandro Sanquirico, designer for La Scala during Viganò's time).¹⁰⁵ Other digital collections are also helpful and include the Allison Delarue Collection at Princeton University Library¹⁰⁶, which also has lithographs of famous dancers, and AmadeusOnline, which has a section of details from almanacs published during the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁷ Digital copies of journals, libretti, and books from the 1800s are available online by Google books and various libraries. For example, such valuable journals as *Il Caffè Pedrocchi* (published weekly from 1846-48, containing

¹⁰⁴ NYPL, 500 years of Italian Dance. In, <http://www.nypl.org/research/lpa/italiandance/over.html> New address: <http://legacy.www.nypl.org/research/lpa/italiandance/>. (accessed continuously between 2007-2010).

¹⁰⁵ New York Public Library Digital Gallery. In, <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/index.cfm>. (accessed continuously between 2006-2010).

¹⁰⁶ Allison Delarue Collection at Princeton University Library. In, http://libweb5.princeton.edu/Visual_Materials/Delarue/Htmls/index.html. (accessed between 2008-2010).

¹⁰⁷ AmadeusOnline. In, ed. Paragon s.r.l. Pubblicazione periodica telematica registrata presso il Tribunale di Milano, <http://www.amadeusonline.net/almanacco.php>. (accessed 2010). This was created by Prof. Dr. Gherardo Casagli, who provides a lengthy bibliography to his "almanac."

discussion of the arts, including plays, poems, reports on theatres, and books)¹⁰⁸, *L'Italia Musicale* (published weekly from 1847-59, containing articles on all things relating the theatres across Italy with “appendices” relating to arts and literature),¹⁰⁹ and *Teatri, arti e letteratura* (published weekly from 1824-1863, containing articles on fashion, theatrical offerings and happenings, and miscellaneous)¹¹⁰ are available through the cooperation with Google books by Harvard and the New York Public Libraries. Of the Italian libraries, the Archivio di teatro Napoli website has the most up-to-date and accessible presentation of catalogues and information about the main Neapolitan institutions and is committed to the enhancement of historical theatre resources. Hopefully, similar and continued efforts will be made throughout Italy and elsewhere to document and even provide archival contents on-line.

Correspondence and literary efforts from period writers can be extremely useful for determining contexts and placing events, as Jürgensen also showed in his study of the Verdi ballets. Among the published versions of these which have been used historically by dance scholars are the Danish choreographer August Bournonville’s letters from

¹⁰⁸ "Il Caffè Pedrocchi," anno 1-3, n. 10, 4 genn. 1846-12 mar., 48; nuova ser., n. 1-15/16, 6 apr. -9 giugno 48, (Padova: Crescini, 1846-1848). The copy available on Google books is from Harvard University, and comprises nos. 4-52, 1846.

¹⁰⁹ Francesco Lucca, "L'Italia musicale," Anno 1, n. 1 (7 Luglio 1847)-anno 11, n. 23 (23 Aprile 59), Milano: F. Lucca. This is offered by Google books through the digitalization of a Harvard copy (digitized Oct 16, 2007).

¹¹⁰ "Teatri, arti e letteratura," (Bologna: Tip. Gov. della Volpe al Sassi), [pub. weekly 1824-1858], NYPL has 1828-1833, 1854, and these are available on Google books.

Italy,¹¹¹ Théophile Gautier's myriad observations on dance,¹¹² the composer and writer Pietro Lichtenthal's writings from earlier in the century,¹¹³ Carlo Ritorni's biography of Viganò, and Lady Morgan's and Stendhal's travel writings.¹¹⁴ Lichtenthal, Ritorni, Morgan and Stendhal are especially useful for Italian ballet, and appear throughout the following four chapters.

¹¹¹ August Bournonville, Patricia McAndrew, and Knud Arne Jürgensen, *My dearly beloved wife! Letters from France and Italy, 1841*, (Alton, Hampshire: Dance Books, 2005).

¹¹² Théophile Gautier and Ivor Forbes Guest, *Gautier on Dance*, London: Dance, 1986.

¹¹³ Peter Lichtenthal, *Estetica: ossia, dottrina del bello e delle arti belle*, Vol. 21, *Biblioteca storico giuridica e artistico letteraria: Arti*, (Bologna: A.M.I.S., 1971, 1831).

¹¹⁴ Already cited, see footnote 76.

CHAPTER IV

OVERVIEW OF ITALIAN BALLET FROM 1800-1870

Introduction—Ballet as a Distinct Genre

Stemming from the spectacular coreodrammas of Salvatore Viganò in the early part of the century, native-born Italian theatrical dance was distinct from French ballet. An Italian ballet is quite simply called “ballo” (dance) and was entirely separate from the operas it played alongside each evening in the theatre. This was the case for several decades preceding the turn of the century and the choreographer Gasparo Angiolini, for one, fully supported the Italian separation of opera and ballet on the grounds of simplicity.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ It should be emphasized that independent ballet with much pantomime had been the norm in Italian theatres for several decades, since roughly 1750. French and Italian ballet were already highly distinct at the turn of the century, as Italian audiences preferred the acrobatic and grotesque styles of ballet over the French serious style. As Carmela Lombardi writes in the section “Danza e opera in musica” preceding the transcriptions of period sources from 1773-1785, “Commentando le *Lettres sur la danse* di Noverre, Angiolini gli rimproverava la superficialità con la quale aveva discusso dell'opera francese e ne trattava a sua volta. Nell'opera francese il ballo era una delle componenti strutturali, mentre l'opera italiana veniva rappresentata insieme a balli del tutto indipendenti de essa. Angiolini ribaltava l'uso che tradizionalmente era stato fatto di questa contrapposizione. Giudicava l'opera francese un "ammasso complicato d'ogetti" e così facendo usava l'argomento della "semplicità" per sostenere l'opposto di quanti l'avevano utilizzato per suggerire l'opera francese come modello.” [Commenting on Noverre’s *Lettres sur la danse*, Angiolini reprimanded him for the superficiality with which he had discussed the French opera and treated the subject in turn. In the French opera the ballet was one of the structural components, while the Italian opera shows ballets at the same time that are completely independent from the opera. Angiolini switched the characterization that was

Furthermore, the dancing that was in the French “academic style” (similar to what we now call classical ballet technique) was performed by dancers listed separately in the program as “primi ballerini italiani seri” or “di rango francese” or even “primi ballerini seri francesi” thus highlighting the difference in style (not necessarily the dancers’ country of origin). These dancers rarely played dramatic roles in the action, appearing only in the ballabile and danced portions of the performance.

Any number of modifiers could be attached to a ballet title, but there were two distinct genres. There is the “gran ballo” or “ballo grande” — the grandest and most spectacular of works, linked with Viganò’s coreodrammas (stemming from the “ballet d’azione”), which could be heroic, tragic, mythological and so on. Often in five acts, these ballets usually featured noble characters and epic plots that emphasized virtuous behavior. There was also the “ballo di mezzo carattere” — a lighter, shorter work in a pastoral and comic vein. Though Carlo Blasis, writing in the late 1820s, names three types—the serious, the melo-dramatic, and the comic (demi-caractère)—this appears from the sources to be more of an academic distinction.¹¹⁶ Often these delineations were made in almanacchi or other retrospectives, rather than in the titles themselves, though

traditionally given to this comparison. Angiolini overturned the custom that was traditionally made of this juxtaposition. He judged the French opera as a “complicated mass of objects” and thus used the argument of “simplicity” to uphold the opposite of what so many had utilized to suggest French opera as a model.] See: Carmela Lombardi, *Il ballo pantomimo: lettere, saggi e libelli sulla danza (1773-1785), I testi e le fonti*, 3, (Torino: Paravia: Scriptorium 1998), 22.

¹¹⁶ Carlo Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore* [1828], (Dance Horizons 1976), Chapter XX, 207.

they can appear in libretti. The grand ballo was performed between the acts of the opera and the ballo di mezzo carattere at the end of the evening.

Libretti and Scenarios

In the libretti, works are always called by their proper name followed by “ballo” and a descriptor of type (grande, etc.), and then usually the number of acts. The use of descriptors beyond “gran,” “grande,” or “di mezzo carattere” are wide ranging, but generally do not indicate sub-genres as much as they do the subject matter of the ballet, such as “storico,” “allegorico,” “mitologico” “magico,” and “tragico” (though the balli grandi did tend to the serious side, involving mythology, tragedy, history, heroism and allegory). The exception to this was the use, though inconsistent, of the descriptor “fantastico,” which often accompanied French “romantic” ballets that were imported, such as *La Sylphide* or *Giselle*.¹¹⁷ Less often, the work is called “azione coreografica” or “azione mimica” (and variations thereof), which appears more at the mid-century with the subdivisions called “parti” and “quadri.” Two examples are: (early) “Niobe: gran ballo in sei atti” (Gioia, Gallenberg et al. 1816) and (mid-century) “Carlo il Guastatore:

¹¹⁷ This specific use of the term “fantastico” has been noted by many, including Sowell and Hansell. See also, footnote 93. Sowell views the descriptors used for Italian ballets as indicators of genres. I am not sure I agree. For instance, do all ballets with the descriptor “allegorico” share enough unique traits all to themselves to be a genre, or do they just contain plots with allegory? Also, I am not sure that this was how these terms were used and understood at the time. I see two main genres (ballo grande and ballo di mezzo carattere) and many varied (and unique) descriptors of plot content. Regardless, Sowell’s work on a forthcoming database, where much information about genres, plots, performers, and so forth, may be searched and sorted, is extremely valuable, and I agree entirely with Sowell that lumping these ballets under the term “romantic” is a great disservice to the variety found in nineteenth-century ballet repertoire. See: Sowell, “Romantic Topography and Modern Technology.”

azione mimica in quattro parti e sette quadri” (Rota, 1857). While the use of acts and parts continues, the terminology generally correlates as follows: acts = parts, scenes = quadri.

As a ballet traveled around the peninsula its plot content could change very little but the title could vary wildly. The azione coreografica *Bianchi e negri* (La Scala, Milan, 1853) exemplifies this with its fluctuating number of acts or parts and quadri or scenes as well as new titles such as *Giorgio il Negro* (Apollo, Rome, 1858) and *La Capanna di Tom* (Teatro Comunale, Bologna, 1858).¹¹⁸ As shown in Chapter VII, the plot content of this ballet, though appearing in two versions, was similar or even the same between works with different titles.

In contrast with the ballo grande, the plot contents of some balli di mezzo carattere could be quite simple and light-hearted, as in the case of *La Donna del Bosco* (Zannini, Msaldinádegen) performed at the Teatro Contavalli in Bologna during the summer of 1821. The two-paragraph argomento (plot summary) tells of a Turkish prince who captures a young beautiful woman in the woods, brings her to his palace, teaches her the various national dances, and, of course, they fall in love and get married.¹¹⁹ Basically this plot merely provides rationales to perform national and celebratory dances. This

¹¹⁸ Two basic scenarios, with minor variations between, were used and only one score (though likely altered), as far as can be determined. See Chapter VII for an in-depth study of this ballet.

¹¹⁹ Gaspare Zannini, *La donna del bosco; ballo di mezzo carattere composto e diretto dal Signor Gaspare Zannini da rappresentarsi nella stagione d'estate 1821 nel Teatro Contavalli di Bologna*, ([Bologna] Tip. Parmeggiani e Gamberini [1821]) Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 209, 1821.

example is certainly not representative, however, of most of the works examined in this study (and especially the *ballo grande*), as plenty of action and mime can be found in most ballets, whose scenarios contain several pages of description.

A fascinating study of the plots contained in the Italian ballet libretti from the New York Public Library (dating from 1766-1865), by Selma Jeanne Cohen (1964), is one of the few surveys of this libretto collection.¹²⁰ Cohen's observations match those made by Claudia Celi (in her survey chapter in *L'arte della danza e del balletto*)¹²¹ and, I would add, apply to Italian ballet libretti in general. First, the stories in the ballets could often be extremely similar to one another and fit into one of a few prototypes. The plot type that Cohen calls "melodramatic" was most common and featured virtue and true love as victorious over all (Cohen cites *Bianchi e negri* of 1853 as one of several examples). While mythological subjects were quite popular throughout the period, so were tragic plots, especially those involving the death of an innocent maiden.¹²² Cohen

¹²⁰ Cohen, "Virtue (almost) triumphant," 297-301. Cohen's focus is on plot contents and how they compare to Soviet libretti, yet she finds trends which I also observed in my study of the Toscanini collection, including the use of an *argomento* (preface), where the choreographer (who was also the librettist) would apologize for and defend any infringements of dramatic structure or simplifications to a known plot or literary work. This was a common feature of Italian opera libretti of the period, as well.

¹²¹ Claudia Celi examined Italian ballet libretti for the following chapters: "Percorsi romantici nell'Ottocento Italiano," and "L'epoca del coreodramma (1800-1830), 89-116, 117-138.

¹²² Cohen, "Virtue (almost) triumphant," 300. Though Cohen uses the word *melodramatic*, it is not clear whether she means to create a direct link between Italian ballet and the *melodrama* as a genre. (This is not explicitly discussed in her article). It seems she refers to the general features of *melodramatic* plots, which involve the triumph of love over adversity. Nonetheless, this genre comparison would be an intriguing topic of study because the music for Italian ballets is stylistically similar to that described in studies of this genre. See, for example, Anne Dhu Shapiro, "Action Music in American Pantomime and Melodrama, 1730-1913" *American Music* 2, no. 4 (1984): 49-72.

writes that the “Italian ballet tragedy tends to turn on the pathos of hurt innocence of the ethos of deserved punishment.”¹²³ *La Vestale* is a perfect example of this type. Of the comic type, there are far fewer examples.¹²⁴ Finally, ballets tended to deal with the “elemental emotions—love, hate, jealousy fear, joy, sorrow—that are best conveyed through bodily movement.”¹²⁵ I found that these emotions are portrayed not only through understandable gestures but also through highly recognizable musical treatments (see Chapter V).

The greatest distinction of Italian ballet is that the “ballo” was an autonomous work, dramatically unconnected from the operas with which it ran alongside in the theatre (though containing much music similar to or quoted from operatic music).¹²⁶ While the

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Cohen points this out and offers the explanation that comedy seemed least suited to the ballet genre. I believe that a lack of published scenarios may also be the reason there seems to have been less of this type. I found that comic ballets received little attention in period journals, almanacs and so on, yet we know that Viganò was adept in the comic genre, and that the ballo di mezzo carattere, which was not as thoroughly documented, it seems, could be comic. There are far fewer published and MS scores for comic ballets and balli di mezzo carattere.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Note that in this dissertation I purposefully leave out considerations of ballet music contained within grand opéra (only popular in Italy at the tail end of the period studied) or the Italian sibling, the opera-ballo. While certainly related, since the music *is* for dancing and often is by the same composers who wrote Italian ballet music, I consider the Italian ballo a distinct genre, as it was autonomous from the opera and prevalent as such throughout the century. In addition to its autonomy, the ballo is distinct because of its large amount of music for mime. Studies of the music involved in these operatic genres written by other scholars are, however, useful for my topic, and *grand opéra* and *opera-ballo* have received far more attention than Italian ballet in general, by scholars interested in music and dance. For an important discussion of the vogue of *grand-opéra* and *opera-ballo* in Italy, see section nine of Hansell’s chapter “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 287-296. Another excellent study that addresses music and dance specifically is Ornella Di Tondo’s study of Boito’s *Mefistofele*. See: Ornella di Tondo, “Italian Opera Staging Manuals (Disposizioni sceniche) and Ballet. An Example: Arrigo Boito’s

sequencing of the night's entertainments was structured so that ballo was interspersed between acts of an opera, the dance works were not similar to the French *divertissement* and only somewhat similar to the *ballet-pantomime* (further study is certainly needed here). The Italian ballo had a life of its own, separate from the stage works such as operas and plays that it appeared with, while intricately intertwined with these works when it came to opera theatre production and audience reception. Audiences could and would not live without the ballet for much of the period 1800-1870.

Theatre Orchestras

Though ballet was autonomous, many of the same theatre personnel worked and performed in both the ballets and operas. For instance, the same orchestra performed the opera and ballet music, while a separate first violinist/orchestra director was assigned to the ballet (for the ballet, this instrumentalist was called the “*primo violino e direttore d’orchestra pel ballo*,” or some variation thereof). It is likely that this performance practice is similar to that described by David Day for the Belgian Théâtre Royal de Bruxelles between 1815-1830, where a violin-conductor was used for ballets and a baton conductor for operas. Wiley also mentions this practice in relation to the Russian Imperial stage during the nineteenth century, where a specialist composer would write ballet music and a specialist conductor was employed for ballet performances.¹²⁷ It appears that the

Mefistofele,” in *Die Beziehung von Musik und Choreographie im Ballett Buch*, ed. Michael Malkiewicz and Jörg Rothkamm, (Berlin: Vorwerk 8, 2007), 151-170.

¹²⁷ David Day found, through his research of the *violon répétiteur*, that a separate violin-conductor for ballet coexisted with the baton conductor for the opera. “The phenomenon of

role of this director/performer was specific enough to require a different placement in the ensemble, as well. Francesco Galeazzi's diagram of the orchestra for Turin's Teatro Regio (in 1791) shows the *primo violino per i balli* sitting in the middle of the pit on a slightly raised platform.¹²⁸ This violin-conductor could lead the musicians and dancers with the bow, and the annotations in the violin score were meant to aid in this

multiple concurrent conducting techniques throughout the nineteenth century can be attributed in part to the practice of choreographers and ballet-masters providing instructions for the violin-conductor's part and his role in arranging the ballet music, accompanying rehearsals, and coordinating music and dance in performances." This is also confirmed through iconographical evidence. "When the permanent ballet was established in 1816, a separate director of the orchestra for the ballets, called the *deuxième chef d'orchestre* (a position independent of the concert master), maintained the tradition of leading with the bow (this person led rehearsals, too). A baton conductor led the opera. Day explains that operas and ballets were performed on the same evenings, and could be combined with vaudevilles, dramatic comedies and tragedies. This approach to the night's entertainment is similar to that in Italy where separate ballets were performed between opera acts. See: David A. Day, "The annotated violon répéteur," 3, 86, 87. Wiley, while emphasizing the need for a specialist composer for ballet music, theorizes that the switch of conductors was also due to the need for specialist understanding on the part of the conductor. See Wiley, "Tchaikovsky's ballets," 7.

¹²⁸ Cited in Hansell, the diagram first appeared in: Francesco Galeazzi and Domenico Agrillo, *Elementi teorico-pratici di musica: con un saggio sopra l'arte di suonare il violino analizzata, ed a dimostrabili principj ridotta: opera utilissima a chiunque vuol applicare con profitto alla musica, e specialmente a' principianti, dieettanti [i.e. dilettanti], e professori di violino*, (Roma: Nella Stamperia Pilucchi Cracas, 1791). The version I studied showed the middle position of the violin-conductor but not the raised platform. See: Gregory W. Harwood and Francesco Galeazzi, "Francesco Galeazzi's Elementi teorico-pratici di musica: part four, section two: an annotated translation and commentary," 1980, 391-2. Scaramelli's treatise supports this position of the raised platform. Scaramelli writes, "... il primo Violino dovrà avere, come è noto il suo sedile più alto di tutti gli altri in faccia la Scena, però un poco voltato verso il primi Violini: vicino a Lui al sinistra sarà il posto del Cembalo per tresso come volgarmente si suol dire: alla dritta di questo sarà il Violoncello, ed all sinistra il primo Contrabasso." "...[...the first violin should have, as is well known, his seat higher than all the others, facing the scene, but slightly turned toward the first violins: close to him to the left should be the place of the cembalo "per tresso" (sideways or at an angle) as is commonly said in the vulgar usage: straight across from this should be the Violoncello and to the left the first Contrabasso.] Scaramelli is referring to the normal position for a theatre orchestra and not specifically to ballets. There is little other indication that the physical positions of players changed between the opera and ballet, and this is certainly worth investigating further. See: Giuseppe Scaramelli, *Saggio sopra i doveri di un primo violino direttore d'orchestra*, (Trieste: G. Weis, 1811), 14.

coordination between music and dance. (Day found that full scores were rarely used in performance, but rather to generate parts, and I would note, further, that this was the case in Italy, as the majority of full scores I studied were clean copies and had no evidence of use in performance and much evidence against performance use.¹²⁹)

In terms of the orchestra itself, Galeazzi claims this orchestra is the “finest orchestra in Europe” and perfect in his opinion since “whichever spot the spectator is seated, he hears very well all the four parts of the harmony and the effect of all the instruments so wisely disposed.”¹³⁰ The instruments, numbering around seventy-six, are distributed evenly and symmetrically across the area directly in front of the stage to achieve this effect. Similar composition and numbers were in La Fenice’s orchestra at the turn of the century.¹³¹

As the century progressed, many orchestral principals switched as well—the “primo” for the opera was a different performer than the “primo” for the ballet. While it is not clear exactly why this is the case, it may be that these members of the orchestra were in charge of music and sectionals for the ballet rehearsals, while the other “first chair” was in charge for the opera, thus splitting up the work more evenly for the

¹²⁹ For example, many full scores feature space-saving techniques, especially through written and graphic indication of repeated measures and larger blocks of material that would have had the conductor constantly flipping backward and forward again in order to follow the score.

¹³⁰ Harwood and Galeazzi. "Francesco Galeazzi's Elementi teorico-practici di musica," 388-9. Harwood estimates the number of players at 76.

¹³¹ Thomas Bauman, "The Society of La Fenice and Its First Impresarios" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 2 (1986): 343, and f.n. 23.

instrumentalists, just as the work was split between two conductors.¹³² (It is fairly well established that the violin conductor for ballets rehearsed with the dancers.¹³³) For *Flik e Flok* (1862, P. Taglioni, Hertel) the “maestro concertatore e direttore per le opere” (concert master and director for opera) listed first, was different than the “primo violino e direttore d’orchestra pel ballo” (first violin and orchestra director for the ballet) here listed seventh (this is the typical difference in roles described above that was prevalent throughout the period). As an example of other principals switching, in *Flik e Flok* the personnel are listed all on the same page, but the maestri and “primo” (first) for each instrument varies between the opera and ballet. By far the dominant trend in the ballet libretti I examined was the change in first violinist/orchestra director for the ballet. Only at the mid-century do we see more examples of principals also changing, as in *Flik e Flok*.¹³⁴

¹³² Hansell’s citation of Giovenale Sacchi’s 1770 *Della divisione nel tempo nella musica, nel ballo e nella poesia* suggests an alternate reason, stating that “the best players are not always the most useful for the dance music, since lacking regularity of practice [in this style] they do not have such accuracy.” Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 249, and Giovenale Sacchi, *Della divisione del tempo...*(Milan: Muzzacchelli, 1770), 46-47.

¹³³ Evidence for this practice exists in the use of the term *violon répétiteur* itself which refers both to the musical score and to the violin rehearsalist. Day cites iconography, including Degas paintings, featuring the violinist rehearsing the dancers. See: Day, “The Annotated *violon répétiteur*,” chapter 2.

¹³⁴ This information is based on ballet and opera libretti from 1800-1865, from various Italian theaters, in The Toscanini Collection (housed at NYPL) and the Ward Italian Ballet Collection (housed at HTC).

Dancing and Mime

While the precise nature of the dancing in nineteenth-century Italian ballets is not fully known (due in part to the absence or lack of the surviving choreography or choreographic notation), there is certainly evidence of its differences from the more-studied French ballet. This is not to discount the influence upon Italian ballet style, early in the century, of masters such as Jean-George Noverre, Jean Dauberval, and even Gaëtan Vestris, nor to overlook the French academic style of dancing that both Salvatore Viganò and Carlo Blasis, the great and influential ballet masters of the period, were steeped in. Yet, stemming from Italian ballet practice of the last decades of the eighteenth-century Italian theatrical ballet was increasingly distinct from French ballet, especially during the time of Viganò, and had a large amount of expressive mime. Consider the following, written by Lady Morgan between 1818-1821, which concurs with what many have said about Italian ballet during the nineteenth century:

The Italian ballet always differed from every other, and seems to have been the origin of the modern melodrame. It borrows its perfection from causes which may be said to be not only physical, but political. The mobility of the Italian muscle is well adapted to the language of gesture, which breaks through even their ordinary discourse; while a habit of distrust, impressed upon the people by the fearful system of espionage, impels them to trust their thoughts rather to a look or an action, than to a word or a phrase. It is not easy to denounce a smile, or to betray a beck; and communications are thus made, over which the police holds no control; "*la moitié du sens est dans le gest et dans l'œil.*" The Italians being thus by nature and by habit pantomimists, their gesticulations are not restrained by etiquette. The despotism of fashion is unknown; no conventional *bon ton*, no high-bred reserve, binds them to the unbending forms of English punctilio, or the measured movement of French affectation. The word *minauderie* has no equivalent in the Italian vocabulary. Hence the people are graceful, especially the women; and from these sources perhaps is derived the perfection of their *ballet d'action*; in which the performers exhibit a sagacity of gesture, a

significance of attitude, and a power of physiognomical expression, which render these representations profoundly affecting as tragedies, and eminently amusing as farces.”¹³⁵

In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, social dancing was highly influential on ballet, especially in terms of the dancer’s *effacement* and *épaulement*. Except for cases of pantomime, comic characters or national dances, performers faced the spectators and did not show their backs, at least for the first two decades of the century.¹³⁶ New fashions in clothing made new technical freedoms possible, as freer flowing costumes allowed greater range of movement for especially women.¹³⁷ Viganò’s wife, Maria Medina, was one of the first to adopt the flowing, neoclassical costume, and, around the same time un-heeled footwear appeared in the form of laced sandals or soft slippers.¹³⁸ This was in part due to the vogue of neo-classical style in fashion and plot content, but effects of this new freedom outlasted the trend and influenced Italian ballet’s dancing style and technique. While needing more study, Italian style and technique, whether it be the expressive mime or the dazzling footwork of the *grotteschi* (see “Grotteschi,” page 196) was distinct from French style (it is the specific ways in which it is different that are not clear) and these differences were often noted by period observers.

¹³⁵ Lady Morgan, "Italy," 98.

¹³⁶ Flavia Pappacena, *Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis, 1820-1830 (Carlo Blasis' treatise on dance, 1820-1830)* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2005), 290.

¹³⁷ See: Chazin-Bennahum, Judith. *The Lure of Perfection: Fashion and ballet, 1780-1830*, (New York: Routledge, and New York, NY, 2005). She provides an account of the remarkable influence of fashion on ballet (and vice versa) for the beginning of the period covered in this study.

¹³⁸ Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 247.

(For discussion of dance and mime Viganò's ballets, see "Salvatore Viganò and Mime," page 109 below.)

Music

From the musical vantage point, the language of Italian opera buffa or semiseria was present in ballet scores from the start of the century, incorporated into arrangements intended to allow the action, mime and dance to proceed seamlessly. Though this approach to ballet scores was not unique to Italian ballets, the musical results were. The use of operatic excerpts in Italian ballet scores could be meaningful, but were not as explicit as the use of the *air parlante* described by Smith and Jordan for the French ballet of the same period.¹³⁹ Rather, operatic excerpts seem to be used more for the general mood they invoked, and were adapted in precise ways to accompany stage action.

Beginning with Viganò and even before, there is evidence that the music for ballet scores come from well-known composers. Onorato Viganò's contract for taking over Michele dall'Agata's position of impresario at La Fenice in 1794 states that:

The music of each work must be composed by a Maestro of known reputation among those described in the attached sheet, and equally the music of the ballets will be written by persons who are skilled and recognized [well-known], having had previous participation in this as well as dependence upon the presidency, and the impresario will endeavor as much as possible to give spectacles, both of music and of dance [operas and ballets], which have the character of novelty, but are always decent, and grandiose.

¹³⁹ See page 38. See also: Stephanie Jordan, "The role of the ballet composer at the Paris Opéra: 1820-1850," *Dance chronicle, New York*, 4, no. 4 (1982): 374-88. See: Marian Smith, "Borrowings and original music: A dilemma for the ballet-pantomime composer," *Dance research, London*, 6, no. 2, autumn (1988): 3-29.

La Musica di cadauna opera dovrà esser composta da Maestro di conosciuta riputazione tra li descritti nell'anesso Foglio, e parimenti la Music delli Balli dovrà farsi scrivere da persone abili, e conosciute, previa in ciò pure la precedente partecipazione e dipendenza dall'Pressidenza, e studierà il Sig^f Impressario di dare possibilmente Spettacoli, si di Musica, che di Ballo, che abbiano il Carattere di novità, sempre però decenti, e grandiosi.¹⁴⁰

From the musical and historical vantage point, the amount of mime that took place during the Italian ballo was considerable (see discussion of mime, below, and discussion of mime musical examples, beginning on page 149). Hansell cites two early and illuminating pieces of evidence asserting that music was expected to be tightly matched to the mime, as the Turin Teatro Regio composer and violinist Vittorio Amedeo Canavasso complained that it was much more effort (“lately”, and he was writing in 1782) to write the music for ballets since it “must in a certain sense contribute to helping the pantomime express the subject it is representing, it thus demands much greater study and concentration.” The response to his complaint included the demand that if the composer is to use pieces composed by others, they must be “well suited to the respective subject of each ballet, ... and furthermore that they have never before been heard in Turin.”¹⁴¹ Despite this, ballet scores in general tended to have a lot of recycled music in them in the beginning of the century, arranged and adapted by able composers and filled out with original numbers. (Note that the practice of matching appropriate music to mime

¹⁴⁰ Cited in Bauman, “The Society of La Fenice and Its First Impresarios,” 351-54: Gran Teatro la Fenice, Archivio: Box #1 of Processi verbali della convocazioni sottratti all’incendio 1817 del Palazzo Corner, Folder “1793-18 Settembre.” Hansell cites part of this contract, as well, in her chapter “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 257.

¹⁴¹ Cited in Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera” 248. She cites a document cited in Dec. 1782, in Boucquet, *Il teatro di corte*, 173-4.

is not distinctly Italian, for the French ballet also featured expressive music for pantomime, but rather the quantity and style of mime music was distinct.)

The incorporation of Italian mime into ballet at the turn of the century, according to Hansell, had great influence on the trajectory of European ballet in the nineteenth century, stemming from Angiolini through Viganò and Gioia in Milan and Naples. She writes,

Noverre and his followers had not recognized the creative prospects of Italian mime *in* dance. This decades-old tradition, which entailed the combination of pantomime gestures involving the entire body with virtuoso footwork and an aerial style, was to reach its full realization at the turn of the century. Gasparo Angiolini, by challenging Noverre's canons, came more and more to value the Italian tradition's potential wealth. He and his successors, above all at La Scala and San Carlo, would strive to capitalize on its myriad possibilities, eventually carrying the effects of their development even to that bastion of conservatism, the Paris Opéra.¹⁴²

It is widely repeated in accounts of Viganò's style that unique group pantomime was performed in cadence with the music.¹⁴³ Yet, there is little information about how

¹⁴² Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and the Italian Opera," 240.

¹⁴³ This may stem from Ritorni's early mention of this interesting technique. See Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opera di Viganò," 32-33, where he writes [XVIII] "Conobbe il Viganò che al dramma coreografico richiedevasi questo genere musicalmente vivace e pittoricamente evidente, adattato all sua natura. Ma a far capire quant' operasse nel crear quasi novella la coreografica arte nulla è più atto che accennar quale la ritrovasse, o per dir meglio quali fossero prima di lui le pantomimiche tragedie e degli autori loro. Noverre, col suo predecessore e coetanei suoi, son degni di lode per quell'ingegnoso scuoprimento d'un nuovo genere drammatico diverso dall declamazione e dal canto, al quale è istrumento di comunicativa la sol' azion muta. Ma questi che chiamerò pantomimodrammi, cioè dal linguaggio del verso tradotti in quello dal gesto, non potevano formar un nuovo genere atto a diletta lungamente per copia di mezzi." [and XIX.] "Coloro che precedettero Viganò composer dunque pantomimotragedie, piucchè balli, che io chiamo coreodrammi, nè tuttavia senza certo genere di lode, perchè della tragedia avevano i magnificifatti, le grande situazioni, il magniloquio, sebbene voltato nello steril pantomimico linguaggio. Pure, se non m'inganno, al gran disegno d'eroic' azione niuno infuse l'anima d' una sublime tacita poesia prima di Francesco Clerico. I programmi suoi furono con ragion poetica dettati, e con tragica importanza condotti fors' entro più vasti limiti che gli altri fin

else music and dance combined technically, though Blasis emphasizes the importance of musical study for all types of dancers, and Viganò was indeed a skilled musician and composer. Occasionally, the technical discussion by Blasis does include music, as in the balance of the preparatory *plié* and subsequent leap, “which must respect the music without any delaying, to avoid a brusque, ‘disagréable’ (graceless) acceleration of the ascent.”¹⁴⁴

A final point in this introductory overview of Italian ballets from 1800-1870 is that just as each region in the yet-to-be unified Italy had its own dialect and culture, theatre was diverse from city to city. While there was no unified style or approach to

allora composti, ma il mezzo principale con cui emulò gli effetti di classiche tragedie fu l’ essern’ egli stesso, ed alcuni di sua famiglia i grandi attori pantomimici, ed il saper comporre tali scene che valevan essi ad eseguire con veramente poetica espression’ ed azione, non data ad altri fin allora.” [“Viganò knew that choreographic drama required a musically lively and pictorially vivid genre appropriate to its nature. But in order to understand how great a hand he might have had in the creation of this new choreographic art, nothing is more suitable than to mention that which discovered it, or to say it better, those pantomimic tragedies and their authors that were before his time. Noverre, with his predecessor and his contemporaries, were worthy of praise for such an ingenious discovery of a new dramatic genre, which was different from spoken declamation and from song, for which the only instrument of communication is mute gesture. But these, which I will call pantomimodrammi (pantomime-dramas), that is from the language of verse translated to that of gesture, could not form a new genre suitable to delight at length due to the abundance of [dramatic] forces [necessary].” [and XIX] “Those that preceded Viganò thus composed pantomimotragedie (pantomime-tragedies), more so than ballets, which I call coreodrammi (choreographed-dramas), nor [was this] nevertheless without a certain kind of praise, because they had the magnificent actions, the grand situations and the eloquent and lofty speech of tragedy, although it was brought out in the sterile pantomimic language. Yet, if I am not mistaken, no one infused the soul of a sublime tacit poetry into the grand design of heroic action before Francesco Clerico. His programs were dictated with poetic reasoning, and directed with tragic importance possibly to greater limits than the others that had been composed by that time, but the principal means by which he emulated the effects of Classical tragedies was that he himself and some members of his family were great pantomimes and that he knew how to compose such scenes that were worthy of being executed with true poetic expression and action, which had not been given to other [works] until that time.”] (Translated by Elizabeth Elmi.)

¹⁴⁴ Pappacena, “Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis,” 285.

Italian ballet, certain musical-choreographic trends can be seen to be widespread, partly because ballets, choreographers, impresari and dancers traveled around the peninsula. For this reason, it is highly valuable to examine ballet and ballet music for the entire peninsula at the outset, because despite distinct local color and custom much interchange took place. As Claudia Celi has written,

... nonetheless, one cannot ignore how, at the time, the existence of a “stile italiano” was clearly perceived, whether in the choreographic or technical fields, a style that was in the whole strongly subject to a taste for the spectacular, a love of dramatic contrasts and surprising turns of events (“coup de théâtre”), and most of all, one that was founded on a poetry, playing on that “teatro degli affetti” so well-evidenced by Carl Dalhaus with regard to lyric opera. One could hypothesize that in a similar way, ballet also contributed to the formation of a common cultural fabric, favoring national unification.¹⁴⁵

Overview of Ballet from 1800-1830, Viganò’s Ballets, the Prevalence of Mime, Gaetano Gioia

I adopt Claudia Celi’s range of dates 1800-1830 as an appropriate period for study (see her chapter “L’epoca del Coreodramma”),¹⁴⁶ not only because it entails the era of Viganò, but also because the sources show a significant shift after this period (during and after the 1830s). Hansell, another authority on the subject, sees the period as ending slightly earlier (1800-1821) around when Viganò and Gioja both die (1821 and 1826,

¹⁴⁵ Claudia Celi, “L’epoca del coreodramma (1800-1830),” 89: “Ciononostante non si può ignorare come al tempo fosse chiaramente avvertita l’esistenza di uno “stile italiano” sia in campo coreografico sia in campo tecnico, stile nel complesso fortemente soggetto al gusto per la spettacolarità, amante dei contrasti drammatici e dei colpi di scena, e soprattutto fondato su una poetica giocata su quel “teatro degli affetti”, così ben evidenziato da Carl Dalhuas a proposito dell’opera lirica. Si può ipotizzare che come quest’ultima anche il ballo abbia contribuito a formare un tessuto culturale comune, favorendo l’unificazione nazionale.”

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

respectively) and the Napoleonic Empire ends, beginning the Austrian restoration in Italy. There is, however, a frustrating dip in the number of extant ballet music sources (so far) during the 1830s, making it difficult to map when and how the post-1830 transitions in ballet music occur. Furthermore, the work of these two giants, Viganò and Gioia, was carried forward during the late 1820s and 30s after their deaths, through Giulio Viganò (Salvatore's brother) and others who staged ballets "after" these great masters. So even if their art 'died with them' (to paraphrase from the majority who write about Viganò and Gioia) many choreographers and impresari were interested in keeping it alive.

While the style of music shifts throughout the entire period studied (1800-1870), some distinct changes are observable that support a division at 1830 (or after). For example, by the third decade of the nineteenth century, the solo dances of the grotteschi have disappeared, and by the fourth decade, the ballabili consist predominantly of the new and highly popular mazurkas, waltzes, and galops. In the 1830s and 40s, there is an increasing use of a single composer and/or all new and original music for ballets, just as for the French ballet during the same period.¹⁴⁷ Finally, the general proportions of ballets to operas shifts in the 1840s at most theatres (there are more operas and less ballets) while at the same time there is an increase in international (mainly French) choreographers and dancers such as Jules Perrot and Artur St. Leon in Italy. Nevertheless, French imports were not usually as successful unless they were adapted by

¹⁴⁷ See Smith, "Borrowings and original music," 13. Smith marks the transition from pastiche to single-composer original scores as happening in the late 1820s and early 1830s for Parisian ballet. It appears that the Italian ballet saw a similar shift, though the transition is not quite as clear cut, it seems. Further research is needed.

Italian choreographers.¹⁴⁸ (A separate discussion of this period begins in the following section.)

In a typical season at La Scala during the first part of the century, several ballets were offered, of which some were “grande” and some “mezzo carattere” (see page 86). On a normal evening of entertainment, audiences would see one act of the opera, followed by the grand five-act ballet (lasting roughly an hour and a half), followed by the second act of the opera and ending with the lighter ballo di mezzo carattere. Two ballets per opera was the standard for the first three decades. Consider the description of the autumn 1824 season given in the almanacco for La Scala 1826 (describing the 1824-1825 seasons¹⁴⁹), which starts by introducing the works. First there are six operas: *Maometto Secondo* (Rossini), *Torvaldo e Dorliska* (Rossini), *Temistocle* (Pacini), *La Donna del Lago* (Rossini), *Semiramide* (Rossini), *Il Sonnambolo* (Carafa). Then, four ballets, three heroic: *Sesostri* (S. Taglioni, Carlini), *I Baccanali Aboliti* (Gioia, various?), *Bianca di Messina* (S. Taglioni, Brambilla et. el.) and the fourth of mezzo carattere—*Le Nozze di Zefiro e Florai* (Coralli, various?).¹⁵⁰ This is followed in the almanac by a synopsis and review of each work, interspersed with illustrations. In the case of this season, many of the operas were continuing from previous seasons, while most of the ballets were new.

¹⁴⁸ This was the case with *La Sylphide* and *Giselle*. See: Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 272.

¹⁴⁹ *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1826*. Milano, Fratelli Ubicini [1825] (1826). (NYPL) I checked the information in this almanacco against Gatti’s chronology: Carlo Gatti, *Il teatro alla Scala nella storia e nell’arte, 1778-1963*. 2. ed. 2 vols. (Milano: Ricordi, 1964).

¹⁵⁰ *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1826*. Milano, Fratelli Ubicini [1825] (1826), 23. (NYPL)

Ballet reviews varied from brief descriptions of the plot and short sections on whether the ballet was successful to longer discussions filled with quotations of poetry and literature. They ranged from negative to positive, seeming to accurately describe the general reception of works based on audience reactions. The carnevale season which followed featured seven operas, two farces and five ballets including *La Semiramide*, *La Donna del Lago*, *Don Giovanni* (Mozart), *Mosè in Egitto* (Rossini), *Il Trionfa della Musica* (farce with music by various composers) and the ballets, three heroic: *Tipoo-Saeb*, *Matilda e Malek-Adel* (Clerico, Belloli), *Il Solitario* (Clerico, Belloli) and two mezzo carattere: *Il Carrozzino da Vendere* (Giannini, various?) and *Paolo e Rosetta* (Coralli, various?). Even without consulting records of the numbers of performances, one can easily deduce that the ballets played for slightly longer runs than the operas, because there were fewer of them, and two were given each night (one grand, one of mezzo carattere).¹⁵¹ Note also that the Salvatore Taglioni ballets were given in the fall and Belloli ballets during carnevale (with Coralli ballets of mezzo carattere in both seasons).

This demonstrates the relative number and scope of operas and ballets produced on La Scala's stage for this period: the number of operas was only one or two more than ballets, a proportion that holds steady for roughly the first third of the century. In other large cities with similarly endowed theatres the trend was comparable during the time period.¹⁵² At La Fenice in Venice, the number of ballets per opera was roughly the same.

¹⁵¹ Chronologies often give such details such as the number of performances of a ballet given in a particular season.

¹⁵² This is according to my survey of chronologies as well as almanacs; see Chapter III.

Torino's Teatro Regio also featured two ballets per opera each year at the beginning of the century—one serious and one light. Hansell cites impresario contracts stipulating these proportions for the Teatro Regio in Turin (1803) and the Teatro Argentina in Rome (1810).¹⁵³

At the Teatro San Carlo in Naples, the other leading center for opera and ballet, the proportions were the same but the situation was somewhat different. Naples was more receptive to French influence, as Hansell notes, than other Italian cities.¹⁵⁴ There were larger numbers of dancers “di rango francese” and French style opera with internal dancing was more popular.¹⁵⁵

In any case, it seems that Italians desired the contrast afforded by the intervening ballet. In my review of libretti (at NYPL and HTC) and chronologies there were very few instances in the first half of the century where opera was performed without it, and those few I found were at small theatres with less economic means, where generally one dramatic work was performed per night, whether it be opera, ballet, drama or another type of show. There is even evidence of curtailing the opera yet still giving two ballets.

¹⁵³ Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 256, drawing from Alberto Basso, et al., *Storia del Teatro regio di Torino: Chronologie*, ed. Alberto Basso, Vol. 5, *Istituzioni culturali piemontesi*, ([Torino]: Cassa di risparmio di Torino, 1988), 91 and, Rinaldi, “Due secoli di musica al Teatro Argentina,” 415.

¹⁵⁴ See Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 262.

¹⁵⁵ In the second decade of the century, two important ballet schools opened in Naples and Milan, which were associated with the theatres in each city. Luigi Henry, one of the main choreographers for ballets at San Carlo, led the school, teaching dance and pantomime, which in 1811 had only a small number of dancers. The school in Milan associated with La Scala opened in 1813 and would go on to produce some of Italy's best dancers, especially under the tenure of Carlo Blasis, who was a teacher of the graduate students from 1837-1850.

For example, Stendhal reports one act of an opera performed, followed by the serious ballet, and the second act of a different opera, followed by a comic ballet.¹⁵⁶ (This seems to be less common, at least until the 1840s).¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, while ballets were certainly tampered with (as were all theatrical works),¹⁵⁸ I have yet to see a ballet performed only part way.

As for the makeup of ballet companies, there were large numbers of dancers employed for Italian ballets. In the early part of the period, during Napoleonic times, the numbers of dancers in companies had swelled. The corps could be up to eighty or more in large companies. *Ballerini secondi* were employed all year long, and *primi ballerini* (like choreographers and *impresari*) were employed by the season and traveled an Italo-Austrian circuit.¹⁵⁹ In the 1820s, according to my survey of libretti, the number of dancers named in the scenario seems to increase and roles become more defined such as “*primo/a ballerino/a assoluto/a*”, “*primo...per le parti*”, “*primo... di mezzo-carattere*,” “*...per le parte serie*”, “*...per le parte giucose*,” “*...parti in genere*,” and so on. Generally,

¹⁵⁶ Stendhal, *Correspondance inédite*, 2 vols. Vol. 1, (Paris: M. Lévy, 1855), letter of December 1, 1817, 49.

¹⁵⁷ Hansell also cites evidence of curtailing opera rather than ballet. See Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 259, 274.

¹⁵⁸ I found that often the danced portions were most flexible from performance to performance, especially for performances in different theatres. A *pas de trois / passo a tre* might be changed to a *passo a otto*, and so on. It is unclear how much the mimed portions of ballets were altered from one performance to another, but certainly a change in the performer and director entailed changes in the performance itself.

¹⁵⁹ Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 260-261. For more information on the role of the *impresario*, see John Rosselli, “The Opera Industry” See also: Bauman, “The Society of La Fenice and Its First *Impresarios*,” 332-54.

companies numbering from 80-125 were common for larger more wealthy theatres and cities, while smaller companies had 36-40, or more.¹⁶⁰ The stars traveled to a new theatre each season and appeared at lesser theatres in off-seasons (carnevale was the biggest theatrical season). The specific paths of choreographers and star dancers can be well traced through a study of theatre chronologies.

The major choreographers also traveled a circuit, appearing at all the top theatres.¹⁶¹ For example, while Luigi (Louis) Henry, Gaetano Gioia, and Salvatore Taglioni were primarily active in Naples, and Salvatore Viganò in Milan, they and their ballets traveled to most of the major theatres. Other choreographers who appeared at La Scala, San Carlo, La Fenice and the Teatro Regio in Turin (all part of the circuit) between 1800 and 1830 included: Monticini, Luigi Panzieri, Francesco Clerico, Pietro Angiolini, Antonio Landini and Giovanni Galzerani, amongst many others. The top dancers also traveled for each new season.¹⁶²

To provide a an image of the typical night at the theatre, Figure 1 shows an aquatint of the inside of the Teatro alla Scala at the conclusion of the ballet *La conquista di Malacca*, [1820?].¹⁶³ The scene design was by Alessandro Sanquirico, one of the most

¹⁶⁰ Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 261.

¹⁶¹ This is one of the reasons it is possible to speak of national Italian ballet style despite lack of national unification.

¹⁶² A survey of chronologies for the main theatres (see tables of chronologies in Chapter III, pages 47 and 59), as well as libretti and almanacs (in the HTC and NYPL) makes this at once apparent.

¹⁶³ "Interno dell' I. R. Teatro alla Scala preso nel momento dell'ultima scena del ballo, La conquista di Malacca. G. B. inc. Angeli acq. [after a set design by Sanquirico]." Aquatint

celebrated of his time, who created many of the scenes for Viganò's ballets (for more of Sanquirico's sets, see Chapter VI on *La Vestale*).

Figure 1: Interno dell' I. R. Teatro alla Scala preso nel momento dell'ultima scena del ballo, *La conquista di Malacca*. ([1820?])



engraving (color), 15.4 x 18.3 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection, (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515877) [1820?]. (Used with permission)

Salvatore Viganò, Mime, the Structure of the Coreodramma and his Use of Music

The choreographer Salvatore Viganò (1769-1821), hailed by many of the period as a choreographic genius, dominates the first few decades of the nineteenth century. One of the traits noted by most dance scholars when referring to Italy is the prevalence of expressive mime, in part stemming from Viganò. This was famously remarked upon by Rossini, who disapproved of what he perceived as a high quantity of mime, writing that with Viganò there was, “un difetto: troppa pantomima e poca danza” (one defect: too much pantomime and little dance).¹⁶⁴

Many scholars who have studied Viganò emphasize that his style was quite original. (Many go as far as saying that his style died with him.) Yet, his approach to mime was in part transferred to his students and dancers. Mime continued, then, to have an important place in the treatises and teachings of Carlo Blasis, who had danced under Viganò. Though Blasis was steeped in the French academic style of dancing, he disdained French mime technique:

[The application of excellent pantomime] might be done with no great difficulty in Italy, where the people are naturally inclined to Pantomimes, and where the mimes already make use of gestures of *convention*. In France, some length of time, and a course of deep study, would be required to attain the same degree of perfection.

The French Pantomimes have adopted only a small number of gestures, of which the greater part is destitute of correct expression. Thus circumscribed in their means, their art cannot accomplish its due end, which is to represent to the eye a picturesque imitation of all things. ... It is natural

¹⁶⁴ Letter from Rossini to Stendhal dated November 2, 1819. Widely quoted. See for example, Luciano Bottoni, *Il teatro, il pantomimo e la rivoluzione*, Vol. 40, *Lettere italiane / Saggi*, (Firenze: Olschki, 1990), 223, where the author writes, “Il fatto viene subito complicato da un Rossini quando, ragionandone con Stendhal, lamentava che Viganò avesse però, “un difetto: troppa pantomima e poca danza”.”

to the Italian to gesticulate; it is not surprising, therefore, if the mimes of Italy are superior to those of other countries; or if Pantomime is there carried to so great a degree of perfection as to be capable of expressing perfectly all the passions ...¹⁶⁵

It is no exaggeration to say that Viganò's style of coreodramma, while idiosyncratic, influenced the trajectory of Italian ballet style in the nineteenth century (regardless of how subsequent choreographers compared to him).¹⁶⁶ For this reason, I provide a detailed discussion of both Viganò's use of mime and music, for these two elements were tightly connected in the coreodramma.

In Viganò ballets, masses move to pantomime rhythm, which produces a sort of moving picture. Other mime techniques include the detachment of soloists from the group, the use of facial expressions that speak, and the use of immobility by soloists. (See also my later discussion of *La Vestale*, Chapter VI, for specific examples.) Ritorni repeatedly refers to Greek and Roman style, painting, mass pantomime, soloists' facial expressions, and, following Noverre's technique, a greater range of arm movement.

It is certain that Italian audiences expected mime, and a lot of it, from their performers. Furthermore, dance and mime could be distinct parts of the ballet, just as recitative and aria could be for opera. They were even praised separately from one another in reviews (and well into the mid-century). In one instance, Ritorni criticizes the

¹⁶⁵ Carlo Blasis, "The Code of Terpsichore," 118-9.

¹⁶⁶ Many writers, both modern and from Viganò's time have made the assessment that Viganò's coreodrammas occupy a unique place in ballet history, with an artistic quality that was unsurpassed by those after him. See, for example, Luigi Romani, *Teatro alla Scala: cronologia di tutti gli spettacoli rappresentati in questo teatro dal giorno del solenne suo aprimento sino ad oggi*, (Milano: Luigi di Giacomo Pirola), 1862, xx.

attempt to conflate the two by making a *pas de deux* performed by academically trained French dancers a part of the dramatic action. He writes of the 1805 production of *La prepotenza vinta dall'eroismo* (manuscript title):

The program says: “the mutual outpouring of affection gives voice to [results in] an expressive *pas-de-doux* [sic] that expresses all, their tenderness and their misadventure.” And yet for one part, the arrival in Italy of a pair of French dancers at the time, who were not taking part in the pantomime, it was favorable to the dramatic reasoning, that they completely incorporated the duo into the rest of the dramatic action! In fact, the dance such as it is can never be something that expresses a dialogue of affections, but only a game and a entertainment to be introduced in situations that allow for celebration and joy and performed by dancers who recognize themselves as such, neither more nor less in *coreodrammi* [choreographed-dramas], as is the French custom in operas.

Dice il programma: la vicendevole effusione d'affetti da campo ad un esprimente *pas-de-doux* che tutta esprime la lore tenerezza a dissavventura.” Eppure per una parte fu favorevole alla ragion drammatica l'arrivar poi in Italia le coppie di ballerini francesi, che non prendendo parte nella pantomima, rendettero il duo una cosa affatto dall' azione! Infatti la danza propriamente tale non può mai essere cosa *esprimente* dialogo d'affetti, ma solamente un giuoco ed un divertimento da introdursi in situazione che ammetta festa ed allegrezza, ed eseguirsi con ballerini che si riconoscano propriamente tali, nè più nè meno in *coreodrammi*, come ne' melodrammi usano i Francesi.¹⁶⁷

However, there were certainly Italian dancers, such as Antonia Pallerini, who were excellent mimes and could perform danced and dramatic roles successfully.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Carlo Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opera di Viganò," 72-3.

¹⁶⁸ Other examples of such multi-talented dancers include: Emilia Castelli, who danced both types of role in *La Morte di Macbet sultano di Persia, ballo serio* (choreographed by Antonio Cherubini, Verona, carnevale 1830-31). She was a *prima ballerina seria assoluta* and is noted as also playing the an amorous role (“anche per le parti amorose”) of Osmano, Generale role) while her male partner (*primo ballerino serio assoluto*) is not listed as a character role. See: Nicola Vaccai, Andrea Leone Tottola, and Antonio Cherubini, *Zadig ed Astartea; melodramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Filarmonico in carnovale 1830-31, Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector, Libretti di ballo. no. 318*, (Verona: P. Bisesti, 1830). (Housed at NYPL,

Furthermore, there were times when pure dances, such as the *pas de deux*, were a part of the action. Ritorni's objection may be related to what he saw as an intrusion of the French dancers, who, as he points out, had no role in the action. However, this viewpoint also runs parallel to certain prevailing views, such as Mateo Borsa's, that mime must be referential while dance can stand on its own, as it does not express anything except "dance."¹⁶⁹

How did Viganò's coreodrammas look and how were they structured?¹⁷⁰ Highly influenced by the art of classical antiquity, ever-changing poses and groupings were precisely lined up with the rhythm of the music. We know that there was a lot of mime, not only because Rossini complained about it, but because many mimes were employed

this libretto also exists in the Ward collection, HTC). Another was Amalisa Braschi who was one of the four *primi ballerini seri* and also played a character role as one of the three graces in Blasis' ballet *Gli Amore di Adone e Venere, ballo mitologico in quattro atti*. See: Luigi Somma, Giuseppe Sapio, and Carlo Blasis, *Ildegonda e Rizzardo; tragedia lirica di Giuseppe Sapio da rappresentarsi nell'i. r. Teatro alla Canobbiana, la primavera 1835, Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector, Libretti di ballo. no. 379*, (Milano: Luigi di G. Pirola, 1835). (NYPL.)

¹⁶⁹ Matteo Borsa, *Saggio filosofico sui balli pantomimi serj dell'opera, del Dott. Matteo Borsa*, (Milano: Presso G. Marelli, 1782), 211-12. Cited in Francesca Falcone, "The Italian Style and the Period," *Dance Chronicle* 29, no. 3 (2006): 324.

¹⁷⁰ It should be noted that Giannandrea Poesio does not see the available sources as adequate to deliver a clear picture Viganò's approach to coreodramma. While this may be the case, Ritorni's book and other period sources are highly valuable, despite particular biases. Poesio seems to criticize research that repeatedly references Ritorni, calling his publication an "unreliable source" "mainly because of the oversympathetic attitude of the author towards the creator of 'coreodramma'." In this instance, Poesio's dismissal of Ritorni may be somewhat unwarranted. Ritorni may have been enamoured with Viganò's ballets, but he was not the only one, and his detailed descriptions are better than none at all. In terms of *La Vestale*, his observations correlate nicely with those of Lady Morgan, a British traveler. Regardless of his misgivings, Poesio proceeds anyway to describe the "fundamentals" of Viganò's coreodrammas, drawing upon Ritorni. See: Poesio, "Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture," 4.

and the music for them is distinct.¹⁷¹ Pantomime, academic dancing (in the French style) and character dance were all parts of the spectacle.¹⁷² Poesio summarizes Viganò's approach to the coreodramma as containing the following elements (all of which apply to *La Vestale*, 1818, see Chapter VI), which I have condensed here:

- the excising of any formal written introduction
- Act I: the incorporation of choral scenes (danced and mimed)
- Act II: mime interwoven with a small amount of dancing in the "French Style"
- Act III: monologue or dialogue containing tragic pantomime performed by a soloist (or a finale with the corps de ballet)
- Acts IV and V: mimed scene alternately assigned to soloists and the ensemble¹⁷³

I would only add, from a musical standpoint, that the longest sustained sections of music (and thus sustained stage action and dancing) occur at the ends of acts, and are usually not intimate mimed scenes, but rather scenes involving larger numbers of dancers in action or dancing.

Concerning the appearance of the tragic pantomime in particular, Fabio Frasnèdi states that it is not researched because it is mostly a lost art, while the comic and grotesque pantomime have survived much better, proceeding essentially on the same path

¹⁷¹ Letter from Rossini to Stendhal dated November 2, 1819. See footnote 164.

¹⁷² In a chapter that especially probes Ritorni for information on Viganò's mime technique, Fabrizio Frasnèdi asserts that two clear types of action occurred stage: that of the pantomime, with soloists who specialized in it, and that of virtuosos who repeat the model of French ballet (as Ritorni recounts with chagrin), which is very similar to what we now call ballet, or "classical ballet." The dances then are further refined to a paradigm of the character dance, popular or folkloric dance, mythological dance and of that from the saloon/dance hall. See: Fabrizio Frasnèdi, "Il genio pantomimico," in *Il sogno del coreodramma: Salvatore Viganò, poeta muto, a cura di Ezio Raimondi*, Vol. 1, *Proscenio; quaderni del Teatro Municipale "Romolo Valli" di Reggio Emilia*, (Reggio Emilia: Società Editrice Il Mulino, 1984), 244.

¹⁷³ Poesio, "Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture," 5.

from their origins in the *Commedia dell'Arte*.¹⁷⁴ (Poesio calls the two types of mime the “pictorial” and the “tragic.”)¹⁷⁵ Frasnedi maintains that it is easier to imagine the comic ballets, character ballets and those of *mezzo carattere*, recalling *I' Arlecchino del Piccolo*, or clown-mimes, while suggesting that the manner of tragic pantomime may live on in sung musical theatre.¹⁷⁶ Viganò was as adept in the comic genres as in the serious, and fully understood how to create the comic and grotesque characters through his father's training. Poesio believes (and he is in agreement with Elizabeth Terzian's findings on the subject) that Viganò's employment of the tragic mime was rooted in Johann Jacob Engel's *Ideen zur einer Mimik*.¹⁷⁷

Music

Viganò's productions for La Scala from his (second) *Prometeo* (1813) forward, according to Giannandrea Poesio, fully embody his original style; moreover Rosanna Dalmonte, who has studied the music for the two *Prometheus* ballets in detail, explores

¹⁷⁴ Frasnedi, “Il genio pantomimico,” 244.

¹⁷⁵ Poesio, “Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture,” 5.

¹⁷⁶ Frasnedi, “Il genio pantomimico,” 245. This is evidenced in period reviews that compare mimes from Viganò ballets to such characters. See Rizzuti, “Vigano's 'Giovanna d'Arco' and Manzoni's 'March 1821'” 198, and n. 52.

¹⁷⁷ Poesio, “Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture,” 6. As far as I could find, Elizabeth Terzian is the first to have explored this connection in her master's thesis in 1986. See: Terzian, “Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala,” 36-38. Poesio does not reference Terzian's work. Likely, Ritorni is the common source for both, as he mentions Engel's widely distributed ideas in a discussion of pantomime. See: Ritorni, “Ammaestramenti,” 238-9.

the differences between the two.¹⁷⁸ Her comparison of the Beethoven-Vienna *Prometheus* (Vienna, 1801) and the Milanese-multi-composer *Prometeo* (Milan, 1813) illustrates the main elements that would come to characterize Italian ballet music for the first third of the century. This is not to say that the Viennese ballet scene was vastly different from that in Italian cities (at least early in the century), as many of the great dancers, choreographers and ballets visited Vienna as they toured the circuit. Yet, by the time of the Milanese *Prometeo*, Viganò's highly original approach had solidified, and he had composed ballets all over Italy. In addition to expanded plot, number of characters, increased allegory and greater general spectacle, the music also changed drastically for the Milanese *Prometeo*.

Beethoven's *Prometheus* music, as noted by Dalmonte, can be seen as a set of freestanding variations with an easily separable overture.¹⁷⁹ The work is an autonomous sequence of ideas linked by formal and other devices which Paul Nettl calls a "variation suite."¹⁸⁰ Both danceable and dramatic, this music is nonetheless relatively predictable formally and is also unified, having been written by a single composer. For the Milanese *Prometeo* the music is by numerous composers with only some of Beethoven's music retained (the first and the fifth numbers of Beethoven's score were used in the Milan production). Rather than the mostly classically structured forms of the Beethoven set, a series of short and highly varied pieces show an effort at increased attention to the

¹⁷⁸ Poesio, "Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture," 3-8.

¹⁷⁹ Dalmonte, "Une Écriture corporelle," 189

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

particular expressive demands of the plot (from what can be gathered from the sources), always underscoring the mime.

Vigano's use of music can be described as follows: While a few minuets, giges and so on occur in the earliest Viganò ballets, in general, what Dalmonte calls "forme chiuse" (closed forms) are avoided, (Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell also cites this trait in relation to Viganò).¹⁸¹ Rather, "Kettenstücke" (literally, "chain pieces")—a sequence of brief musical ideas that accompany the stage action, likely mimed—are the dominating type of music in Viganò's Italian ballets (post-1800), and Dalmonte is likely the first to give this wholly unique feature of Italian ballet music a name.¹⁸² (The examples she refers to all seem to contain mime or stage action.) Where I observe music for mime versus music for dance in the Viganò ballets, Dalmonte sees "Kettenstücke" (used for mime) versus "forme chiuse" (used for dance).

A feature of Viganò's choreography that was particularly admired for its sophistication was the ability to convey multiple angles of a narrative, and music played an important role. Ritorni cites an example of just such choreographic counterpoint for the ballet *La prepotenza vinta dall'eroismo* (manuscript title). Though I have been unable to find the music for this ballet, this review describes well the action for which specific music would need to be fit.

...Amasi was announced, as he requests soldiers in order to pursue the unknown kidnapper. Therein a place was made for a pantomime quartet in a

¹⁸¹ Dalmonte sees this as a sign of what later happens in opera, referring to the uninterrupted scenes and the unending melodies. See: Dalmonte, "Une écriture corporelle," 178.

¹⁸² Ibid.

dancing rhythm, all worthy of Viganò, during which was depicted in contrast, first, the furtive order that Busiride gave to Butrotto to slay Amasi amongst the soldiers as soon as he was out of the city, and then Euforbo's attempt to warn Amasi of the fate of his wife, with equal suspicion in both pairs being heard by the audience.

... vien annunziato Amasi, che chiede soldati per inseguir l'ignoto rapitore. Ivi facevasi luogo ad un quartetto pantomimico in cadenza danzante, tutto degno del Viganò, durante in quale era dipinto in contrapposizione, quinci il furtivo ordine che dava Busiride a Butrotto, di trucidar Amasi fra' soldati, tostocchè sia fuor della città, e quindi il tentativo di Euforbo per avvisar Amasi della sorte di sua moglie, con reciproco sospetto d'ambe le coppie d'esser intesi.¹⁸³

(Later in Ritorni's account the quartet is mentioned again as "highly praised.")¹⁸⁴ This review sheds light on two important facets of the mime in Viganò's ballets: it was coordinated to the music in the ways that dance was—"cadenza danzante"—and it was presented in sophisticated groupings conveying multiple characters' viewpoints and actions—"pantomimed quartet."¹⁸⁵

While it is useful to pinpoint music for mime and music for dance in the ballets of the period, strict differences between the two did not always exist as Viganò blurred the styles together. Hansell has found that Italians appreciated the integration of mime and dance and tolerated little of each in pure form until after Viganò's death,¹⁸⁶ though even

¹⁸³ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere di Viganò," 71.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁸⁵ Dalmonte finds that Viganò makes use of a form called the "rondò-a-ritornello" for situations such as these, and this musical form is taken from operatic works of the period. The recurring and contrasting themes of the musical number are used to convey multiple angles or viewpoints of a dramatic situation in opera or ballet. It is likely that a musical approach similar to the "rondò-a-ritornello" was used for the pantomime quartet described by Ritorni.

¹⁸⁶ See Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 262-3.

later reviews show some resistance to long sequences of pure dance (see the review cited on page 141). According to my observations, this had profound effects on the music chosen and adapted to accompany ballets (as discussed in Chapter V), as most selections and compositions were adapted or made to be relatively short and several numbers would be linked together without definite closure.

Viganò himself wrote and arranged some of the music for his ballets, so specific was his artistic vision. To cite *Prometeo* again as an example, the music used was by composers Haydn, Mozart, Weigl, Gluck, Mozart and Viganò.¹⁸⁷ Perhaps because of the comparison to Beethoven, there is more mention of music in reviews of *Prometeo* than in ballet reviews in general during the time period. Often, however, reviews were simply vague, such as the *Corriere Milanese* review stating that “La musica è scelta con ottimo intendimento e bene applicata.”¹⁸⁸ (The music was chosen with the best intention and was well applied.) I found the reviews cited by Ritorni to be most useful, as they actually describe the use of music (while reviewing it favorably):

In the first act, the desolation of Prometheus and his prayer to Minerva was expressed, thanks to the music, with such clarity and truth that it seemed one could hear in every sound a word, every measure a sentiment, and the same can be said in respect to the scene where Lino and Eone fall in love, in which the music is the distinguished work of the very same Viganò, and thus can be

¹⁸⁷ Not all sources on the ballet, including the scores, agree as to who the composers were.

¹⁸⁸ Quoted in Dalmonte, "Une écriture corporelle," 193, uncited. Further useful information can be gathered about *Prometeo* from Lichtenthal's "Lettere critiche attorno al *Prometeo*," though he erroneously claims that several of Beethoven's pieces were retained. Lichtenthal's testimony is of high value, especially when other contemporary reviews tended to be superficial.

placed ahead of the rest. (Quoted from Poligrafo, 1813, page 367) And further. Regarding the music, as [he had] such a fine intention to know how to choose it, adapt it, bring it together and carry it out with pieces of your invention, I do not say much else if not that it seems to all to be able to take into account an eloquent and energetic speech and to make from this effects on the mind and on the heart.

Nell' atto primo la desolazione di Prometeo e la sua preghiera a Minerva era espressa, mercè dell musica, con tale chiarezza e verità che sembrava d'udire ad ogni suono una parola, ad ogni battuta un sentimento; lo stesso dicasi per rispetto alla scena dell'innamoramento fra Lino ed Eone, di cui la musica è lavoro esimio del medesimo Viganò, e che può starsi a fronte del resto." (Poligrafo, 1813, pag. 367) E più oltre. "Della musica poi che con intendimento si fino sapere scegliere, adattare, commettere e compiere con pezzi di vostra invenzione, io non altro diròvi se non che sembra a tutti potersi aver in conto di eloquente ed energica parola e farne essa sulla mente e sul cuore gli effetti.¹⁸⁹

Music was integral to mime. Ritorni writes that Viganò's intention was

to introduce into the coreodramma the beautiful ideal of the melodramma [opera], wisely informing [one] that an action [work], which has instrumental music as its indivisible accompaniment, cannot be a tranquil pantomimic tragedy or a mute recitation, but a mute song ("canto muto"), if one allows me this term, and that the echo of an orchestra necessarily suggests the bounce of dancing steps, and the foreshortening of flighty limbs, just as it commands the voice to rise beyond its natural sound, emulating with regular accordance the agile melody that emits from bowed or wind instruments.

[...] intendimento introdurre nel coreodramma il bello ideale del melodramma, saggiamente avvisando, che un' azione la quale ha indivisibile compagnia la musica istrumentale, non può esser una tranquilla tragedia pantomimica, od un muta recitazione, ma un canto muto, se mi è lecito il termine, e che l'echo d'un orchestra necessariamente suggerisce il ribaltar de' danzanti passi, e lo scorciar delle volubili membra, come alla voce comanda il sollevarsi oltre un suono naturale, emulando con regolare accordamento l'agile melodia ch' esce dai fregati od inflati istrumenti.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Cited in Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere di Viganò," footnote on page 162, Quoted from Poligrafo, 1813, 367.

¹⁹⁰ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere di Viganò," 41.

What is notable about this passage, as Fabio Frasnedi also points out, is the effort to make a distinction between mute recitation and mute song. Whereas mute recitation is dry, like a sort of sign language, mute song involves a gesture imbued with the passion of the music. Frasnedi writes that, “the gesture, brother of the music, with it moves [beyond] and escapes judgment. With music and for music, the gesture becomes *song*, and ceases to be *sterile*.”¹⁹¹

Evidence of this can be found in the annotations within the music that Viganò chose. For example, in the second act of *Giovanna d'Arco*, No. 8, an Andante by Rossini, one finds the inscription, *con espres. parlante*. Notably, the piano reducer does not indicate “cantando” in this section of free aria-like melody, but the particular expression that describes also what the pantomimist must do.¹⁹² Even without such annotations, Viganò’s ballet scores contain music that speaks. Dalmonte writes:

Restless rhythms, quick little scales, chords that are almost motionless, monotonous designs that are always the same presumably for strings (or harps), threatening tremolos and sudden fermatas unravel one after another in free succession, as a “musical prose” deprived of meter and formal logic.

Ritmi inquieti, rapide scalette, accordi quasi fermi, monotoni disegni sempre uguali presumibilmente di archi (o di arpe), tremuli minacciosi e improvvisate fermate si snodano uno dopo l’altro in successione libera, come una “prosa musicale” priva di metro e di logica formale.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Frasnedi, “Il genio pantomimico,” 264

¹⁹² Salvatore Viganò, *Pezzi scelti del ballo storico Giovanna d'Arco, espressamente composto per L. R. Teatro alla Scala dal celebre coreografo Salvatore Viganò. Musica di diversi rinomati autori ridotti per cembalo solo dal Sigr. Dionigi Brogialdi*, (Milano: G. Ricordi, [182-?]), 25.

¹⁹³ Dalmonte, “Une écriture corporelle,” 203.

Melodies are fleeting, in spoken form, and are not structured—like an instrumental recitative.

Angelo Petracchi, La Scala's impresario during the period, makes a distinction between French versus Italian mime while defending Viganò's ballets as containing plenty of dance: [In Viganò's ballets] "there is dancing from beginning to the end, as his is a danced pantomime, and not a 'walked' one in the French style."¹⁹⁴ The differences between Italian and French mime, noted internationally, actually hinged on the coordination with the music, as is evidenced in a vivid description I found in the *London Magazine* (1825) in a section entitled "Scraps from a Musical Dilettante in Italy." The writer, after stating that the ballets in Milan "are nearer perfection than their operas, and by far the best entitled to unreserved praise" (crediting the "late Salvatore Viganò"), states the following:¹⁹⁵

The ballets of Viganò and his school are essentially different from the French *grand ballets*: the French are merely *actional* (to make a word), the pantomimist being unconfined by the musical composer; but Viganò's are rigidly *metrical*, every gesture, every movement, being measured to the music of the orchestra; or, as a recent Italian critic says, "the body of the *mimic* is agitated; his arms are now extended, and now withdrawn; his feet make paces now solemnly slow, now rapid; the features of his face partake in these varying movements, and all his person corresponds with positions, attitudes, and starts, to the sound of the music which touches his ear." This *marriage* of music with action was well known to the ancients, and serious historians have not disdained to relate the deep effects it produced; effects which, I would almost venture to say, have been equaled by some of

¹⁹⁴ Cited in Poesio, "Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture," 6, fn 20, A. Petracchi (1818) *Analisi del ballo di Viganò intitolato Mirra*, Milano: Bettoni, unnumbered pages.

¹⁹⁵ John Scott and John Taylor, "Scraps from the Correspondence of a Musical Dilettante Travelling in Italy," *The London Magazine* 12, June (1825): 207.

Viganò's best pieces. Another material difference between French and Milanese ballet is, that the latter has much less dancing. Viganò not only diminished the quantum of whirligigging and kicking of heels, but found out the means of introducing dances in their proper places, and thus made them contribute to the telling of his stories. In his ballets you do not see at the end of every act the stage covered with dancers without any discoverable reason; you see no half hour's flirting between a young man and a young woman about a nosegay or a ribbon-knot nor pair of *primi ballerini* rush on, as if they had fallen from the clouds, in the midst of the action. No; poor Salvatore Viganò understood things much better!¹⁹⁶

The relatively few reviews that exist regarding Viganò's use of music have led writers to make their own judgements. Writing in the early twentieth century, Andre Levinson criticized Viganò in general for using music from multiple sources, praising only the Beethoven score (out of all of Viganò's ballets) as "exceptional."¹⁹⁷ Dalmonte, on the other hand (and after studying many musical scores), suggests that if Viganò could have had his way, he would have total artistic control, and, as an accomplished musician, would like to have composed more of the music for his ballets. She proposes that the music and dance were inseparable in Viganò's mind, and for this reason he had a big hand in the music for ballets such as the Milanese *Prometeo*.

Viganò's use of music, according to Dalmonte, was not based on that of his predecessors Noverre and Dauberval, though the idea that ballet music should "speak" can certainly be traced back to Noverre, who said (as Dalmonte quotes), "La buona scelta

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 207-208.

¹⁹⁷ Andre Levinson, "Le Ballet de "Prométhée, Beethoven et Viganò" in *La Revue Musicale*, IX (1927), 91-92. Andre Levinson was a greatly influential critic. His negative assessment of the pastiche score in general has not helped create an interest in the scholarly study of ballet music. The reviews biased in the opposite direction (they are often very positive), cited and given by Ritorni, at least have the advantage of originating from those who witnessed Viganò's ballets and heard the music.

delle melodie è parte essenziale all danza come lo è la scelta delle parole e la costruzione della frase all'eloquenza.... La musica ben fatta deve dipingere, deve parlare: la danza, imitandola, sarà l'eco che ripeterà tutto ciò che essa avra articolato.” [The good choice of melodies is an essential part of dance just as the choice of words and the construction of the phrase is an essential part of eloquence... Well-composed music should paint, should speak: the dance, imitating it, will be the echo that repeats all that it [the music] will have articulated].¹⁹⁸ Dalmonte concludes that Viganò follows Angiolini-Hilverding model when it comes to music.¹⁹⁹ What is certain is at the time Viganò was in Milan, his musical decisions and choices were influenced by Rossini and Milanese opera. While the music for his Milanese ballets included pieces from Weigl, Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn, the normal fare included uncited opera arias, operatic pieces by Rossini, and selections by Italian composers or composers working in Italy. Some of the more frequently appearing composers include Gaspare Spontini, Michele Carafa, Robert Graf von Gallenberg, Peter Lichtenthal and Paolo Brambilla.

Finally, music likely had different aesthetic affects on early nineteenth century audiences than how we might receive it today, as Dalmonte points out, writing that “music that we hear as “brillante” must have appeared “inquieto” (restless) and that which to us seems “sovrana giocondità della natura” (nature’s supreme mirth) seems adapted for a dance of soldiers and shepherds” (“in one of the rare moments truly danced

¹⁹⁸ Cited in Dalmonte, “Une Écriture corporelle,” 164, Noverre Lettera V, 38.

¹⁹⁹ For primary source material concerning ballet polemics and ballet reforms during the period preceding Viganò, see: Carmela Lombardi, “Il ballo pantomimo.”

in the whole piece,” in reference to *La Vestale*).²⁰⁰ I found this to be the case with Viganò’s opening to *Il Noce di Benevento* (restaged in Italy in 1822) where a cheerful dance in E-flat major accompanies the “Congiure delle streghe e diavoli” (Plot of the witches and devils), though the quick changes between *forte* and *piano* and dramatic contrasts with diminished chord tremolos do seem mischievous. See Example 1, below.²⁰¹

Music does not yet consistently reveal attempts at “local color” (Dalmonte shows that a dance of Egyptian slaves in *Psammi*, is a German landler by Lichtenthal). It is likely that the dancers’ style and costume were more indicative of cultural “others” than the music, and this is certainly evidenced in the surviving images of dancers.²⁰² Finally, Viganò used recurring musical themes, explored and exemplified by Dalmonte, in many of his Milanese ballets, thus preceding that trend in theatrical music from later in the century.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Dalmonte, “Une écriture corporelle,” 196.

²⁰¹ Franz Xaver Süssmayr, Salvatore Viganò, and Giulio Viganò, *Il noce di Benevento: ballo al[l]egorico, Biblioteca di musica, anno 3, classe 2*, (Milano: Ricordi, 1822). (HTC)

²⁰² See, for instance, the images of dancers in the Cia Fornaroli collection at the NYPL, many of which are available digitally.

²⁰³ Claudia Celi goes as far as calling this usage a “leitmotif” in her entry in the International Encyclopedia of Dance. See: Claudia Celi, “Viganò, Salvatore” In *The International Encyclopedia of Dance*, Selma Jean Cohen and Dance perspectives foundation, 1998, 2005 by Oxford University Press, Inc., The International Encyclopedia of Dance: (e-reference edition). Oxford University Press. Indiana University – Bloomington (accessed 19 January 2010) <http://www.oxford-dance.com/entry?entry=t171.e1812>

**Example 1: *Il Noce di Benevento* (Viganò, Süßmayer, 1812, 1822) Scena II, No. 1,
Grave “Congiure delle streghe e diavoli”**

SCENA 1ª Congiure delle Streghe e Diavoli

No. 1

GRAVE

The image displays a musical score for a piano piece titled "Congiure delle streghe e diavoli" (Witches' and Devils' Spell). The score is in 3/4 time, marked "GRAVE", and is in the key of B-flat major. It consists of five systems of music, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system includes dynamic markings of *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The music features a mix of chords and melodic lines, with some passages in the right hand showing a more active, rhythmic pattern. The overall mood is dark and dramatic, consistent with the title.



System 1: Treble and bass staves. Treble staff contains a complex, fast-moving melodic line with many sixteenth notes. Bass staff contains a simpler accompaniment with eighth notes.



System 2: Treble and bass staves. Treble staff has a melodic line with slurs and dynamic markings *p* and *f*. Bass staff has a steady accompaniment with dynamic markings *p* and *f*.



System 3: Treble and bass staves. Treble staff has a melodic line with slurs and dynamic markings *f* and *p*. Bass staff has a steady accompaniment with dynamic markings *f* and *p*.



System 4: Treble and bass staves. Treble staff has a melodic line with slurs and dynamic markings *fp*. Bass staff has a steady accompaniment with dynamic markings *fp*.



System 5: Treble and bass staves. Treble staff has a melodic line with slurs and dynamic markings *fp*. Bass staff has a steady accompaniment with dynamic markings *fp*.

To summarize best the main points related to Viganò's use of music and its relationship to mime, I turn not to Dalmonte or Ritorni, but to a review by Angelo Petracchi within Ritorni's biography of Viganò (referring the reader to the previously cited review of *Mirra ossia la vendetta di venere* by Angelo Petracchi),

The cited epistles commend the choice of music once again, and they read as follows: "Nor is it possible to say enough to you of the wonderful effect, for which even the word is rendered useless in expressing every passion, every emotion ... I could never tell you... finally the admirable accord between the action and the music, which follows all the changes in the movements and even the facial expressions of Mirra. Gather now what I have told you, and consider that only Viganò is the inventor of the action, that only he found and adapted music, that in the end only he taught every movement, every gesture, and invented the groups, and distinguished artists who shine with sparks of genius, such that nature does not allow but for the privileged few.

Commendano ancora le citate epistole la scelta della musica, e così si esprimono: "Nè poteri dirvi abbastanza il mirabile effetto, per cui inutile si rende perfino la parola per esprimere ogni passione, ogni sentimento... Non potrei mai dirvi... finalmente il mirabile accordo tra l'azione e la musica, che segue tutte le modificazioni dei movimenti, e perfino degli sguardi di Mirra. Raccogliete ora quanto vi dissi, e considerate che il solo Viganò è l'inventore dell'azione, che egli solo trovò ed adattò la musica, ch'egli solo finalmente insegnò ogni movimento, ogni gesto, ed inventò i gruppi, e distinti artisti in cui brillano scintille di genio, che la natura non accorda che a pochi esseri privilegiati.²⁰⁴

To summarize, Viganò's approach to ballet (and its music) is not in the model of the *ballet-divertissement* of Paris, but rather a reformed *ballet-pantomime*, where narrative elements and diverse characters are more present than a display of grace and ability of the dancers. This new genre was called a *coreodramma* by Ritorni and then others. This effects the music as follows: while *divertissement* music can be highly danceable, it is less expressive of specific actions and dialogue (Dalmonte cites these

²⁰⁴ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere di Viganò," 148.

types of music: “suite, divertimento, cassazione, serenata.”²⁰⁵) and bears little resemblance to the “Kettenstücke” that fill Viganò’s ballets.

The point here is that, like in Viganò’s coreodrammas, much of the music for Italian ballets is highly dramatic, featuring changes of mood in quick succession, sometimes even more so than in the Italian operas the music was drawn from (in the first few decades), and this was likely due to the large amount of mime. The most important trait in which Gaetano Gioia (the other leading choreographer of the time) and Viganò shared was their elimination of extraneous pure dance in favor of a unified mime-dance production, which called for a unique musical scores in which a variety of musical material is adapted and “chained” together.

* * *

It is necessary to understand Viganò’s coreodrammas in order to set the stage for later generations of ballet in Italy. Though Viganò’s career may be seen as the golden era of coreodramma, the general techniques of matching music to expressive mime remained mainstays to Italian ballet throughout the century. Poesio writes that coreodramma “inaugurated a new style, soon to be defined by its contemporaries as ‘dancing in the Italian style’ or rhythmical miming, in contrast with the ‘French dancing,’ or technical dancing...”²⁰⁶ I would argue that the great distinction made by many scholars between Viganò (and Gioja) as compared to successive generations is perhaps exaggerated and

²⁰⁵ Dalmonte, ““Une écriture corporelle,” 158.

²⁰⁶ Poesio, "Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture," 6.

based on critics nostalgic for Viganò's work.²⁰⁷ While certain important changes did occur in ballets, including the greater influence of French technique and style, and the passing of what many during Viganò's time called a "Romantic" era²⁰⁸ (not to be

²⁰⁷ For example Stendhal wrote "A new art died with this great man," (referring to Viganò) in *Rome, Naples et Florence*, (Paris, 1826). Romani praised Viganò's similarly, lamenting the passing of such genius. See: Luigi Romani, *Teatro alla Scala: cronologia di tutti gli spettacoli rappresentati in questo teatro dal giorno del solenne suo aprimento sino ad oggi*, (Milano: Luigi di Giacomo Pirola), 1862, xx. Consider the following statements made more recently by scholars: "Theirs [Viganò's and Gioja's] was a new art but its secrets carried with them to the grave. So runs the universal appraisal voiced by those who admired and wrote about the work of Gaetano Gioia and Salvatore Viganò." or, "After Viganò and Gioia, there was no native choreographer of the following generation with the creative ability to develop further that expressive synthesis of dance and pantomime toward which Italian theatrical dance had been tending since the 1740s and which found its fullest realization in the *coreodramma*." (Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 263, 253). The end of the following statement by Rizzuti further perpetuates the belief of Viganò's art dying with him: "Blossoming in the capital of Italian Romanticism, amid the socio-political tensions leading to the riots of March 1821, *Giovanna d'Arco* was a symptom of a transitional phase in Milan's cultural life. In Ritorni's opinion the ballet's non-organic quality was due to Viganò's Promethean attempt to transpose an entire novel onto the stage. But the very appearance of the word 'romanzo' indicates that *coreodramma* was no longer suitable for the aesthetic and social needs of the post-*Conciliatore* era. Nor, as a genre, was it to continue any further: *Viganò's artistic heritage was not to be maintained by any followers.*" (Italics mine). (Rizzuti, "Vigano's 'Giovanna d'Arco'" 200.) While the transitions that Rizzuti describes were certainly taking place, the notion that the ballet and Viganò's approach to it (in the form of *coreodramma*) were not valid after this season is unsupported, at least in Rizzuti's article. *Giovanna d'Arco* was given again at the Regio Teatro di Torino nel carnevale dell'anno 1825 by Giulio Viganò, San Carlo in Naples in 1826 by Giulio Viganò with Antonia Pallerini in the lead role (Fanny Elssler danced in the production) and at the I. R. Teatro in via della Pergola il carnevale del 1831. Schiller's *Die Jungfrau* and Viganò's *Giovanna* were also adapted into *La Pulcella d'Orleans ossia L'Incoronazione di Carlo VII re di Francia*, ballo storico in cinque atti, by Giuseppe Sorentino, which was given at the Nuovo Teatro di Padova per la fiera del Santo 1822. Pacini's and Verdi's operas of the same name premiered at La Scala in 1830 and 1845. I would argue that it took several years for Viganò's *coreodramma* to lose its influence and appeal, as it transitioned (rather than "ceasing to exist") into the types of ballets offered in the 1830s and 40s. Many of Viganò's ballets were restaged and copied in the decade following his death. It should be emphasized that plots such as this remained popular throughout the period.

²⁰⁸ A polemic that cannot be fully pursued here is the idea of romanticism in Italian ballet and whether we can conscientiously apply the widespread use and misuse of the term (which is often poorly defined as it is used) as a period of artistic endeavor that begins in dance and music roughly between 1820 and 1830. This is dangerous when it comes to Italian ballet, as many period commentators found the works of Viganò and Gioia to be romantic (and this is one of the

few examples of the use of the term during the period, though occasionally one finds a ballet title followed by the descriptor “romantico.”). Hansell writes, “Far more than Italian opera of the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the period’s grand ballets were regarded by contemporaries as embodying the nascent spirit of romanticism.” She cites a contemporary comparison between a romantic tragedy and the ballet and the components of ‘heroism, tragedy, great passion and a high degree of realism’ that made the *coreodramma* so moving. (Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet,” 270) I would characterize the contemporary view of ballet as being romantic, not its nascent spirit. Stendhal called Viganò the creator of the romantic in ballet. Many other period commentators found a romanticism in the ballets that was not at all the type a modern reader might associate with “Romantic ballet” (*ballets-blancs* with fairies and sylphs) that is generally accepted as occurring in the period from 1820-60, following Viganò’s *coreodramma*. (Here I agree with Hansell entirely, see Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet”, 271.) Sowell also addresses this in her research on Italian ballet libretti writing, “First, it would seem responsible practice for us as historians to base our terminology for the repertory on that of its creators, rather than lumping into the term ‘romantic’ several strains of ballet that they saw as diverse phenomena.” Sowell later writes: “It would seem logical to assert that the first phase of the Romantic repertory in Italy was based on or influenced by literary trends, specifically novels that were Romantic in the sense of historical romances.” (Sowell, “Romantic Topography and Modern Technology,” 230.) Poesio also asserts that Italian romanticism was distinct from the trend in Germany or France, and attributes that difference to the Risorgimento—Italians were more concerned with regaining national identity than with sylphs. Poesio also asserts that historical subjects were the venue for Romantic escapism, and that these plots also provided subtle forms of political propaganda which Italian audiences craved. (Poesio, “Galop, gender and politics in the Italian ballo grande.”) Yet can we accept statements such as the following, by Alberto Rizzuti, who has deeply studied the role of *Giovanna d’Arco* during the Risorgimento?: “After a season of remarkable fortune, the art of Terpsichore was to *step back again to an ancillary role*.” (Italics mine) “It continued serving both literature and the performing arts, primarily opera, acting as a link between books and stage and thus providing many ideas for subsequent masterworks (*La Sonnambula* and *Nabucodonosor*, to name just two). But apart from its merits as a catalyst, there was little room for ballet in Italian Romanticism. Literature alone was to carry Italian culture through the middle decades of the nineteenth century: the genre through which Italian writers were allowed room to form a dialogue with the leading centres of Romantic Europe was in fact a Northern one, the novel.” (Rizzuti, “Vigano's 'Giovanna d'Arco'” 200-201.) Even if literature was the leading transmitter of Romanticism in Italy, its venue (as Rizzuti himself points out) was often the stage, and, I would emphasize, often in the form of ballets, which regardless of their being labeled “romantic” or not, were not merely *catalysts*, serving the genre of opera. Nor was ballet taking some type of step “backward” in the artificially constructed notion that arts “progress,” (read: “improve”) as time passes. Ballet, as a genre, did not wane in importance until at least after 1850. Rota’s ballets were successful at the mid-century and include *Bianchi e negri*, which, based on Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, participated both in the cultural currents of the Risorgimento and the theatrical transmission of literary best-sellers. (See Chapter VII of this dissertation.) Regardless of how one defines Romanticism in the arts, the role that ballet played (or did not play) in Italian Romanticism did not necessarily determine its importance to the Italian public at the time, and depends on which definition or vein of Romanticism one is referring to.

confused with the generally accepted arrival of the Romantic ballet or period of music, seen to start between 1820 and 1830), political upheavals, changes in theatre funding²⁰⁹ and new influences and ballet schools, ballet continued after Viganò to strive to reach audiences with the all-important blend of expressive mime, strongly dramatic plot and acrobatic dancing. Audiences continued to enjoy ballet alongside opera as they had done during Viganò's reign and they craved engaging, emotional, mimed, allegorical and realistic performances over the fairies and sylphs once thought by dance historians to be representative of the period in all of Europe. And, ballet music saw gradual stylistic changes as trends ebbed and flowed in the rest of the Italian world of musical theatre, changes that can certainly be witnessed and drawn out of the sources, but do not appear as revolutionary. Like his contemporary Beethoven, Viganò was constructed as a hero of his time, the inventor of the coreodramma, and his influence was certainly felt even as his "golden age" ended. When one considers the musical sources and libretti, more of a continuum becomes visible rather than a strong break between generations and styles.

Gaetano Gioja (Gioia)

Alongside Viganò, and nearly as famous, was the choreographer Gaetano Gioja (Gioia in modern Italian) (c. 1760-1826). Trained in Naples, Gioia danced all over Italy and, like Viganò, traveled to Madrid as well. Like Viganò, Gioia was a skilled musician

²⁰⁹ Citing Stedhal's *Vie de Rossini*, Hansell discusses the prohibition of gambling as a great negative influence on the funds available to theatres, which Stendhal saw as 'dooming' the theatres in Milan and Naples. See Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 255-6, and notes 209-210.

and composer, writing music for his ballets at times. He was also trained as a *grottesco*. Gioia may have been even more influential than Viganò, as Hansell asserts, when it came to Italian opera theatre, as Donizetti based operas on his ballet plots.²¹⁰ One of his most famous ballets, *Cesare in Egitto* (1807), is one of the manuscript scores discussed in the next chapter. Apparently, Gioia himself arranged the music, which is by several composers. Many of his ballets have extant musical sources, with composers Robert Gallenberg, Luigi Carlini and Pietro Raimondi appearing often. Girard in Naples published piano reductions of several of his ballets, including *Niobe* (1822, Gallenberg and Carlini). Like Viganò, Gioia was considered a genius who combined expressive mime and dance in a true synthesis and whose ballets had dramatic plots and a balanced mixture of choral and solo dancing. Gioia did not enjoy the international fame and attention from period writers that Viganò did, however, and has suffered neglect in subsequent scholarship.

There are important differences between the two choreographers, and Hansell notes especially that Gioia was more rooted in native tradition and more locally famous while Viganò was more internationally trained and acclaimed. Viganò's expressive and moving tableaux-like use of the *corps de ballet* were also in contrast with Gioia's approach, possibly because Viganò rehearsed at length while Gioia worked quickly to mount many new works in a short period of time. Gioia was extremely prolific in his time at San Carlo.

²¹⁰ For detailed information on Gioia's life and career see: Hansell, "Gaetano Gioia," 191–237.

In terms of scholarship and primary sources, Gioia has been greatly disadvantaged in comparison to Viganò, a problem that Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell has begun to remedy.²¹¹ Whereas Viganò's ballets incited literary and other debates in period writings, Gioia's ballets are less discussed, which has had the effect of reducing his stature in ballet history.²¹² The brevity of this section is largely due to that dearth of information, especially concerning Gioia's use of music, rather than a value judgment in comparison to Viganò. (The music for Gioia's ballets figures prominently in the NYPL and HTC collections, and of the eleven ballets for which there are musical scores, eight were studied for this dissertation.)

Ballet from the 1830-1870: Changes in the Frequency of Ballet Performances, Choreographers and Ballet Masters, Music for Dance and Mime, Waning of Ballet

As mentioned previously, there appears to be a lack of musical materials for ballets in the 1830s and 1840s, which is in part due to the dearth of publishing of keyboard reductions of ballets. Contributing to decline in materials may have been the prohibition of gambling in the 1820s, cited by Hansell, which had provided much of the main theatres' budgets.²¹³ Certainly also, the upheaval of the Risorgimento effected

²¹¹ Hansell's chapter, "Gaetano Gioia," (op. cit.) examines the work of this choreographer thoroughly, including appendixes listing all of his ballets chronologically with information on sources, a works list, and, most importantly, a list of manuscript and published music scores for Gioia's ballets.

²¹² See: Hansell, "Gaetano Gioia," 192. For discussion of Viganò reception see: Luciano Bottoni, "L'ombra allo specchio."

²¹³ Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 234-35.

theatre, especially economically. The revolutions of 1848 caused theatre closures, and the Teatro alla Scala, which normally featured several ballets per season, saw only three ballets performed in carnevale seasons of both 1848 and 1849, and two in 1850.²¹⁴ Even Risorgimento events were made into ballets (for example, the ballet *Un episodio della Guerra d'Italia nel 1859: ballo in un prologo e cinque atti*, choreographed by Fissi, music by Giaquinto, appeared at San Carlo in 1860). Yet generally, ballets were still being performed at the major theatres at similar rates as in previous years, though Torino, for example, which had seen a growth in the number of operas performed each year, saw a general decrease in the proportion of ballets to operas in the late 1840s. The two ballets per opera decreased to one ballet, and this became the norm after 1850. The same shift in proportions can be observed at La Fenice where by 1850 sometimes there was only one ballet performed per opera. At the same time the number of operas per year increased. Roughly four to five operas were mounted each year, with three to six ballets. This proportional change meant that ballets played for longer, from thirty to over sixty performances, than the operas. Yet opera repertory was already forming, so not all of the operas were new.

Also during the 1830s and 40s, more French dancers and choreographers visited Italian stages, and were designated on the programs as “primi ballerini coppia francese,” listed before the “primi ballerini coppia italiana.” In Torino, just as the first Verdi operas

²¹⁴ See: Gatti, “Il teatro alla scala,” 194. 1846 and 1847 were years with more “normal” numbers of ballet performances of between 8 and 12 spread out over a few theatrical seasons. During the 1840s and 50s the number of ballets per season and per year fluctuated quite drastically at La Scala.

were mounted at the Teatro Regio, Fanny Cerrito and 'Arturo' (Arthur) St. Leon danced together in the company (1845-6) and 'Giulio' (Jules) Perrot was resident choreographer during the 1850-51 season. In terms of theatres, the previous theatre monopoly held by the four great cities of Milano, Napoli, Venezia and Turin, came to also include the Teatro della Pergola in Firenze and both the Apollo and the Teatro Argentina in Rome.

Choreographers and Ballet Masters

During this period Salvatore Taglioni (1789-1868) was active in Naples, having founded the school of ballet at the Teatro San Carlo 1812. Here he worked for the majority of his career, with such famous dancers as Jules Perrot, Fanny Cerrito, Fanny Elssler, Amalia Brugnoli and Carlotti Grisi. Much music from his ballets still exists, including the manuscript score for the one of the most popular: *Romanov* (1832). It is in Naples that Hansell cites the first acceptance or tolerance of a more decidedly French approach to the ballet, with a higher portion of virtuosic pure dancing.²¹⁵ Among his colleagues were Giovanni Galzerani, Antonio Monticini, Antonio Cortesi, the French Louis (or Luigi) Henry and Bernard Vestris.

In the north during this period, Carlo Blasis (1795-1878) headed the ballet school in Milan from 1837-1850 while appearing all over Italy. The school became internationally known for putting out especially well-trained female dancers such as Amalia Ferraris and Sofia Fuoco. Blasis adapted to the "dominating taste of the 1830's and 1840's and innovations in female technique without giving up the enlightenment cult

²¹⁵ Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 271.

of the ‘beau ideal’ and the conception of the dance as the expression of vitality and joy” according to Flavia Pappacena.²¹⁶ The school for male dancers was not as successful as that for females, closing in the mid-1860s, yet the great dancers Pasquale Borri and Giovanni Casati were trained there.

Both Taglioni and Blasis were internationally traveled and schooled, with French technique well under their command. Blasis’ approach to music echoed that seen in the Viganò era (though Poesio asserts that Blasis was mainly a recorder of Italian ballet, while Viganò was the true innovator and that links between the two famous figures are overstated).²¹⁷ Blasis wrote his first treatises just after Viganò’s time (the famous *Code of Terpsichore* appeared in 1828 and 1830 in London, as well as in sections in other publications including an Almanac from Milan.²¹⁸) and despite differences in background and training, it is useful to examine how the two masters figure into a continuum of Italian dance practice.

²¹⁶ Pappacena, “Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis,” 307.

²¹⁷ Poesio, “Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture,” 7. Poesio is of the opinion that too much emphasis has been made in linking Blasis to Viganò, to the detriment of Viganò’s posthumous reputation. It is the nature of linking the two important figures that may be problematic, yet I assert here again that Viganò’s influence was greatly felt in Italian ballet and that ballet style as it existed just after the time of Viganò is what Blasis attempts to codify.

²¹⁸ Carlo Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore: the Art of Dancing, Comprising its Theory and Practice, and a History of its Rise and Progress, from the Earliest Times*, Translated by R. Barton, [1828] (London: E. Bull, 1830). Carlo Blasis, *Lezioni di ballo giusto l'uso delle civili conversazioni*, [Almanacco per l'anno 1831], (Milano: Giuseppe Crespi, 1830). Another publication from 1830 was: Carlo Blasis, "Dancing," In *The Young Lady's Book*, (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), 395-418. Blasis’ earliest treatise is the *Traité élémentaire, théorique et pratique de l'art de la Danse contenant les développemens, et les démonstrations des principes généraux et particuliers qui doivent, guider le danseur; avec le portrait de l'auteur et planches*, (Milan: J. Beati et A. Tenenti, 1820).

Blasis was well published and translated internationally. His invaluable *Code of Terpsichore* (1828, 1830, 1831, etc.) appeared in many editions and languages. His treatises shed important light on the differences between Italian and French technique and the approach to composing ballets in Italy. There is also a sprinkling of information about music. He wrote in the *Code of Terpsichore*:

The music of a dance or ballet must be livelier, and of a stronger accent and cadence, than vocal music; and as it is required to signify a greater variety of things, it ought also to be much more diversified. It is music alone that can inspire the dancer and mimic [mime] with that warmth of expression which a singer derives from his words. Music supplies, in the language of the soul, all that dancing, by its attitudes and gestures, cannot make known to the spectators.

And further:

Pantomime, unquestionably, expresses a great deal; but without melodious sentimental accents of musical sounds, it never can entirely move our minds.²¹⁹

The other leading choreographer during this period was the prolific Giovanni Galzerani, who composed hundreds of ballets for La Scala and was also active in other major cities. His ballets received hundreds of performances and were even remounted. His *Corsaro*, based on Byron's poem, is an example of the common tendency to draw upon well-known literature for ballet scenarios, and, more importantly, the still under-acknowledged but frequent cases of ballets preceding and inspiring operas. Rita Zambon writes in detail about this ballet and Hansell also discusses it.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Blasis, "The Code of Terpsichore," 57.

²²⁰ There are numerous examples of ballets based on contemporary literature, a topic worthy of study on its own. *Bianchi e negri* is another example of a ballet based on contemporary literature (see the following chapter on this ballet) as is *Elisabetta Regina d'Inghilterra al castello*

Music, Mime and Dance

The music for ballets that appears in the late 1840s onward reflects, most of all, the increasing popularity and prominence of new dance types such as the mazurka, polka, waltz, and especially the galop. In fact, the galop became the requisite mainstay of ballet finales as the “Gran galop finale,” where usually the entire corpo di ballo took part. By the 1850s every ballet had several of each of the popular dances and these pieces were the most likely to be published in piano reductions that featured the “pezzi scelti.”

The following review of Casati’s restaging of *Il Diavolo a Quattro* (Casati after Mazilier, La Scala, 1845)²²¹ illustrates a few important facets of the period. First, though French works were imported during this period (such as *La Sylfide* and *Giselle*), they were often modified by an Italian choreographer for Italian tastes (and this affected the music, as music was added by Costantino dall’Argine); secondly, national dance, (in this case a mazurka) was seen as a highlight, and it was danced by all presumably female students; and third, the dancers that hailed from Blasis’ school in Milan were the pride of the city and, according the reviewer, the country.

di Kenilworth, ballo tragico in cinque acts, by Giovanni Galzerani with various composers, which is “tratto dal romanzo Walter-Scott” which was performed in between acts of opera *Annibale in Britannia* by Giuseppe Nicolini (a good pairing of British settings), at the Teatro della comune in Bologna, spring 1822. For information on *Il Corsaro*, see: Rita Zambon, “Quando il ballo anticipa l’opera,” 305-314. For a list of ballets that preceded operas see, Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 276-77.

²²¹ Gatti’s chronology for La Scala lists this as performed on January 29, 1845, with music by P. Bellini “ad eccezione di alcuni pezzi.” See Gatti, “Il teatro alla Scala,” 192. However the NYPL catalogue lists the ballet score as composed by Costantino dall’Argine, reduced by G. P. Bocelli, which we may assume contains the pieces that were added: “Polka nell’ atto 1” and “Ballabile finale.”

Graceful dances, including a *mazurka* performed by the lively students of Royal Imperial School of Dance, with the grace and precision difficult to find elsewhere in such a large troop of dancers – as was also lovable, the *character* dance between Monplaisir and Fuoco, a gem of our school and that soon, leaving to take flight out of her native nest, will form the honor of maestro Blasis and those who attend this establishment, at this point the only one in Italy in our genre - Some scenes of an admirable effect, the costumes glittering with gold - the lively music. What more could you want?

Le danze leggiadre, fra le quali una *mazurka* eseguita dalle vispe allieve della I. R. scuola di ballo, con quella grazia e quella precisione difficile a ritrovarsi altrove in così numerosa schiera di ballerine – Come pure amabile la danza di *carattere* fra la Monplaisir e la Fuoco, gemma della nostra scuola e che fra poco, sciogliendo il volo fuori del nativo suo nido, foremerà l'onore del maestro Blasis e di quanti assistono questo stabilimento, ormai unico in Italia nel nostro genere - Alcune scene di un effetto mirabile, i vestiti sfolgoranti di oro – la musica vivace. Che volete di più?²²²

On the other hand, there seems to be little change in the amount of mime that took place on Italian stages;²²³ in fact it was clearly indicated in music, thanks to the piano reductions put out by G. Ricordi and F. Lucca in Milan, who both expanded their business to publish score to ballets premiered in other cities and theatres. Indeed most of the scenes in the typical Italian ballo were “scene mimiche” and the danced scenes were by now habitually separated out on playbills and listed as the “distribuzione delle danze”. Hansell sees this as a ploy to market the ballets that were in decline after 1850, yet the practice began much earlier, as evidenced by the libretti in the Toscanini collection at the

²²² “Il Caffè Pedrocchi,” 15 February 1846, 56.

²²³ Hansell cites the *ballo mimo-danzante* and *ballo-brillante* as having a reduced amount of mime (from the 1860s and later). I am not confident in this assessment, though this could be because my study ends at 1870 and these changes were just taking place. The sources that I have examined contain relatively similar amounts of mime and most are subtitled as above. See Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 290.

New York Public Library for the performing arts.²²⁴ (Luigi Henry's *La Vedova nel Giorno delle Nozze*, Teatro Carcano, Milano, carnevale 1830-31, is an early example; another example of this "distribuzioni" page can be found in *Flik e Flok*, 1862, and *Bianchi e negri*, Torino, 1875). Still, there is evidence of several mimes employed in the major companies and reviews often mention the mime separately from the dancing.

The following lithograph (Figure 1) of "primi ballerini mimici" Domenico Ronzani and Francesca Pezzoli, at the Teatro di Apollo in Rome during carnevale of 1835 shows professional mimes in action.²²⁵ This print captures the continued use of facial expression, discussed earlier in relation to Viganò. Note that the pair are also considered dancers.

Even at the mid century, critics saw mime as important and went as far as criticizing a choreographer for too many "ballabile" in a production. In a review of Casati's new ballet *Nadilla, ballo fantastico* (La Scala, 1850), Antonio Carlo Gaetano writes that, "The composer (choreographer), who availed himself of the numerous and distinguished *corpo di ballo* [dancers in the *corps de ballet*], tied together a series of ballabili, almost without interruption and caring nothing of an interest in mime nor for action, staged his new ballet."²²⁶ After praising the richness of the decorations and

²²⁴ See Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 290.

²²⁵ "Domenico Ronzani e Francesca Pezzoli, primi ballerini mimici, nel Teatro di Apollo in Roma nel carnevale del 1835." Lithograph, vignette, image: 18 x 21 cm. New York: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515787) [1835]. (Used with permission)

²²⁶ Antonio Carlo Gaetano, "Teatri – Milano," *L'Italia musicale*, Anno II, Volume 2,

precision of the machines, the same reviewer recounts the ballabile in each act and bemoans the lack of material for the talented mime, signor (Efisio) Catte.

Not wanting, however, to call the composer's imagination is sterile, we are obliged to believe that he exhausted his mind in an effort to give the appearance of continuity to a series of lavish ballabili in each act. Beginning with the first act we have a Moorish-Indian ballabile that does not have anything new, and that could be done better. In the second [act], [we have] the ballabile of the statues; in the third, the ballabile of enchantments in which Casati's imagination incorporates ten chairs that, twirling around here and there, constitute the pivot point of the poses and of the groups of grace; in short, they dance as well. In the fourth act there is an armed ballabile; the fifth finally another ballabile with a pas de deux between Ms. Polin and Mr. Petipas. It is here then with a series of ballabile [that] we have spent more than an hour and a half. If the action was missing, what did one make of the eminent Catte? ... Although Mr. Catte was applauded and honored with calls, it sits poorly with us that a part with so little effect, but a great deal of effort, has been entrusted to this artist that we know is great and sublime in representing the most difficult passions. But how else could Mr. Casati [proceed] if his ballet does not have the interest of action?"²²⁷

Sabato 2 Febbraio, (Milan: Francesco Lucca, 1850), 5. "Il compositore si valse del numeroso e distinto corpo di ballo, annodò una serie di ballabili quasi senza interruzione e nulla curandosi dell'interesse mimico e dell'azione, allesti il suo nuovo ballo."

²²⁷ Ibid. "Non volendo però dire sterile la fantasia del compositore siamo obbligati a credere ch'egli si affaticasse il cervello per dare le apparenze de legame ad una serie di ballabili profusi in ogni atto. Incominciando dal primo atto abbiamo un ballabile indiano-moresco che non presenta nessuna novità, e che poteva essere eseguito meglio. Nel secondo il ballabile delle statue. Nel terzo il ballabile degli incantesimi, in cui la fantasia del signor Casati fa entrare dieci seggioloni che roteando qua e là costituiscono il perno delle pose, e dei gruppi di grazia ; insomma ballano anch' essi. Nel quart'atto un ballabile armato, nel quinto finalmente altro ballabile con un passo a due fra la signora Polin e il signor Petipas. Ecco che con una serie di ballabili noi abbiamo passato meglio che un'ora e mezza. Se mancava l'azione, dell' esimio Catte cosa se ne fece?... Un servo fedele , che maniaco per soddisfare la brama femminile del suo principe si sente spinto dal cuore a seguirlo fra gli incantesimi , ma tentenna quando si mette all prova il suo coraggio. [He is a faithful servant who, maniacal in his desire to satisfy the female desires of his prince, feels himself compelled from the heart to follow him among the enchantments, but hesitates when his courage is tested.] Sebbene il signor Catte venisse applaudito ed onorato da chiamate, ci sa male che una parte di pochissimo effetto, ma di molta fatica venga affidata a questo artista che noi conosciamo grand e sublime nel rappresentare le più difficili passioni. Ma come poteva altrimenti il signor Casati se il suo ballo non ha interesse d'azione?"

Figure 2: Domenico Ronzani e Francesca Pezzoli, primi ballerini mimici, nel Teatro di Apollo in Roma nel carnevale del 1835



*Domenico Ronzani, Francesca Pezzoli
Primi Ballerini Mimici
Teatro di Apollo, Roma, Carnevale 1835*

A trend that did take place in the 1860s was the use of a single prima ballerina (often Italian) for the character roles that involved both mime and dancing (not that this had never occurred before, for Antonia Pallerini, among others, was a gifted mime and ballerina in Viganò's ballets). *L'Anello Infernale* (Pallerini, Giorza, 1862) is an example of this, as some of the lead roles are played by "primi mimi" such as Effisio Catte, Luigi Danesi and Gaspare Pratesi while one of the dramatic roles was played by the gifted "prima ballerina" Amina Boschetti. Her partner as primo ballerino did not play a dramatic role, functioning only as a dancer. This particular libretto also illustrates a shift in terminology as the title "mimo-danzante" appears between the list of ballerini and mimi, and is applied to Luigi Bellini, indicating that abilities to mime and dance were more commonly found in the performers of Italian ballets. Other libretti from the period such as *Flik e Flok* (Taglioni, Hertel and Marengo, 1862) do away with any distinction, as all the top dancers are called "coreografi" and play the dramatic roles. In *Zelia* (Pallerini, dall'Argine, 1867), some of the "primi ballerini assoluti," such as Virginia Zucchi, played roles, yet mimes and the mimo-danzante performers were still employed.

Also of great importance was the increasing use of a single composer for the ballet's score. At the mid-century and until 1870 the most common choreographer-composer pairs were Giuseppe Rota - Paulo Giorza (who included mime equally to dance), Ippolito Monplaisir - Paulo Giorza or Costantino dall'Argine, Antonio Cortesi - Luigi Maria Viviani, Jules Perrot - Cesare Pugni, with additions or adaptations by Giovanni Bajetti and Giacomo Panizza, Paulo Taglioni - Peter Ludwig Hertel, and

finally, Antonio Pallerini - Costantino dall'Argine. Of course these pairings are not strict since composers worked for other choreographers, but there is great consistency in the pairings, as evidenced in the sources at NYPL and HTC. Paulo Giorza and Costantino dall'Argine appear to be the most prolific composers and are well represented in published piano reductions and manuscript scores.

While some ballets such as *Bianchi e negri* in the 1850s had a few pieces by other composers, the scores were predominantly by one composer. By the time of Romualdo Marengo and Costantino dall'Argine, the composers were even given more credit and rights to their creations (in part spurred on by Verdi's efforts for tight control over the publication and productions of his operas, which also had the effect of pushing the autonomous intervening ballets off the stages when his works were performed). Among the composers who were most active and whose music remains in manuscript or published reduction are Paolo Giorza, Giuseppe Giaquinto, Luigi Maria Viviani, Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli, and, in the final decade of the period studied, Costantino dall'Argine (during the 1860s).

It is noteworthy that the musical sources also come from a greater variety of cities at the mid-century, even though the Milan publishing monopolies continued. Theatres such as the Teatro della Pergola in Florence, Teatro Argentina and Teatro Apollo in Rome, Teatro Grande in Trieste and Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa, all saw premieres of works significant enough to be published as piano reductions and/or retained in manuscript form. This is partly because these theatres were attracting prominent choreographers and composers, and partly because choreographers, composers and

ballets traveled around the peninsula even more, it seems, than in previous decades. The extent to which ballets traveled and were recycled is hidden in clever changes of titles and slight manipulations of plots, yet I am confident that a thorough study of transmission (which is outside of the scope of this study) would show that restaging, recycling and borrowing of plots were extremely common in the Italian ballet circuit, especially around mid-century. Hansell describes La Scala as the hub from which successful ballets radiated out to other Italian cities, but this monopoly would seem to have taken place slightly later than the last sub-period included in this study: 1850-1870 (Hansell states that this happens in the “second half of the nineteenth century”).²²⁸

Until the mid-century, lavish ballets continued to be performed alongside the most famous operas of Rossini (which were kept in the repertory), Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi. As has also been pointed out by Hansell, certain aspects of the “Romantic ballet” which were popular in other European cities, and especially Paris, did not take in Italy. The subjects remained historical, allegorical, and realistic even, but fantastic and magic ballets were few and were seen as distinct. For example, an adaptation like *Faust* has magic, but it also has plenty of human drama (staged separately by Taglioni in Naples, 1838, Cortesi in Florence, 1852, as well as Perrot in 1848-9 at La Scala, later reproduced by Pratesi, and remounted by Ronzani in Torino in 1856). When “fantastic” ballets did appear, it was in an Italian format with a substantial plot that they were most successful. Furthermore, ballets like *La Sylphide* and *Giselle* were termed “balli fantastici” and were really more successful when adapted for Italian tastes. On the other hand, pantomime

²²⁸ Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” 291.

ballets like *La Esmeralda* and *Caterina, ou La Fille du bandit* were both lively and dramatic enough for Italian tastes and were enthusiastically received along with the ballerinas Fanny Elssler and Fanny Cerrito who danced in them.²²⁹

The main choreographers of the period also composed the danced portions of *grand opéra*, which were truly danced portions. This, combined with the excellent technique of students coming from the Scuola di Ballo at La Scala (mentioned earlier in relation to Blasis), may have contributed to a greater proportion of pure dancing on Italian stages than in previous decades. This seems to be the case as the page describing the “distribuzione delle danze” in libretti seems to grow in length and descriptions. These dances were nearly always justified by the plot and the “distribuzione” often explained their role in the action. For example, in *L'Anello infernale*, in addition to the national dances, a dance in the second part titled “La Seduzione” was performed by the prima ballerina Amina Boschetti, some of the students and the primi mimi Luigi Danesi and Effisio Catte. *Brahma* (Monplaisir, dall'Argine, 1868) fully involved the prima ballerina in the plot and provided reasons to dance which were part of that plot: Padmana is “compelled” to dance at one point, unable to resist.

Many of the best dancers from Milan went on to have international careers and are well known today, as they were immortalized in lithographs, watercolors, almanacs, journals, sheet music and biographies. These include Sophia Fuoco, Carolina Rosati, Amalia Ferraris, Amina Boschetti, Caterina Beretta and later, Virginia Zucchi.

²²⁹ Ibid., 279.

The Waning of Ballet Performances

A few major factors contributed to the waning of the autonomous Italian ballet after the mid-century. Hansell cites the development of repertory opera without co-development of repertory ballet, and the cutting down from two ballets to just one per evening. She suggests financial reasons combined with the ballets “wearing out” after so many repeat performances (40 or so) at a single theatre, though this logic goes against the repeat performances of works in repertory opera.²³⁰ Grand opera became successful in Italy, having achieved only minimal success in the 1830s and 40s. Whether written by French composers (Meyerbeer, Halévy) or Italian composers for the French stage or in the French style (Donizetti, Verdi), these large-scale operas with their included ballets were completely in vogue by the 1860s. Ballet troupes continued to perform the ballet portions of the *grand opéra* but the separate Italian ballet declined, and was, at times, no longer placed between acts, but rather after the entire opera. Hansell describes this changeover and certain patrons’ resistance to having to wait several hours for their beloved ballet.²³¹ Until 1870, one separate ballet regularly appeared with the opera, despite its disadvantaged placement, and after 1870, though ballet did not disappear altogether, the final three decades of the century saw fewer and fewer works.

²³⁰ Ibid., 275-277.

²³¹ Ibid., 288-89.

CHAPTER V

TYPES OF MUSIC IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN BALLET

In this chapter, I discuss the types of music found in nineteenth-century Italian ballets from 1800-1870. This includes the two broad categories of mime or action music and dance music. In the first section I discuss the music that accompanies mime and action scenes. This music is distinct in style—even cinematic—and must explain the stage events and speak for the mute performers. Just as recitative is rarely found outside of opera and oratorio to the degree in which it occurs in those genres, Italian ballet's mime music is also usually easy to identify. I provide many examples, some of which encompass entire scenes, in order to demonstrate the importance of this music and its accompanying stage action to Italian ballets throughout the period.

My second section is on dance music and includes the sub-categories of solos, *pas de deux*, *grotteschi*, national dances and *ballabili* (these categories are based on the dancing, not necessarily on musical style differences). I discuss the *pas de deux* especially in terms of its musical structure, as this is an indicator of the danced structure that preceded later codified nineteenth-century forms of this dance.

Mime, action, and even dance music can also be subcategorized by their particular expressive purposes. In the third section I discuss how distinct music is used to express choreo-musical topics such as witches and supernaturals, storms and weather, hell and

tartaro, love, anger, and other moods, characters and emotions. The use of stereotypical and/or identifiable music for these moods, characters and situations is generally similar to that in operas from the period (though an in-depth comparison to opera is not the purpose of this chapter). Finally, I discuss scoring and manuscripts.

The contents of this chapter are fully based on what the survey of musical sources suggested and the primary goal is to expose the style characteristics of Italian ballet music in order to better understand ballet music as a genre with its own unique traits as well as to demonstrate the shifts in style that occurred in ballet music from 1800-1870.²³² As will be seen in the following examples, this is a rich body of music ranging from vividly descriptive to undeniably danceable. Furthermore the connections indicated between ballet music and its operatic siblings both past and contemporary, while not the topic of discussion here, are too important to leave out of our histories of theatre music in Italy and beyond. In terms of dance history, the musical scores bring us the closer to choreography than we might get otherwise, from the structuring of the pas de deux to the flow of mime and dance within an entire act of a ballet. If we take as a given that the music embodies movement and begin to imagine the possibilities of choreography guided by the music and the plot, we have already begun to reconstruct a lost period in both dance and music histories.

²³² Of course, I knew to look for differences between mime and dance music before studying the scores, mostly due to the research of Marian Smith and others on ballet music outside of Italy for the same period.

Mime Music and Action Music

Like the *Kettenstücke* identified by Dalmonte for the danced-mime of Viganò's time, music for mime and action is often obviously identifiable. This music exemplifies two traits that can be seen as typical in much of Italian ballet music throughout the century: First, there are frequent shifts in mood and texture due to the changing action, dialogue and events on stage. Second, there is an explicit quality to the music that accompanies events such as storms, supernatural characters, intensely felt moods and emotions, as well as other significant occurrences. In mimed/action portions of ballets, the music's texture and meter change rapidly (every several measures) as the music follows the flow of the dialogue or stage action. Countless examples occur in every ballet and while it is hard to know exactly how much mime occurred (since dancing and mime intermingled and mime was also performed during perfectly "normal" dance music), a good conservative estimate based on the musical sources is that at least one-half to three quarters of the Italian ballet was mime and action.²³³ Some of Viganò's ballets are dominated by a danced mime with only a few pure dance numbers throughout the entire hour-and-a-half that they usually lasted. From the Milanese ballets of Viganò stretching all the way to the great Manzotti-Marenco collaborations of the late nineteenth century, mime and action music are always present. In Marenco's score to *Sport* (Manzotti,

²³³ This estimate is based on the music of complete ballet scores as well as the consistent tendency to label each musical number as either part of a mimed or danced scene, as well as the presence of interlinear directions which only appear during mimed scenes. This proportion seems to be greater than that found by Marian Smith for the ballet-pantomime in Paris. See, for example, the discussion of *Giselle* in both her dissertation, "Music for the ballet-pantomime at the Paris Opéra, 1825-1850" and in the book *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle*.

Marenco, 1897), for example, a game of bocce is portrayed—every ball thrown and subsequent reaction by the players is musically depicted.²³⁴

Much critical evidence and period descriptions have already been cited for Viganò's ballets, but other productions featured similar mime music. The following examples, arranged chronologically within each sub-topic, show the main characteristics of this distinct music: “parlante” melodies, changing meters and textures, fragments punctured by fermatas and irregular phrasing. If one is lucky, the stage action is written into the score, whether it be published or in manuscript.

Musical Examples of Mime

Cesare in Egitto, a manuscript piano reduction that is in a scribal hand, prepared with great care and then published (“stampata”) in Florence in 1800, contains nearly omnipresent interlinear stage directions.²³⁵ This is likely related to Gioia's ballet of the

²³⁴ See the piano score for Sport. Romualdo Marenco, *Sport: ballo in otto quadri: edizione completa per pianoforte, del coreografo Luigi Manzotti; musica di Romualdo Marenco; riduzione di Carmelo Bizzozero*, Milano: G. Ricordi & C., 1897, 150-153. This score is available at the following Italian libraries: Biblioteca comunale Sabino Loffredo (Barletta), Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi (Milano), Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III (Napoli), Biblioteca civica Angelo Mai (Bergamo), as well as the Biblioteca musicale governativa del Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia (Roma), which is where the copy I examined originated from.

²³⁵ *Cesare in Egitto*'s composer(s) and reducer are unknown to us. This was a popular subject for ballets and productions bearing at least the same title date from 1809 forward. Two separate scenarios 1809 (Milan) and 1810 (Firenze) show that Gaetano Gioia staged a version with music by several different composers. There are also scenarios from 1816 and 1818 (the 1818 scenario names Pavesi as the composer.) Other performances with the title are 1816 (Padova), 1818 (Bergamo, chor. by Serafini after Gioja), 1825 (Mantua, chor. by Tinti), 1839 (Pisa, chor. by Turchi), and ca. 1850 and 1861 in Verona/Milan (chor. by Massini). In the 1880s Giuseppe Rota mounted the ballet after Bini. I propose that the score examined in this dissertation is related to Gioia's ballet.

same name. A typical example of mime music can be found in the beginning of Act V, No. 27. The tempo of this number changes frequently. Beginning Largo, the E-flat major theme (which is typical of love music) shifts to Allegro at measure 16, and then Adagio at measure 24 (back to the opening love theme), then Con moto at measure 32, only to end with a series of pauses and long notes. Though the opening inscription only states that Achillias tries in vain to obtain Cleopatra's love, we can easily imagine that the E-flat major sections are his advances and the intervening sections are Cleopatra's refusals. Regardless, the unpredictable nature of this music, along with the frequent shifts, pauses and fermatas, is indicative that this was a mimed scene. See Example 2, below.²³⁶

Example 2: *Cesare in Egitto* (Gioia?, after 1800) Act V, No. 27

Atto quinto

No. 27 Largo

Vani tentativi di Achillias per ottenere amore da Cleopatra

²³⁶ "Cesare in Egitto: ballo in cinque atti: manuscript," In *Ruth Neils and John M. Ward Collection*, [68], (Cambridge: Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, [1800?]).

9

Musical notation for measures 9-13. Treble clef, bass clef, key signature of two flats, 3/4 time signature. Measure 9 has a 7. Measure 13 has a fermata over the final note.

14 **Allegro**

Musical notation for measures 14-18. Treble clef, bass clef, key signature of two flats, 3/4 time signature. Measure 14 has a 7. Measure 18 has a fermata over the final note.

19

Musical notation for measures 19-23. Treble clef, bass clef, key signature of two flats, 3/4 time signature. Measure 19 has a 7. Measure 23 has a fermata over the final note.

24 **Adagio**

Musical notation for measures 24-27. Treble clef, bass clef, key signature of two flats, 3/4 time signature. Measure 24 has a 7. Measure 27 has a fermata over the final note.

28 **Con moto**

Musical notation for measures 28-32. Treble clef, bass clef, key signature of two flats, 3/4 time signature. Measure 28 has a 7. Measure 32 has a fermata over the final note.

33

Musical notation for measures 33-36. Treble clef, bass clef, key signature of two flats, 3/4 time signature. Measure 33 has a 7. Measure 36 has a fermata over the final note.

37

Musical notation for measures 37-40. Treble clef, bass clef, key signature of two flats, 3/4 time signature. Measure 37 has a 7. Measure 40 has a fermata over the final note.

In *Il Noce di Benevento* (Viganò, Süßmayr, 1812 and after), a danceable number in F major (No. 7) begins the scene in which Canidia (the bad fairy, in the form of a large stag²³⁷) awakens the pretty Dorilla (annotated “Canidia Sveglia la bella Dorilla”). The pastoral opening in F major indicates that Dorilla sleeps peacefully (at first). After a cadence, a new phrase in C major rises and halts before it is finished off by a series of chords alternating with fermatas. The fleeting nature of each of the three sections and the fermatas all would indicate that this is mime music, even if annotations had been lacking in the piano score. The next section then features two more abrupt changes in texture punctuated by fermatas as “Dorilla all’inaspettata vista del Cervo, prende il suo archibugio per ucciderlo, ma vien trattenuta della Strega la quale chiama un farfarello, che si rapisce Dorilla, portendole nel seno dell’ Incantato Cervo.” (Dorilla, at the unexpected sight of Cervo (the stag), takes her archibugio (antiquated type of gun) to kill him, but is restrained by the Sorceress, who calls a farfarello (goblin-like creature), who kidnaps Dorilla, bringing her into the bosom of the Enchanted Stag.) The dramatic action of Dorilla’s abduction is portrayed by the frenzied triplets that close out the excerpt. See Example 3, below.²³⁸

²³⁷ Ritorni writes that Canidia is a ‘fate malefica’ appearing as ‘uno smisurato cervo.’ See: Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche,” 56.

²³⁸ Franz Xaver Süßmayr, Salvatore Viganò, and Giulio Viganò, *Il noce di Benevento: ballo al[l]’egorico*, John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection) Biblioteca di musica, anno 3, classe 2, (Milano: Ricordi, 1822).

Example 3: *Il Noce di Benevento* (Viganò, Süßmayer, 1812, 1822), No. 7

Canidia Sveglia la bella Dorilla.

No. 7
Con più moto

8

16

23

31 **Mosso**

f

chiamava un farfarello, che si rapisce Dorilla, portendole nel seno dell' Incantato Cervo.

37

Musical score for measures 37-42. The system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in a minor key. Measures 37-41 feature a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the treble and quarter notes in the bass. Measure 42 concludes the system with a final chord in the bass.

43

Musical score for measures 43-46. The system consists of two staves. Measures 43-45 feature a treble staff with a complex melodic line involving triplets and sixteenth notes, while the bass staff provides a simple accompaniment. Measure 46 concludes the system with a final chord in the bass.

47

Musical score for measures 47-51. The system consists of two staves. Measures 47-50 feature a treble staff with a complex melodic line involving sixteenth notes and eighth notes, while the bass staff provides a simple accompaniment. Measure 51 concludes the system with a final chord in the bass.

52

Musical score for measures 52-54. The system consists of two staves. Measures 52-54 feature a treble staff with a complex melodic line involving sixteenth notes and eighth notes, while the bass staff provides a simple accompaniment. Measure 54 concludes the system with a final chord in the bass.

55

Musical score for measures 55-58. The system consists of two staves. Measures 55-57 feature a treble staff with a complex melodic line involving sixteenth notes and eighth notes, while the bass staff provides a simple accompaniment. Measure 58 concludes the system with a final chord in the bass.

In the ballet *Matilda and Malek-Adel, Ballo Storico* (Clerico, Belloli, with a few pieces by others, La Scala, 1824) Act II, No. 3, an Andante in C major is interrupted by a measure full of rests and fermatas before resolving into an Allegro where a cavalier (knight) asks permission for Malek-Adel to enter the presence of Berengera (the wife of Riccardo, king of England). The music changes again as the fearful Matilda (sister of King Riccardo) is struck by a sudden pang of love (for Malek-Adel) and sadly retires to a nearby room, (a new section in minor marked Agitato). This number, ending on the dominant, must proceed directly into the next, an Allegro sotto voce in D major, as the queen welcomes Malek-Adel. This is a good example of the swiftly changing music that accompanies action and mime, both within and between musical numbers, and the avoidance of closure at the end of any number involving mime and action that proceeds to another. See Example 4, below.²³⁹

In *Giovanna d'Arco* (Viganò, various, 1821) Act IV is composed entirely of mime and action. Mime certainly took place during No. 2, an Allegro, which is elided to No. 3, a Maestoso in D minor, which is again elided to the Allegro that follows. Alberto Rizzuti, who has also studied some of the piano music for this ballet, did not have these numbers in his score.²⁴⁰ He identifies the Black Night encounter (described below) as happening during Nos. 4-5, though he is not entirely clear about the details. I discuss the whole

²³⁹ A. Belloli, Francesco Clerico, Pietro Romani, and Joseph Weigl, *Pezzi scelti dal ballo storico Matilde e Malek-Adel* [piano score] John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), (Milano: Ricordi, 1824).

²⁴⁰ Alberto Rizzuti, "Vigano's 'Giovanna d'Arco' and Manzoni's 'March 1821' in the Storm of 1821 Italy." *Music and Letters* 86, no. 2 (2005): 186-201.

scene below since it contains numerous examples of mime music, and shows how an entire scene may be constructed with such music. I also offer an alternative to Rizzuti's placement of the Black Knight encounter.

Example 4: *Matilda and Malek-Adel "Ballo Storico"* (Clerico, Belloli et al., La Scala, 1824) Act II, No. 3

Belloli

Atto 2.
No. 3

Andante

p

pp legato

8

15 **Allegro**

f Un cavalier annuncia il Principe Malek-Adel che chiede d'essere ammesso

20

alla presenza di Berengera.

p

24

Paventa Matilde nel doverlo rivedere

28 assoluta da un palpito si ritira nel vicino gabinetto.

31

34 *cres.*

36

N.° 4. *sotto voce*
pp Malck-Adel vien accolto dalla Regina

Allegro

46 *pp* *p*

54

pp

Musical score for measures 54-61. The system consists of a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The music features a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. A *pp* dynamic marking is present in measure 58.

62

pp

Musical score for measures 62-67. The system consists of a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The key signature has two sharps. The music continues with intricate sixteenth-note patterns. A *pp* dynamic marking is present in measure 63.

68

Musical score for measures 68-70. The system consists of a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The key signature has two sharps. The music features a more rhythmic texture with eighth and sixteenth notes.

71

ff sf

Musical score for measures 71-73. The system consists of a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The key signature has two sharps. The music features long, sustained notes in the bass clef, with *ff* and *sf* dynamic markings.

74

p Più lento sf 1° tempo

Musical score for measures 74-81. The system consists of a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The key signature has two sharps. The music is marked *p* and *Più lento* from measure 74 to 77, then *sf* and *1° tempo* from measure 78 to 81. The texture is more rhythmic with eighth notes.

82

legato

Musical score for measures 82-85. The system consists of a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The key signature has two sharps. The music is marked *legato*. The texture is more rhythmic with eighth notes.

Berengera accenna il luogo ov' erasi rifuggita Matilde e Malek -Adel



During this act, Giovanna is resting from the battle with Raimondo in a remote place with ancient ruins, when there suddenly appears a knight in black armor with his visor drawn over his face. When he does, Raimondo flees in terror, but Giovanna, drawing her sword, stands on the defensive. At this point a dialogue takes place, indicated in the scenario by italics, some of it drawn from Schiller's *The Maid of Orleans*, Act III Scene IX, as indicated by the footnote (i) in the libretto excerpt below. Note the length of their conversation, which was entirely mimed and accompanied by music.

Stop, says the knight, *I am not destined to fall by your hand. You are hateful to me*, replied the damsel, *to the depths of the soul; hateful as the night that you have divided (i). I feel an irresistible desire to separate you from the light of day. Who are you? Raise your visor.* The Knight, with a commanding voice says, *'You have defeated the enemies of France, Giovanna, you have crowned your king. You have acquired enough glory, lay down your arms and go no more into battle. You force me*, replied Giovanna, *to abandon my company? This sword will not rest until it has shot down the enemy. You have reached the goal, [says] the Knight, of your career, withdraw; listen to my words, the damsel fumes with wrath, And who are you, [she] repeats, who wants to confuse and frighten me!, Ah, who assumes insidiously announce to me false oracles?* With these words the Knight is about to leave, but she stands before him: *No; repeats Giovanni, either you answer me, or die by these hands*, and saying this tries to deliver a blow. The Black Knight touches her with his hand, and she remains motionless: *Kill what is mortal*, he says, and in uttering this, causes the collapse of darkness, lightning and thunder.²⁴¹

²⁴¹ See: Salvatore Viganò, *Giovanna d'Arco ballo storico in cinque atti*, Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector, *Libretti di ballo; no. 213a*, (Milano: G. Pirola, 1821). See also:, Salvatore Viganò, Friedrich Schiller, and Giulio Viganò, *Giovanna d'Arco; ballo storico in cinque atti composto da Salvatore Viganò, riprodotto e diretto da Giulio Viganò, rappresentato*

Rizzuti writes that the final part of the encounter between Giovanna and the Black Knight happens in number five, giving the following description (the musical example is further below).²⁴²

Clearly recognizable, the trombone solo mimics the irruption of the Black Knight (no. 5, bb. 1–10). The next, F major section displays the shouting of defiance (bb. 11–22), the clash (bb. 23–35), the moment in which the Knight touches Giovanna (bb. 35–6), the uttering of the premonition ‘Kill what is mortal!’, and the Knight’s disappearance in the dark.²⁴³

My investigation into the entire act leads me to believe that Rizzuti’s assessment may not be the likely match for music and libretto.

The opening number is haunting and harmonically shifting. Beginning in E-flat major, it modulates several times through the darker realms of the flat keys before ending

la prima volta in Napoli nel real Teatro di S. Carlo a' 4 ottobre 1826, Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector, Libretti di ballo, no. 263a, (Napoli: Flautina, 1826). “Raimondo fugge atterrito, ma Giovanna sguainando la spada si pone sulle difese. Arrestati, le dice il cavaliere, io non sono destinato a cadere per tua mano. Tu mi sei odioso, gli risponde la Donzella, fin nel profondo dell’anima; odioso come la notte che hai per divisa. Sento un invincibile desiderio di separarti dalla luce del giorno. Chi sei? Alza la visiera. Il Cavaliere con voce imperiosa le dice: Tu hai Giovanna sconfitti i nemici della Francia, tu hai coronato il tuo Re. Ti basti la gloria acquistata, deponi le armi, e non entrare più in battaglia. Che imponi tu, gli risponde Giovanna, d’abbandonare la mia impresa? Questa spada non poserà finchè non sia abbattuto il nemico. È giunta la meta, così il Cavaliere, della tua carriera, retrocedi; dà retta al mio parlare, la donzella accesa d’ira: E chi sei tu, ripete, che mi vuoi confondere e spaventare! A, che presumi d’insidiosamente annunziarmi de’ finti oracoli? A tai [sic: tal] detti il Cavaliere sta per partire, ma ella gli si pone davanti: No; gli ripete Giovanna, o tu rispondimi, o muori per queste mani, e così dicendo tenta di dargli un colpo. Il Cavaliere nero la tocca colla mano, ed essa rimane immobile: Ammazza ciò che è mortale, le dice, e nel proferir ciò si sprofonda suscitando oscurità, lampi e tuoni.”

²⁴² Rizzuti found that the act contained music performed by trombones, according to a review of the scene in the *Gazzetta di Milano*, 6 Mar. 1821, page 2, cited in Alberto Rizzuti, “Vigano’s ‘Giovanna d’Arco’ and Manzoni’s ‘March 1821’,” 199, n. 56.

²⁴³ Alberto Rizzuti, “Vigano’s ‘Giovanna d’Arco’ and Manzoni’s ‘March 1821’,” 200.

mournfully in B-flat minor. I imagine this as setting the scene for the act, which begins in a remote place under the vaults of an ancient ruined building. Giovanna and her trusted companion Raimondo rest for a brief moment. While Rizzuti proposes that the encounter with the Black Knight occurs in number five, the intervening numbers (two through four) are full of turbulent music with abrupt shifts. Furthermore, if the episode lasts from numbers two to five, this leaves little room for Giovanna's next battle with Leonello and her capture at the end of the act. While I am not certain of the exact line-up of the plot with the music, I would like to offer the following alternative to Rizzuti's description. (Table 7 and Example 5 demonstrate my explanation of this Act.)

Possibly it is during number two that the noise of the knight's arrival causes Raimondo to flee. There are several distinct sections (at least six) with a wide variety of music ideas in this extended number, which in the piano score lasts for two pages (58 measures). Much of the dialogue likely happens here, as seems apparent due to the frequent shifts of texture and musical content, separated in many cases by fermatas suspended over rests.

The third number *Maestoso*, which is elided to the second, has an introduction (8 measures) followed by a pressing *Allegro* in D minor, which is the most intense of the numbers thus far (73 measures long). This could be further dialogue between the Giovanna and the knight, as it also contains many contrasting sections of music, yet I believe that this music is well-suited to the clash between them, as the music is fitting for an angry confrontation.

Number four then acts as a fourteen-measure transition to number five and could well be the aftershock that Giovanna feels as she tries to regain her courage.²⁴⁴ Thus, while Rizzuti's description of number five is at first convincing, what makes the match difficult is, first, the amount of time and musical material that intervenes before number five (should their dialogue take up three whole numbers?) second, the relatively little amount of musical material and time taken up after the fifth number (for the appearance of Leonello, the battle between he and Giovanna, her realizing it is he and becoming immobilized by love, the appearance of Queen Isabella and her army, and subsequent capture and imprisonment of Giovanna) and third, the possibility that Giovanna's defiance and clash are more well suited to the D minor music in number three rather than the F major waltz as Rizzuti suggests. I provide an outline of the musical contents and the plot in the table below, not only to provide an alternative to Rizzuti's analysis, but, (and more importantly) to show the overall musical structure of this act. Note the prevalence of multi-sectional through-composed numbers with irregular phrase lengths, modulations and avoidance of definitive cadences (in the form of closing iterations of tonic and dominant in a well-established key).

²⁴⁴ It is also possible that it is in the third number that Giovanna's fury grows at the thought that this unknown night has commanded her to lay down her arms. Then, the final part of the encounter could occur in number five as described by Rizzuti.

Table 7: Outline of the Music for *Giovanna d'Arco*, Act IV

Score details	Musical description	Possible plot correlation
No. 1 Lento , E-flat major, 6/8, 46 measures	Introductory music, through composed, ending in B-flat major with a definitive cadence	Opening of new scene Giovanna is resting from the battle with Raimondo in a remote place with ancient ruins
No. 2 Allegro , B-flat major, 4/4, 58 measures,	modulatory, many sections, m.1-14 modulates to G major (fermata), m. 15-30 building of tension from C minor to B flat major, m. 31-40 intense C minor section <i>forte</i> , m. 41-46 twice repeated pattern, in B-flat then in C, adamant with <i>sforzandi</i> (fermata), m. 47-50 and m. 51-58 unstable, outlining diminished harmonies, ending on A chord (dominant of next number)	twice a loud noise causes Giovanna to take up her arms and investigate, then, suddenly appears a knight in black armor with his visor drawn over his face. Raimondo flees in terror, but Giovanna, drawing her sword, stands on the defensive...
No. 3 Maestoso , D minor, 4/4, 8 measures, then Allegro , D minor, 4/4, 65 measures (73 measures total)	introduction with intense D minor emphasis throughout, multi-sectional, through-composed, ends on D unison (cadence)	... the encounter between the Giovanna and the Black Knight, extensive dialogue (see quoted libretto above), the Black Knight disappears
No. 4 Sostenuto , (begins directly following No. 3), E-flat major, 4/4, 14 measures, no closure	modulatory and unsettled, though brief, there are frequent contrasts and shifts in musical ideas, ending with diminished harmony, <i>fortissimo</i>	Giovanna, stunned at first, tries to convince herself that it was just an apparition...
No. 5 Allegro molto , F minor, 2/2, 10 measures, F major, 3/4, 28 measures (38 measures total), cadencing to A major	vehement F minor introduction, F major waltz with odd phrase lengths, some melodic interchange between treble and bass, modulating unexpectedly at the end	cursing, she regains her courage... Leonello appears, challenging Givoanna to combat in order to avenge his fallen comrades. Giovanna disarms him in battle, he tries to seize her...
No. 6 Allegro , D major, 2/2, 34 measures, ending on B-flat ^{dom7}	strong march in the beginning (m. 1-8), swirling second section with fermata interruption (m. 9-20), modulating final section with unexpected chromatic harmonies (m. 21-34)	...during the struggle she realizes it is Leonello and becomes motionless, won by love. He tells her to kill him and then flee. She cannot.
No. 7 Allegro , E-flat major, 68 measures, loosely formed A-A ¹ , elided to No. 8 (no warning double bar!)	proceeds twice through a number of musical ideas, maintaining E-flat major as the key with a number of diversions (for example the 'return' of A is in F minor)	...conflict between love and duty is felt by both characters... misery for Giovanna...

Table 7 continued

Score details	Musical description	Possible plot correlation
No. 8 Allegro moderato , beginning D minor, 2/4 96 measures total, multi-sectional divided with double bars, form: A B A A' closing. Ends the act.	(A theme) Troubled D minor, diminished harmonies lead to A cadence (1-35) D major, chorale-like, (36-46) then abrupt return of A theme, ending on A ⁷ with fermata A theme in D major > closing theme emphasizing D major.	...appearance of Queen Isabella, whose soldiers are frightened at the sight of Giovanna. Leonello, showing the queen that he has courage, captures Giovanna and orders her to be taken prisoner. The queen sees that Giovanna offers no resistance and mocks her. Giovanna is taken among the guards before General Talbot.

A look at the progression of numbers within the entire scene, in the table above, shows a number of characteristics of mime music within a scene. First, there is rarely a break between numbers even when a cadence is reached at the end of a number. More often the end of a piece sets up the beginning of the next. Second, the numbers which are least typical of mime music are those that open and close the scene (Nos. 1, 7 and 8) and these numbers actually have more regular phrasing, internal repeats and formal structures that are not as through-composed (this does not mean, however, that action and mime did not take place during them). Note that the closing number is the longest and most repetitive—this is also when the greatest number of performers are on stage. The internal numbers of the scene, on the other hand, are typical of mime. Phrases are irregular in length, several musical ideas are presented in succession, keys are relatively unstable and shift often between and within numbers, and fermatas (often over rests) speckle the score. See the selections from each number in Example 5, below.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ Salvatore Viganò, Dionigi Brogialdi, Peter Lichtenthal, Johann Kaspar Aiblinger, Pietro Generali, Giovanni Paisiello, Joseph Haydn, Johann Ladislaus Dussek, and Gioacchino Rossini, *Pezzi scelti del ballo storico Giovanna d'Arco* [piano score] John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Biblioteca di musica moderna, anno 2o. (Milano:

Example 5: *Giovanna d'Arco* (Viganò, various, 1821) selections from Act IV

ATTO IV. N.º I.

LENTO

f *p* *p*

f *f stacc.*

4

7

Ricordi, 1821); Salvatore Viganò, *Pezzi scelti del ballo storico Giovanna d'Arco, espressamente composto pel L. R. Teatro alla Scala dal celebre coreografo Salvatore Viganò. Musica di diversi rinomati autori ridotti per cembalo solo dal Sigr. Dionigi Brogialdi*, (Milano: G. Ricordi, [182-?]). Note: the many errors, such as missed accidentals or apparently wrong notes appear in the originals.

ATTO IV.
N.° 2.

ALLEGRO

Musical notation for measures 1-3. The score is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The first measure features a piano introduction with a *sf* dynamic marking. The second measure contains a whole rest in the treble clef. The third measure begins with a *sf* dynamic marking.

Musical notation for measures 4-8. Measure 4 starts with a whole rest in the treble clef. Measures 5-8 show a developing piano accompaniment with various chordal textures and melodic lines in both staves.

Musical notation for measures 9-13. Measures 9-10 feature a more active piano accompaniment with sixteenth-note patterns in the right hand. Measures 11-13 continue this texture with some rests in the right hand.

Musical notation for measures 14-19. Measure 14 begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. Measures 15-19 show a piano accompaniment with long, sustained notes in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand.

Musical notation for measures 20-24. Measures 20-23 feature a piano accompaniment with sustained notes in the right hand. Measure 24 concludes the passage with a more active piano accompaniment.

25

Musical score for measures 25-28. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

29

Musical score for measures 29-33. Measures 29-31 show a melodic phrase in the right hand with some rests. Measures 32-33 feature a rhythmic pattern in the right hand consisting of eighth notes with double bar lines, while the left hand continues with eighth notes.

34

Musical score for measures 34-36. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes.

37

Musical score for measures 37-40. Measures 37-38 show a melodic phrase in the right hand with a slur. Measures 39-40 feature a rhythmic pattern in the right hand with slurs and accents, while the left hand continues with eighth notes.

41

Musical score for measures 41-44. Measures 41-42 feature a rhythmic pattern in the right hand with slurs and accents, marked with *sf* (sforzando). Measures 43-44 show a melodic phrase in the right hand with a slur, while the left hand continues with eighth notes.

45

Musical score for measures 45-48. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The right hand features a complex melodic line with many beamed sixteenth notes and slurs. The left hand provides a steady accompaniment with eighth notes and chords.

49

Musical score for measures 49-53. The right hand continues with intricate sixteenth-note patterns, while the left hand maintains a consistent rhythmic accompaniment.

54

Musical score for measures 54-55. The right hand has a more melodic passage with slurs, and the left hand continues with its accompaniment.

56

Musical score for measures 56-59. The right hand features a series of chords and eighth notes, while the left hand has a more active accompaniment with eighth notes.

N.º 3. *Maestoso*

Musical score for measures 1-4 of N.º 3. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The right hand has a simple melodic line, and the left hand features a rhythmic accompaniment of chords and eighth notes. A piano (*p*) dynamic marking is present at the beginning.

5

Musical score for measures 5-8 of N.º 3. The right hand continues with its melodic line, and the left hand maintains its accompaniment.

9 Allegro

Musical score for measures 9-13. The piece is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

14

Musical score for measures 14-18. The right hand continues the melodic development with some rests, and the left hand maintains the accompaniment pattern.

65

Musical score for measures 65-71. The right hand has a more active melodic line, and the left hand accompaniment becomes more complex with some chords.

72 N.º 4. *SOST.*

Musical score for measures 72-75. Measure 72 is marked with a fermata and the tempo change to *SOST.* (Ritardando). The right hand has a melodic line with a fermata, and the left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment with slurs and accents.

76

Musical score for measures 76-80. The right hand has a melodic line with some rests, and the left hand accompaniment features chords and slurs.

81

Musical score for measures 81-85. The right hand has a melodic line with slurs and accents, and the left hand accompaniment features chords and slurs.

83

Musical score for measures 83-85. The piece is in 7/8 time and B-flat major. Measure 83 features a complex rhythmic pattern with sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Measure 84 continues this pattern with a dynamic marking of *ff*. Measure 85 concludes with a whole note chord.

N.º 5.
ALL.º molto
N.º 5.

Musical score for measures 86-90. The piece is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The tempo is marked *ALL.º molto*. The score consists of a series of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

6

Musical score for measures 91-95. The piece is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand features a steady eighth-note melody, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords.

11

Musical score for measures 96-100. The piece is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand has a melodic line with some slurs, and the left hand has a bass line with chords and some slurs.

18

Musical score for measures 101-105. The piece is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand features a melodic line with slurs, and the left hand has a bass line with chords and slurs.

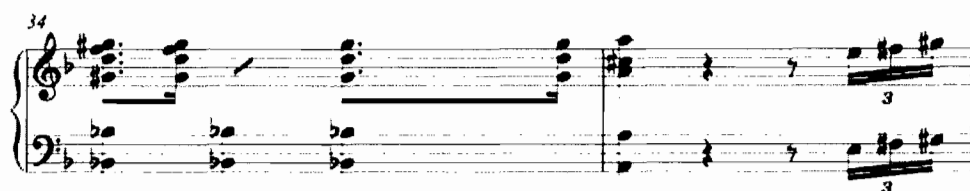
24

Musical score for measures 106-110. The piece is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The right hand has a melodic line with slurs, and the left hand has a bass line with chords and slurs.

29



34



36



ATTO 4.
N. 6.
Allegro



4



9



12

Musical notation for measures 12-14. The treble clef contains chords, and the bass clef contains a sixteenth-note pattern.

15

Musical notation for measures 15-17. The treble clef contains chords, and the bass clef contains a sixteenth-note pattern.

18

Musical notation for measures 18-20. The treble clef contains chords, and the bass clef contains a sixteenth-note pattern.

21

Musical notation for measures 21-24. The treble clef contains chords, and the bass clef contains triplets.

25

Musical notation for measures 25-27. The treble clef contains chords, and the bass clef contains chords.

28

Musical notation for measures 28-30. The treble clef contains chords, and the bass clef contains chords.

ATTO IV.
N.° 7.

ALLEGRO

N.° 8.

Allegretto moderato

Finally, it should be emphasized that the main purpose of Rizzuti's study is not to match the libretto to the music but to offer a contextual study which convincingly shows how Viganò's *Giovanna d'Arco* appeared in Milan during a highly politically charged

season, following uprisings in several European and Italian cities, and a renegotiation of the purposes of dramatic theatre that resulted in a Romantic aesthetic geared towards freedom and truth rather than the adherence to rules.²⁴⁶ In this regard, his study is a highly valuable contribution to the topic of this ballet's role in Risorgimento politics and the accompanying transitions in literature and theatre.

For an example of mime music in the 1830s I now turn to the manuscript score of *Furio Camillo* (Taglioni, Gallenberg, San Carlo, 1838) No. 5 of Act I. Involving the full orchestra, this seems to be an action or mime number. Beginning in F major, the strings perform a flowing Andante in four-part harmony with most lines actively moving, the next phrase involves the quiet chordal entry of horns and brass, followed by woodwinds. The phrasing, though regular, wanders, without clear antecedent and consequent connections, constantly moving on to a new texture, as the brief section ends with staccato violins and offbeat accents by the woodwinds, which stop suddenly for a three-measure rest and double bar. The sudden tempo change to Maestoso with emphatic orchestral unisons in *forte*, which follows, only lasts for four bars and again is followed by a fermata and double bar. The next section, an Allegro, shifts to D minor and a conversation between the strings and woodwinds for the first eight measures, followed by a flute solo. This section is the first with enough stability to be more likely danced rather than mimed, with strong rhythmic propulsion and the continuous unfolding of regular phrases. It does not last long as a fermata interrupts the flow (page 30). The next *dolce*

²⁴⁶ Alberto Rizzuti, "Vigano's 'Giovanna d'Arco' and Manzoni's 'March 1821'."

section with winds and strings transitions to a new solo section led by the clarinet marked *Più moderato* in B flat (though not marked by a key signature change), which culminates in an *Allegro* orchestral tutti and true change of key signature in the score. Due to the number of shifts and the relative instability, as compared to the other clearly danced numbers in this score, this was very likely the place for action and mime and this example demonstrates how orchestral scoring further provides important contrasts in mime music.²⁴⁷

In the azione mimica *Nicolò de' Lapi* (Fusco, Giorza, ca. 1850) the first eleven pages are entirely exemplary of mime and action music, frequently changing with interlinear directions throughout (though some of the music is more predictable and danceable at times). There are many sections, with little cadence or pause, as the action proceeds seamlessly for over 200 measures. One of the ways in which this extended mime scene is organized over the larger scale is by key. The opening where Nicolò and his family resolve to continue the fight to free Florence, despite the death of Nicolò's eldest son, is in D-flat major. The call to arms transitions to the illicit love affair between Nicolò's daughter Lisa and the enemy, which is in the key of E-flat major, C major, E major and back to E-flat major (a common key for love). The discovery of Lisa's enemy-lover and the ensuing conflict, anger, and action are predominantly in G major with many chromatic touches. Lisa's confession is in F-major and here banishment results in D

²⁴⁷ A clear match may be possible when compared to the scenario (housed at NYPL). Also, a study of this ballet is currently underway by one of the Ward collection curators and catalogers, Morris S. Levy, who won the 2009-2010 "John M. Ward Fellowship in Dance and Music for the Theatre." The title of the project is: "Furio Camillo: Robert Gallenberg, Salvatore Taglioni, and Ballet in 19th Century Naples."

minor, which prevails to the end of the scene as revenge is plotted. The only published selection in this piano score from Act I is entitled “azione mimica,” which may indicate that the entire act was mime and action. Table 8 below, which outlines the musical content of each section along with the interlinear directions, provides yet another example of extensive use of mime music at the mid-century.

Table 8: Action and Music for *Nicolò de' Lapi*

Music	Action
No. 1: Maestoso , D-flat major introductory phrases set up an aria-like texture: the accompaniment is begun first, then the melody begins, singing above the simple accompaniment (m. 1-40)	Nicolò è in conferenza cogli amici suoi, ad un suo cenno vien portato sopra un cuscino, il corsetto e la spada che appartenevano a Baccio suo figlio morto da pochi giorni in guerra secondo la promessa del padre ne cinge di quest' armi il minor figlio Bindo ramentandogli di adoperarle in difesa della patria (Nicolò is in a conference with his friends, and at his gesture a cushion is brought with the sword and breastplate that had belonged to his son Baccio who died in the war a few days before and according to his father's promise, the younger son Bindo encircles these arms remembering to use them in defense of the homeland)
Largo , D-flat major culmination of the aria-like theme, fermatas over the final chords that seem to lead to a cadence, but rather lead to a new key (m. 41-48)	Tutti giurano di difendere Firenze sino all'ultimo sospiro, Nicolò però ne frena l'ardore invitandoli anzi tutti all' preghiera (All swear to defend Florence until the last breath, Nicolò however, cools their fervor, inviting all to pray)
Andante , A major, <i>pianissimo</i> interlude in 3/4, leading to new section (m. 49-56)	
Allegro , 2/4 marked “Trombe” over fanfare on E-flat major, then the key signature changes to E-flat major, bombastic at first, fades to <i>pianississimo</i> and an E-flat cadence followed by a fermata (m. 57-95)	Squilli di trombe chiamano all' armi i cittadini e tutti corrono alla chiamata, meno le donne che si ritirano ne' superiori alloggiamenti (Trumpet fanfares call the people to arms and all run to the call, except the women who retire to the upper chambers)
Moderato , 4/4 new key of C major, staccato and quiet, syncopated interplay between bass and treble transitions into diminished tremolos which grow into the next section (m. 96-114)	Dopo pochi momenti scende Lisa e va al verone per gettar la scala di corda al suo sposo Troilo, un crescente temporale, la fa rientrare (After a few moments Lisa goes down to the balcony to through a rope ladder to her husband Troilo, but a growing storm makes her retreat)

Table 8 continued

Music	Action
Allegro , E major harmony with rising chromatic scales in the treble, which fall back down and quiet, then begins a new syncopated interplay between treble and bass, followed by a new surge in dynamic and register which leads into the next section (m. 115-130)	Troilo entra dalla finestra e corre fra le braccia di sua moglie, che lo rimprovera di non voler ancora abbracciarla sua causa, mentre egli combatte contro la patria stessa, egli promette di presto farlo (Troilo enters through the window and runs into the arms of his wife, who still blames him for not wanting to embrace his cause, while he fights against the country itself, he promises to do so immediately)
Agitato , E-flat major, 4/4 a new theme is established with syncopated melody (m. 131-141)	
Andante mosso , E-flat major still, but the accompaniment is in a majestic triplet figure with a sustained melody (m. 142-151)	
Allegro , E-flat major, very quiet, as the treble and bass alternate, marching along, building and escalating into frenzied G major section presumably with full orchestral forces, cadences to G for beginning of next section (m 152-172)	Calpestio, vengono Nicolò, ed i figli, Lisa ha appena il tempo di nascondere Troilo nel verone, Averardo, fratello di Lisa trova la scala di corda e sospetta qualche mistero, mentre Lisa turbata corre al verone, Nicolò stesso l'apre e si vede un guerriero a visiera calata, a viva forza gli e alzata innorridiscono scorgendo Troilo loro accerrimo nemico (Nicolò and his sons arrive on the scene, Lisa has just had the time to hide Troilo on the balcony, Averardo, Lisa's brother finds the rope ladder and suspects something, while Lisa, troubled runs to the balcony, Nicolò himself opens the door and sees a warrior with his visor down, then forcibly lifts it in horror to see Troilo, his enemy)
Andante sostenuto , G major, 4/4, staccato and rests punctuate this four measure transition (m. 173-176)	
Allegro , beginning in G major 4/4, modulating to C major (m. 177-181)	Troilo starebbe per cadere sotto i pugnali degli indignati fratelli di Lisa ma Nicolò vieta tale viltà e Troilo vien scacciato (Troilo is about to fall under the daggers of Lisa's indignant brothers but Nicolò prohibits such cowardice and expels him)
Andante maestoso , F major, quiet theme in the bass, moves to more troubled mood, B-flat minor and G-flat major (neapolitan) interjections bring in the next interlinear direction, which appears mid-way through the section (m. 182-208)	Lisa dopo aver confessato esser Troilo suo sposo e non amante viene dal padre nell' impeto dell' ira maledetta e condannata ad andar raminga lungi dalla casa paterna (Lisa after having confessed that Troilo is her husband and not her lover, is cursed by her father in a rush of anger and is doomed to wander far from her father's home)
Agitato , moves into D minor, 4/4 with legato melody over and agitated accompaniment (m. 209-217)	

Table 8 continued

Music	Action
Allegro molto , diminished tremolos (presumably) with a bass melody <i>marcato</i> , extended section enforcing the D minor harmony, cadences into next section (m. 218-241)	
Andante , quiet and sparse, with pulsing chords to close out the entire scene, finally, in D minor (m. 219-229)	Averardo, meditando una vendetta, si toglie da quel luogo (Averardo, contemplating revenge, leaves the scene)

In *Shakspeare* [sic]; *ovvero, Il sogno di una notte d'estate* (Casati, Giorza, 1855) the “Ronda delle Guardacaccia” also has a mixture of mime and dance-like music. An expository Andante (m. 1-8) is followed by an extended Agitato that dissolves into tremolos (m. 9-27), and a further lengthy section with a number of internal changes and sections of recitative-like melody (m. 28-60), followed by a short four-measure Adagio and a six-measure Allegro which is basically an ending flourish. The internal sections could have been a mix of dance and mime, for extended sections of music are dancelike. See Example 6, below.²⁴⁸

In *Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico* (Danesi, various, 1855) a brief scena di azione occurs at the end of the “Schottisch,” (Example 7 below).²⁴⁹ Similarly a dramatic event occurs toward the end of the Galop “lo strazio del cuore,” (the agony of the heart). After three pages of galloping appears a mysterious tremulous section in 6/8 marked

²⁴⁸ Paolo Giorza, *Shakspeare; ovvero, Il sogno di una notte d'estate. Ballo in tre parti del coreografo Giovanni Casati. Riduzione per pianoforte di P. Truzzi e G. Toja*, (Milano: Tito di Gio. Ricordi, [1855?]).

²⁴⁹ Enrico Bernardi, *Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico del coreografo Luigi Danesi. Musica dei maestri Bernardi e Scaramelli. Riduzione per pianoforte di Ettore Contrucci*, (Firenze: Bratti Sciabilli, [1855?]), 40 (NYPL).

Sostenuto followed by an Allegro agitato that ends the piece. It is likely that the intervening Sostenuto had dramatic import and accompanied mime (see Example 8).²⁵⁰

Example 6: *Shakspeare* [sic]; ovvero, *Il sogno di una notte d'estate* (Casati, Giorza, 1855) “Ronda delle Guardacaccia”

SHAKSPEARE **PARTE SECONDA** **Musica di**
BALLO AZIONE MIMICA. RONDA DEL GUARDACACCIA **PAOLO GIORZA**

N° 7.

Andante.

4 trem.

8 Agitato.

12

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 59.

16

cres. *p*

Musical score for measures 16-19. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. Measure 16 starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a *cres.* (crescendo) marking. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment of chords and eighth notes.

20

ff *pp*

Musical score for measures 20-24. Measure 20 begins with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The right hand has a more active melodic line with slurs. Measure 24 ends with a piano (*pp*) dynamic. The left hand continues with a steady accompaniment.

25

p

Musical score for measures 25-29. Measure 25 starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The right hand has a melodic line with some rests, while the left hand plays a consistent accompaniment of chords.

30

Musical score for measures 30-32. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth notes and slurs. The left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords.

33

Musical score for measures 33-35. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes and slurs. The left hand continues with a rhythmic accompaniment of chords.

36

rall. *pp stacc.*

Musical score for measures 36-39. Measure 36 includes a *rall.* (rallentando) marking. Measure 38 begins with a *pp stacc.* (pianissimo staccato) marking. The right hand has a melodic line with slurs, and the left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment.

40

ff

Musical score for measures 40-42. Measure 40 starts with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The right hand has a melodic line with slurs, and the left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment of chords.

43

46

49

53

58

63

This musical score is for a piano piece, spanning measures 43 to 63. It is written in a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The score is presented in a grand staff format, with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is characterized by a steady, rhythmic accompaniment in the bass, often consisting of eighth-note chords. The treble staff features a more melodic line with various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *ff* (fortissimo) are used throughout the piece. The score is divided into six systems, each beginning with a measure number (43, 46, 49, 53, 58, 63). The notation includes various musical symbols such as stems, beams, slurs, and articulation marks.

Musical score for Example 7, measures 66-68. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. Measure 66 shows a piano introduction with a treble clef staff containing a series of chords and a bass clef staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 67 features a treble clef staff with a melodic line starting on a half rest, marked *ppp*, and a bass clef staff with a few chords. Measure 68 continues the melodic line in the treble clef, marked *p*, with a bass clef staff accompaniment.

Example 7: *Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico* (Danesi, various, 1855) “scena di azione”

Scena d’Azione

Musical score for Example 7, measures 1-10. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. Measure 1 is marked *Allegro maest* and *p*. The treble clef staff has a melodic line starting on a half rest, and the bass clef staff has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Measure 2 continues the melodic line in the treble clef, marked *pp*. Measure 3 shows the treble clef staff with a melodic line starting on a half rest, and the bass clef staff with a few chords. Measure 4 continues the melodic line in the treble clef, marked *pp*. Measure 5 shows the treble clef staff with a melodic line starting on a half rest, and the bass clef staff with a few chords. Measure 6 continues the melodic line in the treble clef, marked *pp*. Measure 7 shows the treble clef staff with a melodic line starting on a half rest, and the bass clef staff with a few chords. Measure 8 continues the melodic line in the treble clef, marked *pp*. Measure 9 shows the treble clef staff with a melodic line starting on a half rest, and the bass clef staff with a few chords. Measure 10 continues the melodic line in the treble clef, marked *pp*.

Example 8: *Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico* (Danesi, various, 1855) excerpt from “Galop, lo strazio del cuore”

The image displays a musical score for a piano piece. The score is written in treble and bass clefs, with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The tempo/mood is marked "Sostenuto". The piece begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The first system (measures 1-4) features a complex texture with dense chords in the right hand and a more active bass line. The second system (measures 5-8) continues this texture, with the right hand playing a series of chords and the left hand providing a rhythmic accompaniment. The third system (measures 9-12) shows a continuation of the chordal texture, with the right hand playing a series of chords and the left hand providing a rhythmic accompaniment. The fourth system (measures 13-16) concludes the excerpt with a final chord in the right hand and a sustained bass line. The score is marked with measure numbers 0, 11, and 14.

Marco Visconti (Fusco, Bernardi, 1860) is a ballet based on the contemporary historical novel of the same name, published in the 1830s across Italy, authored by

Tommaso Grossi (Milano, Ferrario, 1834; Torino, C. Schiepatti, 1834; Napoli, 1835; Firenze: Vincenzo Battli e Figli, 1835; etc.). A scena mimica that lasts for nine pages of piano score is published in the selected pieces from the ballet. This is the scene in which Marco rescues Bice and reunites her with Ottorino, her husband, before dying. In No. 4 (più mosso) where Marco enters, angry, demanding that Peragrúa (a bad-intentioned steward) tell him where Bice is hidden, the B-flat major passage builds in intensity to a high reaching and sweeping melody. This only erupts into more threatening and diminished harmonies when Peragrúa hesitates and Marco forces him to tell the truth by pulling out a dagger (measures 18-24). A three-measure Adagio illustrates while Peragrúa points to a trap door, and begins No. 5. This is followed by a quick escalation and transition as Marco runs searching through the underground chambers, and encounters armed men who fling spears at him. The mood distinctly changes with the onset of a new key, G major, and a noise is heard from inside as a crowd of people appear (beginning of No. 6). Just after Marco points Ottorino to the place where his wife, Bice, is hidden, a calm descends as a bass melody marked “meno” is accompanied by pulsing chords. This leads into the final section of music. The greatest change in the music occurs as Marco, who is in agony, unites Ottorino and Bice to a sweet aria in G major and triple, marked “con gran anima.” As soon as this section builds, it cascades, marked twicfold with “dolce” and several fermatas before Marco draws his last breath (measure 49). This is followed by a coda in G major that ends the scene and the ballet. See Example 9, below.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ Enrico Bernardi, *Marco Visconti; ballo storico del coreografo Federico Fusco* [piano

Example 9: *Marco Visconti* (Fusco, Bernardi, 1860) No. 5 and No. 6

No. 5
Adagio Egli addita la botola.
Allegro mosso Marco corre a scovire il sotterraneo.

5 ma nella stanza s'inoltrano vari armati, i quali scagliano i lor fermi contro Marco.

9

13

17 Odesi rumor interno.

21 No. 6
Irrompono i popolani.

24

28

32 Marco addita ad Ottorino ove celasi Bice.

37 mf *Meno*

42

46



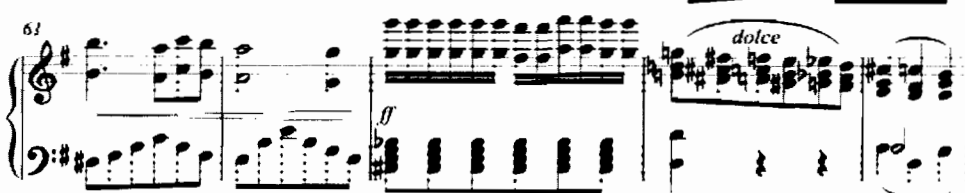
50 **Moderato** Marco agonizzante, unice Ottorino e Bice.
con gran anima



55 *pp*



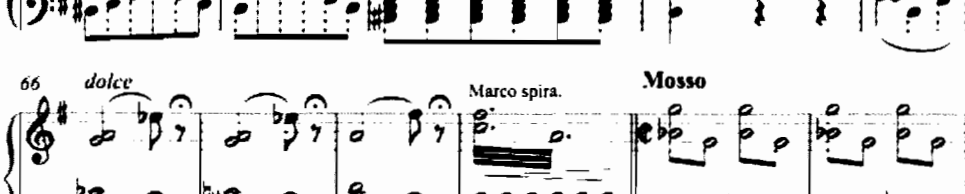
61 *ff* *dolce*



61 *ff* *dolce*



66 *dolce* Marco spira. **Mosso**



72



The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piano accompaniment. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The first system begins at measure 77, the second at 81, and the third at 85. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are also dynamic markings such as 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte) scattered throughout the score. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs at the end of the third system.

In *La Contessa di Egmont*, Act II (Rota, Giorza, 1861) a mazurka lesson takes place in Act II in a luxurious room at the house of the Countess of Egmont. First however, the contessa enters through a secret door to undress from her disguise of poor clothing and get back into her proper lady's attire. This is accompanied by many interlinear directions that occur during the "normal" dance music. This shows that mime occurred also in places where the music was not the typical stop-and-start sort of mime music. Indeed, there are many examples of interlinear directions occurring alongside music that is danceable, indicating that in certain situations, the music did not have to speak or illustrate. I suspect that these situations were perfectly clear to audiences, like the hurried change out of a disguise described above.

In ballets as late as *Brahma* (Monplaisir, dall'Argine, 1868), mime music was just as erratic as in ballets at the opening of the century. In Act III, after a *pas de deux* the

opening of a mimed scene reads: “Brahma believes he has reached the right moment to declare his love to Mary, who rejects him with contempt. He is annihilated and flees dragged by Padmana.”²⁵² In Example 10 below we see the first section showing Brahma’s optimism, followed by his dashed hopes and sadness (expressed in an E minor aria-like section). Intervening is a section that was likely an instrumental recitative that accompanied a particular mimed passage.²⁵³

Example 10: *Brahma* (Monplaisir, dall’Argine, 1868), Act III, “Dopo il passo a due”

AZIONE MIMICA: Brahma crede giunte il momento propizio di dichiarare il suo amore a Mary la quale con disprezzo lo rifiuta. Egli annichilito fugge trascinato da Padmana.

²⁵² The interlinear directions read: (Dopo Il passo a due) “Brahma crede giunte il momento propizio di dichiarare il suo amore a Mary la quale con disprezzo lo rifiuta. Egli annichilito fugge trascinato da Padmana.” See: Costantino Dall’Argine, Ippolito Giorgio Monplaisir, and F. Almasio, *Brahma: ballo in un prologo e sei atti*, (Milano: F. Lucca, 1868), 50-51. (NYPL and HTC)

²⁵³ Ibid.

13

Musical score for measures 13-18. The piece is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. Measures 13-18 feature a complex rhythmic pattern with sixteenth and thirty-second notes, often beamed together. The right hand has a melodic line with grace notes, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment. The key signature is G major.

19 **Meno mosso**

Musical score for measures 19-27. The tempo marking is **Meno mosso**. Measures 19-27 show a change in texture. The right hand has a more melodic and lyrical line, while the left hand continues with a rhythmic accompaniment. The key signature remains G major.

28

Musical score for measures 28-34. Measures 28-34 feature a prominent triplet accompaniment in the left hand. The right hand has a melodic line with some grace notes. The key signature is G major.

35

Musical score for measures 35-38. Measures 35-38 continue the triplet accompaniment in the left hand. The right hand has a melodic line with some grace notes. The key signature is G major.

39

Musical score for measures 39-42. Measures 39-42 continue the triplet accompaniment in the left hand. The right hand has a melodic line with some grace notes. The key signature is G major.

Music for Dancing: Grotteschi, National Dances, Ballabile, Solos, *Pas de deux*

Introduction

As Marian Smith writes in *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle*, the celebration is the perfect rationale for dancing, and thus many ballets feature a celebration of some sort. Observing this trend in Viganò's ballets, Dalmonte found that the musical form of "theme and variations" is a frequent type used for danced numbers involving both soloists and groups of dancers. I also found that in early nineteenth-century Italian ballets the group dances, called ballabile, were often danced to a theme and variations. For example, Viganò employs a theme by Paisiello and five variations for an Act I ballabile in *Giovanna d'Arco* (1821, various composers). The cheerful A-major theme in duple is in binary form with a repeat of the final eight measure closing. (The use of music by a composer as dated at Paisiello was atypical, however, for Viganò.) Other "classical" forms, usually those with internal repeats such as the rondo, were also used for danced portions of ballets in the first third of the century. Finally, the dances of the grotteschi, discussed below, followed a form that was determined by the choreography, consisting of a series of contrasting sections divided by transition music for the "antrè" during which various dancers likely entered and exited the stage. These pieces actually designated for the grotteschi, a specifically Italian convention, disappeared after the 1820s and the passing of Viganò, though their style was absorbed and lasted to the mid-century.

Later in the century, popular ballroom dances such as the mazurka, galop, polka and waltz were used for ballabile and generally for the danced sections. In fact, the style

and musical language of the danced music changes greatly by the mid-century, and these stylistic changes are much more obvious in dance music than in mime music. From the sources examined for this dissertation, nearly all of the numbers in a ballet, whether mimed or danced, are given classic Italian tempo markings (andante, allegro, largo, maestoso, etc.) But, by the mid-century an addition to the tempo marking was requisite as waltzes, polkas, galops and mazurkas were identified as such in the scores (in the same location as the tempo marking).²⁵⁴

National or character dances, though present in early ballets, became increasingly important in the 1830s and were either incorporated into the ballabile, or were justified by the setting or a particular celebration.²⁵⁵ The waltz, polka, galop and mazurka, though rooted in national dance, soon became stylized with academic steps and were requisite numbers to be danced to regardless of a ballet's setting or the nationality of the dance.

²⁵⁴ The exception to this trend from classically oriented pieces such as the "theme and variations" to the ballroom and national dances is the polonaise, which appears in ballets from time to time even pre-dating the nineteenth century, and was already present in Baroque dance. For example, a "Polonese" or "Polonaise" is found in the 1821 ballet *La Donna del Bosco* (Zannini, Msaldinádegen, 1821) discussed below, and in the 1823 ballet *Attide e Cloe* (Taglioni, Carlini, San Carlo). Here the "Polonese" is part of the *pas de deux* performed by the Taglioni couple (discussed in the section on *pas de deux*, beginning on page 152).

²⁵⁵ These are written about most extensively by Lisa Arkin and Marian Smith in "National Dance in the Romantic Ballet." Much of the material for their study is from the French romantic ballet, but I have found that their conclusions apply to the Italian ballet, despite distinct performance contexts for French and Italian ballet during the period 1800-1870. See: Lisa C. Arkin and Marian Elizabeth Smith, "National Dance and the Romantic Ballet," In *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet*, ed. Lynn Garafola, (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997), 11-68.

This, of course, relates to the fact that these dances were performed and enjoyed by the public at balls.²⁵⁶

In some ballets, especially those of mezzo carattere, the plot merely provides a series of “excuses” to dance. While a relatively simple plot with mostly dancing is not typical for many of the ballets and ballet music studied for this dissertation, I suspect that this is due to the fact that little of the ballet music I studied was actually from the second, “lighter” ballet—the ballet di mezzo carattere. For example, in the previously mentioned ballet, *La Donna del Bosco* (Zannini, Msaldinádegen, 1821) all of Act V is dancing (in celebration of a marriage, of course). The sequence of dances Nos. 23 – 28, with unnumbered finale pieces, proceeds as is shown in Table 9, below.

This sequence of dances, while more extended than in many ballets, including especially those of Viganò, contains many of the types of dance one would expect in a ballet from the first third of the century: various groupings and solos, the Polonoise and a number for the grotteschi. Though orchestration is discussed at the end of this chapter, note that the scoring is varied between numbers. Noticeably ornate soloistic writing accompanies the terzetto for the primi ballerini, possibly highlighting the dancers’ virtuosity as well (this feature is further discussed throughout the examples below).

²⁵⁶ Social dancing in Italy during the nineteenth century has been fairly well studied. See for example the work of Fabio Mòllica, including *La danza di società nell'Italia dell'800: un primo studio*, Vol. 1, *I libri della società di danza*, (Bologna: Associazione culturale società di danza, 1995); *Il valzer dei maestri: storia ottocentesca di una danza*, Vol. 5, *I libri della Società di danza*, (Modena: Associazione culturale Società di danza, 2005); and *L'abito da ballo in Italia nell'ottocento, I libri della Società di Danza* (Modena: Associazione Culturale Società di Danza, 2006), the latter which is full of illustrations from fashion journals that demonstrate the trends of party and ball attire throughout the century.

Table 9: Sequence of Danced Numbers for *La Donna del Bosco*, Act V

Number	Title	Key / Meter	Tempo	Orchestration
No. 23	Concerto	F major, 2/4	Allegro	vn1, vn2, va, ob, fl1, fl2 cl, bsn, tpt, (bass)
No. 24	Passo a due	A major, 4/4	Moderato	vln1, vln2, va, ob1, ob2, fl1, fl2, hn, bsn, (bass)
No. 25	Passo a due 2° Ballerini	F major, 2/4 >> F# minor	Largo >> Allegro	vln1, vln2, va, fl, ob, cl1, cl2, hn, bsn, (bass)
No. 26, by Nicolò Mirabella attached to next		B-flat major, 2/4	Allegretto, violins play 'a punto d'arco'	vln1, vln2, va, bsn1, bsn2, (bass)
No. 27 attached to next		F major, 2/4	Allegro	vln1, vln2, va, fl, ob, cl, hn, bsn, (bass)
No. 28*	(likely Grotteschi, see note below)	B-flat major, 2/4	Moderato	hn, cl1, cl2, fl1, fl2, vln1, vln2, va, bsn, (bass)
	Passo a due	F major, 3/4	Andante maestoso (?) (Intro, adagio, allegretto)	vln1, vln2, va, fl, ob, cl, hn, tpt, bsn, (bass)
** (different copiest, inserted?)	Terzetto Primi Ballerini	B-flat major, 3/4 — 2/4	Andante Sostenuto (ornate wind solos (esp. flute) — Allegretto (lengthy, some internal repeats)	fl, ob, cl, hn, tpt, vln1, vln2, va, bsn, (bass)
*** (back to previous copiest)	Polonoise finale	B-flat major, 3/4		vln1, vln2, va, fl, ob, cl, bsn, hn, tpt, basso

*No. 28 contains a series of solos, probably for the Grotteschi: solo 1 (16 bars), solo 2 (16), antrè (16 bars), solo 3 (16 bars), solo 4 (16 bars), antrè 1 (16 bars), solo 5 (40 bars), coda (77 bars) each section features a varied approach in texture and musical ideas, the entire piece segues to the next number.

Grotteschi

Italy was known for its grotteschi—dancers who specialized in “character, comic, and ‘grotesque’ roles and were known for their vigorous athleticism and technical virtuosity.”²⁵⁷ The following review of Viganò’s *Giovanna d’Arco* (1821) illustrates the

²⁵⁷ Lynn Garafola and Patrizia Veroli, New York Public Library, “500 years of Italian Dance,” <http://www.nypl.org/research/lpa/italiandance/over.html> (accessed April 2007-Nov. 2009).

awareness that movement style indicated character (in this case, Giacomo is a wealthy farmer), and draws the parallel to painting that is frequently mentioned by scholars studying the relationship between ballet and other arts for the period:

I do not know whether someone noticed Giacomo's unusual style in all his postures. His acting is not that of standard pantomimists, but a set of gestures and postures picturesquely exaggerated, like that of some painters of comic scenes, especially from the Flemish school. With his contortions and agitation this father seems to allude to the father of ancient comedy, Pantalone, but with all the variety of pantomime and not with the monotony of masks.

Non so se alcuno abbia notato lo stile singolare di Giacomo in tutti i suoi atteggiamenti. La sua azione non è già quella de' pantomimi comuni, ma un complesso di gesti, e attitudini pittorescamente esagerate, come è il carattere di alcuni pittori di quadri comici, massime fra i Fiamminghi. Par che questo padre alluda quasi, col suo contorcersi, e agitarsi, al padre della commedia antica, il Pantalone, ma colla varietà dell'arte pantomimica, non colla monotonia delle maschere.²⁵⁸

Figure 3 below shows acrobats, a Pulcinella, and grotteschi (at the middle) whose dancing appears vigorous.²⁵⁹ The woman appears to be *en pointe*. The lower section of the image shows audience members in their boxes at the theatre.

²⁵⁸ Cited in Rizzuti: *Annali del Teatro della città di Reggio*. Anno 1826 . . . (Bologna, 1827), 56. Rizzuti writes, "compiled with slightly different titles by Ritorni from 1825 to 1840, the Annali were the basis for his 1838 monograph on Viganò."

²⁵⁹ Thomas, Antoine Jean-Baptiste, and François Le Villain (lithographer). "Polichinelle et grotesques." Lithograph, line border: 9.2 x 28.9 cm.; entire sheet: 28 x 42.2 cm. New York: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1532559), [1823] (used with permission).

Figure 3: Polichinelle et grotesques



Fig. 3. Theatre

The best primary source for information about grotteschi is Gennaro Magri's *Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Dancing* of 1779, as Magri himself was a famous primo ballerino grottesco.²⁶⁰ Viganò and Gioia were also trained in the Italian grottesco

²⁶⁰ See: Gennaro Magri, Irmgard E. Berry, and Annalisa Fox, *Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Dancing*, translated by Mary Skeaping, (London; Princeton, N.J.: Dance Books, Distributed in the USA by Princeton Book), 1988. See also: Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Bruce Alan Brown, *The Grotesque Dancer on the Eighteenth-century Stage: Gennaro Magri and his World*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), (especially Chapter 6 by Linda J. Tomko).

tradition. The grotteschi performed many quick steps, such as *caprioles* (done from an open position by Italian dancers), *pirouettes* on one foot with many rotations, springing *pas échappé*, and *pas brisé*. They would perform leaping, interlaced and beaten steps, and may even use a false position where the legs are turned in (as opposed to French turnout and Spanish neutral). The grotteschi do steps on a grand scale, with more exaggerated movements than was common for academic style dancing.²⁶¹

The distinction made by Magri between the types of dancers is similar to what Blasis would write decades later in the 1820s, (and Blasis fiercely defends each type as requiring equal skill).²⁶² A particularly illustrative example comes from a comment in Magri's chapter "Of the Use of the Arms:"

The true *Ballerini*, whether *Seri* or *Comici* must equally be in general possession of everything pertaining to dancing; no real distinction can be made between one Character and another, for if it is difficult to dance the *serio* it is no easier to dance the truly light comic. Should the *Grottesco* be less skilled in the art of expressing through gestures the Pantomime and comic Action than the *Serio* to express the same in Tragedy? ... a tormented Orpheus, frenzied by the loss of Euridice, should he not show the state of his heart, just as the Comic shows his in the character of the enamoured Mirtillo? Is not the language of the enamoured the same? Are not the Heroes subject to the amorous longings with the same anguish as are the Shepherds? Pastoral

²⁶¹ For an excellent summation and discussion of the dance style of the Grotteschi according to Magri, see Linda J. Tomko, "Magri's Grotteschi," in *The grotesque dancer on the eighteenth-century stage: Gennaro Magri and his world*, ed. Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Bruce Alan Brown, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 151-72. See also: Salvatore Bongiovanni, "Gennaro Magri e il "ballo grottesco"," in *Creature di Prometeo: il ballo teatrale: dal divertimento al dramma: studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*, ed. Giovanni Morelli, Vol. 23, *Studi di musica veneta*, (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996), 239-246.

²⁶² For a summation of Blasis' approach to stylistic differentiation, see Flavia Pappacena and Carlo Blasis, "Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis," 259.

dancing, like that of the Artisans, has always been the *Grottesco*'s specialty and why should it not be in the future?²⁶³

The distinction between dancers would remain in printed Italian programs even as it eroded in practice in other areas, especially in Paris. Pappacena, writing about Blasis' early career in Paris describes dancers converging upon the "dynamic and virtuoso *demi-caractère* style, rejecting both the *grave* style, symbol of the *ancien régime*, and the old *grotesque* style..."²⁶⁴ (Here the *grave* style was only for serious genres and tragedy while the *grotesque* was for comic.) The Italian *grotteschi*, whose style and technique were apparently distinct from the French *grotesque* (which was absorbed into the *demi-caractère*), visibly remained a part of the *ballo* for the first part of the century, as is evidenced in the scores, before their style was then also absorbed especially into the ballets of *mezzo-carattere*. One might expect the *grottesco* style in the case of any rustic character or supernaturals such as demons, furies and the like. *Grotteschi*, as Hansell writes, were "probably especially adept in mime," and "played character roles."²⁶⁵

The Italian *grotteschi* are even linked to the development of the new technique *en pointe* and the development of the *arabesque* (a term first used in relation to dance only at the turn of the century), both all-important features of nineteenth century ballet technique.²⁶⁶ The *arabesque* was, according to Blasis, an important stop at the end of a

²⁶³ Magri, Berry and Fox, "Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Dancing," 153.

²⁶⁴ Pappacena, "Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis," 280.

²⁶⁵ Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 245.

²⁶⁶ One of the earliest to dance *en pointe* was Amalia Brugnoli-Samengo, who was the daughter of two *primi grotteschi*. See Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," 278.

sequence of steps and Falcone found that it was also seen as an expressive gesture.²⁶⁷

Furthermore, the Italian usage of the term ‘grotesque’ (grottesco) can be linked with the ‘arabesque’ through description of fine art painting from the mid-eighteenth-century as the figurative and decorative arts influenced the creation of new positions, especially a heightened position of the arms.²⁶⁸ Even the training of Enrico Cecchetti (1850-1928) was influenced by the Italian grotesque tradition, which he writes about, reminiscing about the ballet *La dea del Valhalla* (La Scala, 1870):

...as for those poor and modest “32 pirouette turns” it is no insult if the great *maestro* [Giovani Casati] regarded them as acrobatics, that was the period when the grotesque dancers were suppressed, even though they had the honour of sharing the stage and receiving the applause of the same audiences. Once they were suppressed the new generation did their best to adapt those surprising grotesque steps to the rules of pure classical art.²⁶⁹

The music for the grotteschi is labeled as such in the manuscript and printed scores and is always in some variation of an allegro tempo. In general, grand introductory

²⁶⁷ See: Francesca Falcone, "The Evolution of the Arabesque in Dance," *Dance Chronicle* 22, no. 1 (1999): 71-117. On page 72 Falcone writes: "...much value was given to the moment of the pose, its pause or equilibrium, which at that time had a precise role in the dance, thanks to new training methods that had as their culminating point the invention and perfection of pointework. Another determining aspect was the strong gestural and expressive connotation of *arabesques*."

²⁶⁸ The mixture of the “Italian grotesque, new society dances and and popular and national dances” resulted in a new pose with the “trunk freely placed outside the axis of gravity and arm freely raised above the haed.” (Pappacena, "Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis," 298). The *arabesque* also has roots in the *pantomime pas de deux*. See Pappacena’s chapter, “The *arabesque* and the iconographic model of classical art,” in *Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis, 1820-1830 (Carlo Blasis' treatise on dance, 1820-1830)*, (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2005), 293-31, especially pages 297-98, 300, and n. 20.

²⁶⁹ Enrico Cecchetti’s letter to his son on the 18 May 1923, quoted in Pappacena, "Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis," 311, n. 16.

phrases are followed by a theme and a loose series of variations that are distinguished by changes in texture and sometimes key for each of the soloists. The music, with speedy and brilliant passagework that suggests the types of steps mentioned above (*caprioles*, *pirouettes*, springing *pas échappé*, *pas brisé*, leaping, interlaced and beaten steps) is sprinkled with fermatas as well, where, possibly, the dancer would strike a challenging pose or perfectly finish off a difficult series of *pirouettes*.²⁷⁰ The solos average 16-32 measures and are usually followed by a coda with an increase in the tempo (as in the examples below from *I Giuochi Istmici*, No. 40, and *Die Spanier auf der Insel Christina*, No. 3, both by Viganò with music by Weigl and others, first performed in Vienna).²⁷¹

These features of the music for grotteschi are similar to those later written for variations performed within the *pas de deux*. It is highly likely that the grotesque tradition influenced the development of the *pas de deux*, though this has been little discussed in the literature to date (Pappacena briefly mentions the link – see my later discussion of the *pas de deux*, page 251, and footnote 316). The musical and danced structure, as well as the

²⁷⁰ This is purely my suggestion for the relationship between music and dance for these fermatas, and is informed by my experience as a dancer and knowledge that a pause in music, especially a cadence and rest with a fermata, indicates a cadence also in the dance. Support for this hypothesis comes from Blasis, who advised that the balance of the preparatory plié and subsequent leap, “must respect the music without any delaying, to avoid a brusque, ‘disagréable’ (graceless) acceleration of the ascent.” (cited in Pappacena, “Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis,” 285.) Further support for this may be found in Falcone’s study of the *arabesque*. See the passage quoted above in footnote 267.

²⁷¹ See the piano reduction for *I giuochi istmici* in Louis-Luc Loiseau de Persuis, [*Noverre and Viganò ballets: librettos and scores*], *Cia Fornaroli Collection*. [ca. 1762-ca. 1817] (Paris, Chez Boieldieu, jeune [1818?]): 87-93.

virtuosity and inclusion of solos, are the striking similarities that certainly beg for more research.²⁷²

A particular feature that occurs across sources is the tremulous opening flourish. A trill-like oscillation between two notes creates a brilliant effect that may have been indicative of the type of steps performed (possibly ‘beating’ of the feet or the many rotations of a *pirouette*). This is present in Examples 11a and 11b below.²⁷³ Note the pauses in measures 13 and 14 of Example 11a, where the dancer likely paused in a particular pose of gesture.

The manuscript score for *Federico, re di Prussia* shown below in Example 12 (Garzia, unknown composer and date)²⁷⁴ also gives us an idea of the changes in instrumentation that occurred within a *grotteschi* number.²⁷⁵ Note the bassoon and violin passagework after the opening phrases. The series of solos followed by coda can be found in this Allegro: primo solo—primo Antrè—secondo solo—3rd solo—Antrè—4th solo—5th solo—Antrè—coda (each is solo is around 18 measures). A pompous trading

²⁷² The statement by Cecchetti, cited above in footnote 269, describing how dancers in the mid-century absorbed the Italian grotesque style, coincides with the evidence of danced variations within *pas de deux*, at least in my study of the musical sources from the mid-century.

²⁷³ Louis-Luc Loiseau de Persuis, [Noverre and Viganò ballets: librettos and scores] [contents include: libretto for Salvatore Viganò's ballet, *Il principe Fortunio* (Milano, G. Pirola, 1817); and piano scores for Viganò's ballets *I giuochi istmici* and *Der Spanier auf der Insel*, music by J. Weigl (Vienna, n.d.)] Cia Fornaroli Collection, (Paris, Chez Boieldieu, jeune [1818?]: Chez Boieldieu, [ca. 1762-ca. 1817]) (NYPL).

²⁷⁴ Two more ballets bearing the same title were composed by Giovanni Galzerani in 1811 and Domenico Serpos in 1821.

²⁷⁵ Urbano Garzia, "Federico secondo, re di Prussia; ballo in cinque atti composto dal Sigr. Urbano Garzia." Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York (NYPL).

Example 11a: *I giuochi istmici*, (Viganò, Weigl, et al.) Act VI, No. 40 “Grotteschi,”
Allegro (opening)

Grotteschi.
Allegro.
No. 40.



The opening of the piece is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (D major). The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes and rests.

7



Measures 7-11 show a continuation of the rhythmic pattern. The right hand has a steady eighth-note accompaniment, and the left hand has a similar eighth-note accompaniment with occasional rests.

12



Measures 12-17 introduce a new melodic motif in the right hand. The left hand continues with eighth-note accompaniment. A piano (*p*) dynamic marking is present in measure 14.

18



Measures 18-22 feature a more complex melodic line in the right hand with slurs and ties. The left hand continues with eighth-note accompaniment, including some chords.

Example 11b: Die Spanier auf der Insel Christina, (Viganò, Weigl et al.) No. III,
“Grotteschi,” Allegro moderato (opening)

N° III.
Grotteschi
Allegro
moderato

The musical score is written for piano and treble clef. It begins with the title "N° III. Grotteschi Allegro moderato". The first system shows the opening measures with dynamic markings *p* and *f*. The second system starts at measure 4, featuring a complex rhythmic pattern in the treble clef and a bass line with *p* and *f* markings. The third system starts at measure 8, with a bass line marked *p*. The fourth system starts at measure 13, ending with a wavy line in the treble clef, likely representing a tremolo effect.

Example 12: *Federico, re di Prussia* (Garzia, unknown composer and date) transcription of the opening of the Grotteschi, (manuscript score)

The image displays a musical score for the opening of the Grotteschi from the opera *Federico, re di Prussia*. The score is arranged in two systems of staves. The left system includes parts for Violini (Violins), Viole (Viola), Flauti (Flutes), Oboe, Clarinetti (Clarinets, marked 'con Oboe'), Corni in E (Horns in E), Trombe in C (Trumpets in C), Fagotti (Bassoons), and Bassi (Basses). The right system includes parts for Vln. I (Violin I), Vln. II (Violin II), Vla. (Viola), Fl. (Flute), Ob. (Oboe), Cl. (Clarinet), Hrn. (Horn), Tpt. (Trumpet), Bsn. (Bassoon), and Cb. (Cello). The music is written in a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and a 3/4 time signature. The score shows the initial measures of the piece, with various instrumental entries and accompaniments.

13

Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Horn, Trumpet, Bassoon, Cello

Viol. I
Viol. II
Vla. *col. 2da vo.*
Fl.
Ob.
Cl.
Hn.
Tpt.
Bsn.
Cb.

This system contains measures 13, 14, and 15. The Violin I part begins with a melodic line in measure 13. The Violin II part has a more active, rhythmic accompaniment. The Viola part is marked *col. 2da vo.* and has a melodic line. The woodwinds (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Horn, Trumpet, Bassoon, and Cello) provide harmonic support with chords and some melodic fragments.

9

Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Horn, Trumpet, Bassoon, Cello

Viol. I
Viol. II
Vla.
Fl.
Ob.
Cl.
Hn.
Tpt.
Bsn.
Cb.

This system contains measures 9, 10, and 11. The Violin I part has a melodic line. The Violin II part has a rhythmic accompaniment. The Viola part has a melodic line. The woodwinds (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Horn, Trumpet, Bassoon, and Cello) provide harmonic support with chords and some melodic fragments.

18

Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Fl.
Ob.
Cl.
Hn.
Tpt.
Bsn.
Cb.

This system contains two measures of music. The first measure (measure 16) shows the beginning of a phrase with various instruments. The second measure (measure 17) continues the phrase. The third measure (measure 18) features a large, complex chordal structure in the strings, indicated by a large oval encompassing the Vln. I, Vln. II, and Vla. staves. The woodwinds and brasses have specific rhythmic and melodic parts.

16

Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Fl.
Ob.
Cl.
Hn.
Tpt.
Bsn.
Cb.

This system contains two measures of music. The first measure (measure 16) shows the beginning of a phrase with various instruments. The second measure (measure 17) continues the phrase. The third measure (measure 18) features a large, complex chordal structure in the strings, indicated by a large oval encompassing the Vln. I, Vln. II, and Vla. staves. The woodwinds and brasses have specific rhythmic and melodic parts.

between strings and oboe and horns in the first solo gives way to flutes and strings accompanied by bassoons with swirling scalar passages in the second, a hopping oboe solo accompanied by bass and bassoon in the third, and so on. (A further example of the musical-choreographic form may be found in the Table 9: Sequence of Danced Numbers for *La Donna del Bosco*, Act V, by Zannini, Msaldinádegen, 1821, page 196.)

National Dances

National dances were certainly a huge attraction for audiences, who craved the exotic costumes and new and diverse steps. Yet, musical rendering of nationality in Italian ballet music from 1800-1870 was not always depicted in an overt way. There is strong evidence that the grotesque dancers often portrayed cultural others (in the early part of the century), or “oltramontani,” as well as people of lower social rank, according to Linda Tomko. For example, the grotteschi played pastoral and rustic characters from various Italian regions.²⁷⁶ We can see the early signs of the popularity of national dance in Blasis’ devoting a whole chapter to this subject in his *Code of Terpsichore* (1828), in which he includes dances from Africa and the Americas. He national dance even more extensively in his *Notes Upon Dancing* of 1847 and a lesser-known treatise published in Moscow in 1864.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ Tomko, “Magri’s *Grotteschi*,” 168-171.

²⁷⁷ As Arkin and Smith point out, Blasis only devoted a paragraph to the topic in his 1820 *Traité élémentaire, théorique et pratique de l’art et la danse*. Influenced by Herder, Blasis recommended a study of the language and character of various nations in order to tap into their “essential qualities.” See Arkin and Smith, “National Dance and the Romantic Ballet,” 31- 25.

The national dances that complemented the stage sets and costumes and provided local color were all-important. By the mid-century in Paris *and* Italy certain dances such as the mazurka and polka had become ballroom dances, and would appear in ballets regardless of setting. They were requisite to any sequence of group dances in a ballet and provided contrast to the mimed scenes. National dances on Parisian stages, according to Arkin and Smith, were “often characterized by driving rhythms, speedy footwork, and partnering that privileged rapid turns over stately arabesques, sustained poses, and adagio movements.”²⁷⁸ This technical description reminds us, once again, of the Italian grotteschi, whose style was incorporated into national and character dance in Italy.

Nationality was supposed to be authentic and realistic, in accordance with romantic era values, and certain star dancers (such as Marie Taglioni) and choreographers made efforts at learning from genuine sources.²⁷⁹ Hand in hand with the quest for apparent authenticity went the inevitable stylization of the national dances, with easily recognizable moves, stylistic markers and props. This was combined with a theory of broadly generalized temperaments (Northern or Southern, according to Blasis).²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 29. The authors draw especially from the writings of the period dance critique Theophile Gautier.

²⁷⁹ Both Marie Taglioni and Fanny Elssler studied with Russian teachers to learn Russian style, Marie Taglioni learned her mazurka in Poland and had an authentic costume made for her. Bournonville and Petipa worked with various natives before composing specific national dances. Less is known about choreographers and dancers who worked predominantly in Italy, though Blasis’ treatises are a good indication of the approach to national dance in Italy. See Arkin and Smith, “National Dance and the Romantic Ballet,” 34-35.

²⁸⁰ Arkin and Smith, “National Dance and the Romantic Ballet,” 36-40. Bournonville’s system of temperament was in three parts: martial, voluptuous and chaste. European audiences recognized these temperaments as evidenced in the reviews cited by Arkin and Smith.

The Furlana

One overtly Italian national dance that carried over from the stage in the eighteenth century was the “furlana,” which enjoyed a bit of popularity early in the nineteenth century. Generally quick and in 6/8, this dance originated as a courtship dance in the late sixteenth century and was associated with the Venetian region. It appears in the ballets *Otello* and *Giovanna d’Arco* (Viganò, various composers, 1818, 1821) as well as *Gaudemberga* (Vestris?, c. 1822) and it was often reviewed favorably as one of the highlights of the ballet.²⁸¹ It even appears at the mid-century in ballets such as *Il Giuocatore* (Rota, Giorza, et al., 1854) and *Ballanda* (P. Taglioni, Hertel, 1863). Its appearance with the ever-popular waltzes, galops and mazurkas in these mid-century piano reductions indicates that it belongs in the realm of national and character dance types.

The furlana from Viganò’s *Otello* (1818) is by Gallenberg, and conforms to the general stylistic characteristics of the dance. While written in duple meter, the triplets of the right hand in the piano reduction give the piece the compound feel. Phrases are extremely regular and even sectioned off by double bars. The musical material is simple and highly repetitive. In this particular furlana the initial section, in E major, is in ABAB form and oscillates between I and V the entire time. The second section is in E minor and has the internal form ABCB. This is followed by a variation on the opening section,

²⁸¹ *Gaudemberga*’s name is similar to the 1823 ballet *Gundeberga* which played at La Scala and elsewhere with choreography by Gaetano Gioia and music by diversi autori, listed in Cambiasi’s chronology for La Scala. I have not investigated further similarities.

another trip to E minor, and final return to the E major material to close. In general, the rhythmic drive of the streaming triplets and emphasized phrase endings give this an obvious dance feel, while the straightforward structure and harmonies give it a slightly accentuated rustic or folk quality. In Example 13, below, I provide the first parts of sections 1 and 2.²⁸²

Example 13: *Otello* (Viganò, Gallenberg, 1818) Furlana, Allegro, m. 1-16 (AB of section 1), m. 33-49 (AB of section 2)

FURLANA PER FORTE PIANO NEL BALLO OTELLO

Allegro
No. 2

[section 1] *p*

7

14 [repeat of opening 16 bars] *p* [section 2]

22 *f*

²⁸² Salvatore Viganò, *Otello: gran ballo tragico dal Salvatore Viganò; musica di diversi rinomati autori; ridotto per cembalo solo*, (Milano: G. Ricordi, [1818?]). (NYPL)



The Tarantella

It is possible that the furlana was superseded by the extremely popular tarantella in the second and third decades of the century. A national dance from Italy, strongly associated with its southern Italian roots and with Naples, the tarantella is at once obvious as such, with its agitated 6/8 feel and rhythmic drive. As with other popular dances such as the Spanish “cachucha” linked with Fanny Elssler, this was extracted and sold in piano reduction, often advertising the famous dancer who performed it. Lithographs of famous dancers such as Sofia Fuoco, who danced the tarantella, were also popular (see below).

Nineteenth-century images of this dance show a variety of performance practices. An anonymous watercolor simply entitled “Tarantella” at the New York Public Library shows a man with a wide-brimmed straw hat, scarf stretched between both hands which are also holding castanets, and simple but colorful dress attire with a jacket and a sash about his waist. Behind him are mountains, trees and a volcano, showing the origins of this southern Italian dance.²⁸³ The available imagery often includes instruments such as castanets, tambourines, guitars, and even a cittern. The costume is usually rustic, with dancers barefoot at times, and a scene of hills and volcanoes is the norm. The dance may

²⁸³ This image was not available for reproduction due to a loss during recent data migration. It may be viewed at the digital gallery. See footnote 284, below.

be a solo, duet or group number. The costume and movement in these images give us an idea of the flair involved in this number and the instruments displayed may well have appeared with the dance, either on stage or in the orchestra.²⁸⁴

Figure 4 shows a more stylized approach to this dance, performed by Sofia Fuoco circa 1850.²⁸⁵ Here the costume and setting are not as obviously ethnic as in the above-described images, illustrating that national dances were stylized and performed as entertainment by soloists and the *corpo di ballo* alike, especially by the middle decades of the century.

Blasis writes in his *Notes Upon Dancing* (1846),

[The tarantella is] gay and somewhat voluptuous displaying in its music, steps, attitudes, the taste and temperament of those who invented it. Love and pleasure are conspicuous throughout every movement. Each gesture and motion are [sic] full of seductive grace...the woman tries, by the life and rapidity of her motions to excite the love of her partner, who, in turn endeavors to win her favour by his agility and his elegance, and tender gestures. The two dancers now unite, then separate, return, fly into each other's arms, again bound away, and by means of great variety of gesticulations, they exhibit alternately love, hatred, indifference, disdain, coquetry and inconstancy...Sometimes they hold hands, or the man kneels whilst the woman dances around him; he then rises, when she starts away, and he eagerly pursues.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Many images are available at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts and some are available as part of the New York Public Library's digital gallery. See: *Tarantella*. n.p., 1840. Original artwork, Picture, <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?1516000>.

²⁸⁵ Niccolo Sanesi, "Sofia Fuoco nella Tarantella," Color lithograph, including title and ornamental border, 30.5 x 22.5 cm.: Firenze, Lit. Ach. Paris, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515952) [1850] (used with permission).

²⁸⁶ As quoted in Arkin and Smith, "National Dance and the Romantic Ballet," 41, originally from: Carlo Blasis, *Notes upon Dancing, Historical and Practical*, trans. R. Barton, (London: M. Delaporte, 1847) 34-35.

Figure 4: Sofia Fuoco nella Tarantella



An apt example of a tarantella comes from *Otranto liberata* (Taglioni, Carlini, San Carlo, 1820). It was extracted and published separately, as was the case with many dance numbers in ballets published in Naples. In the scenario for this particular ballet we find that the music for pantomime and music for dancing are actually by separate composers: maestros Raimondi and Carlini, respectively. The tarantella took place in the fourth act and was danced by the primi ballerini and all of the participating students from the Royal School.²⁸⁷ (It is difficult to tell from reading the scenario exactly where in this act it took place.)

This is a typical tarantella in duple, marked Vivace, with the triplet subdivision and in A minor. The phrases are extremely regular and repetitive, with the form of the entire number as ABACABDABAEFG. The C section progresses through a variety of harmonies quickly, with many chromatic pitches and colorful chord changes. It is quasi-developmental in this way. The D section begins as another predictable repeated section with new material, but ends up wandering into G major and C major and a section marked “dolce” before retransitioning with many chromatic pitches back to A. The E section is marked by a change to A major, F is just new material in that key and G is the closing, complete with chromatic scales and bombastic arpeggios. It is not clear who

²⁸⁷ “Tarantella, eseguita da’ primi ballerini, e da tutti gli allievi delle Reali Scuole,” from page 6 of the scenario: Salvatore Taglioni, *Otranto liberata; ballo storico in cinque atti di Salvatore Taglioni... Rappresentato la prima volta in Napoli nel real Teatro S. Carlo, a 4. ottobre 1820... Napoli, Tip. Flautina, 1820, Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector, Libretti di ballo. no. 204, 1820. The main roles in this ballet are played by Salvatore Taglioni himself, Luigi Henry, and ‘Carlo’ Vestris. The primi ballerini (who danced in the Tarantella) did not play dramatic roles.*

danced when (amongst the students and primi ballerini named in the scenario). See Example 14 below for the opening to this Tarantella.²⁸⁸

Example 14: *Otranto liberata* (Taglioni, Carlini, San Carlo, 1820) “Tarantella”

Vivace

The musical score is presented in five systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The tempo is marked 'Vivace'. The first system begins with a piano (p) dynamic. The second system begins with a forte (f) dynamic. The third system begins with a piano (p) dynamic. The fourth system begins with a forte (f) dynamic. The fifth system concludes with a wavy line in both staves, indicating a tremolo effect.

²⁸⁸ Luigi Carlini, Luigi Dalla Casa, and Salvatore Taglioni, *Tarantella nel gran ballo Otranto liberata* [piano score] John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), (Napoli: Gius. Girard, 1820).

Other Characteristic or National Dances

Often there were no overt musical signifiers that a dance was meant to represent a certain nationality. The dances were simply catchy and rhythmically driven, and as the century progressed, presented some version of a popular ballroom dance (which, of course, was rooted in national dance). For example, the “Danza mimica Scozzese” from *Giovanna d’Arco* (Viganò, 1821) is not overtly Scottish sounding, though it does have a popular feel. Similarly, the “Scottisch, danza delle Ancelle” from *Gretchen* (Danesi, Scaramelli and others, 1855) is much like the polka that precedes it, though with many grace notes and more adventurous harmonies. “La Normandese” from *Iselda di Normandia* (1846) is like a polka, complete with accented second beats and increased animation in the final page with the marking “più mosso.”

While these three examples do not exhibit obvious national signifiers, they do all seem to be polka-like. The polka, which is first referenced in the 1830s but soon became one of the most popular ballroom dances of the nineteenth century, has murky origins (in terms of nationality and/or folk origins). Scholars have suggested that the polka is merely the “Scottische” and vice versa.²⁸⁹ It was likely introduced in Italy through French

²⁸⁹ Karl Horak has studied the confusion between these two dances and Friedrich Zorn suggests that the “Bavarian Polka,” also called also a “Rheinlander” was by 1850 appearing all over Europe as the “Scottische.” Others suggest that the polka is just a new name for the “Scottische.” See Karl Horak, “Schottische oder Polka: die vollkommene Verwirrung der Tanznamen” *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Volksliedwerkes* xxxviii (1989): 124-40; Friedrich Albert Zorn, *Grammatik der Tanzkunst, theoretischer und praktischer; Unterricht in der Tanzkunst und Tanzschreibkunst, oder Choregraphie. Nebst Atlas mit Zeichnungen und Musikalischen uebungs-Beispeilen mit Choregraphischer Bezeichnung und einem besondern Notenhäfte für den Musiker*. Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1887, 217. See also: Mòllica, “La danza di società nell’Italia dell’800: un primo studio,” 115-118. See also: Gracian Černušák, et al. “Polka.” In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*,

influence in the 1840s.²⁹⁰ Regardless, this lively dance is in a strongly emphasized duple meter with regular and often repeated eight-bar phrases, and was a commonly used format for dances from various nationalities, not just Polish, Czech or Scottish. Typical polka rhythms are given below²⁹¹ (in Example 15a) with an example of a polka from *Tutti coreografi; ossia un ballo nuovo* (Rota, Giorza, 1856) in Example 15b. Note the use of early polka rhythms in this number even in the mid-century example; later polkas had an upbeat and more dotted rhythms.²⁹²

Example 15a and 15b: Polka Rhythms and a Polka from *Tutti coreografi; ossia un ballo nuovo* (Rota, Giorza, 1856)



<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22020> (accessed May 2010). See also: Desmond F. Strobel, "Polka" In *The International Encyclopedia of Dance*, (Selma Jean Cohen and Dance perspectives foundation, 1998, 2005 by Oxford University Press, Inc.), *The International Encyclopedia of Dance: (e-reference edition)*, (Oxford University Press), Indiana University - Bloomington. <http://www.oxford-dance.com/entry?entry=t171.e1379> (accessed May 2010).

²⁹⁰ Mòllica, "La danza di società nell'Italia dell'800: un primo studio," 117.

²⁹¹ "Ex.1 Early polka rhythms," In *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/img/grove/music/F011548> (accessed June 2, 2010).

²⁹² See: Gracian Černušák, et al. "Polka." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22020> (accessed June 2, 2010).

15b: Polka from *Tutti coreografi; ossia un ballo nuovo* (Rota, Giorza, 1856)

The image displays a musical score for a polka, consisting of three systems of music. Each system includes a piano (p) part and a violin part. The piano part is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and features a steady, rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. The violin part is written in a single staff with a treble clef and includes melodic lines with slurs and accents. The score is marked with a tempo of 'Polka.' and a dynamic of 'pp' (pianissimo). The first system starts at measure 1, the second at measure 6, and the third at measure 11. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 2/4.

The following illustration of polka dancers in Figure 5 demonstrates nicely the type of non-academic step and footwear that were features of national dances. Although stylized and incorporating technical aspects of professional dancers' training, national dance was performed in character (it is often referred to as character dance), with appropriate costume and footwear. Note that the placement of the hands on hips and the flexed feet, both non-indicative of academic style, while the "turn-out" (hip rotation) and precise positioning of the legs are indicative of ballet training.²⁹³

²⁹³ "La polka, danced by Mad'elle Carlotta Grisi, & Mons'r Perrot at Her Majesty's Theatre," Lithograph, hexagonal, colored, 36 x 28 cm: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515743). While this image originates from an English theatre, the dancers were active in Italy just before their appearance in London. Carlotti Grisi was trained at the ballet school at La Scala and she met Perrot in Naples when he was performing in Italy. This image is likely from Grisi's first appearances in London with Perrot in the 1830s.

Figure 5: La polka, danced by Mad'elle Carlotta Grisi, & Mons'r Perrot at Her Majesty's Theatre. [Polka] (May 1844)



J. A. PUBLISHED
BY
THE
WARRINGTON LITHOGRAPHER

In *Sesostri* (Taglioni, Carlini and others, 1823) the number entitled “Arrivo degli Arabi” seems to be a fitting place for music tinged with exoticism, yet the number is not overtly different from others. An Andantino in three, with many fermatas in the opening page, seems to set up the arrival. Next, more continuously danceable material follows, which is only striking for its interesting modulations to keys a third away from F major and the fanfare-like passages with chordal triplets. See Example 16, below.²⁹⁴

Example 16: *Sesostri* (Taglioni, Carlini and others, 1823) “Arrivo degli Arabi”

(Arrivo degli Arabi)

ANDANTINO

9

18

²⁹⁴ Luigi Carlini and Giuseppe Galluzzo, *Sesostri: gran ballo storico* [piano score] John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), (Napoli: Girard, 1823). (HTC)

25

Musical score for measures 25-31. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and triplet accents. The left hand provides a steady accompaniment with eighth-note chords and triplets. Dynamic markings include *ff* (fortissimo) starting at measure 29.

32

Musical score for measures 32-40. The right hand continues with melodic patterns, including a prominent triplet in measure 32. The left hand maintains the eighth-note accompaniment. Dynamic markings include *p* (piano) at measure 34 and *ff* (fortissimo) at measure 36.

41

Musical score for measures 41-50. The right hand features a melodic line with a *9va* (ninth octave) marking above measure 42. The left hand has a more active accompaniment with eighth-note chords. Dynamic markings include *p* (piano) at measure 41 and *p³* at measure 49.

51

Musical score for measures 51-57. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The left hand features a consistent eighth-note accompaniment with triplets. A dynamic marking of *f* (forte) is present at measure 51.

58

Musical score for measures 58-64. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The left hand features a consistent eighth-note accompaniment with triplets. A dynamic marking of *fff* (fortississimo) is present at measure 58.

65

Musical score for measures 65-71. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The left hand features a consistent eighth-note accompaniment with triplets. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present at measure 65.



In *Nicolò de' Lapi* the 'Danza Zingaresca e Paesana' (Gypsy and Villager Dance) is a perky and *leggero* Allegretto in a strongly emphasized duple meter. The opening theme in E major outlines triadic material over tonic and dominant chords, and the predictable rhythmic propulsion of the phrases creates the dance feel. The overall form of the number is more complicated:

ABACA' || :D/(t) || E || : A :^(1,2) || E || F/(t) ||

The D section is really a transition to E, and is unusual within the straightforward texture of the piece, indicating that possible mime or stage action took place there. Section E presents entirely new material in 4/4, and the *acciaccaturas* over staccatos make the texture more whimsical. Next is the return to the opening E major theme with first and second endings, before departing entirely for a coda in 6/8, which again is really a transition and avoidance of cadence for the entire number as it modulates, ending on a new dominant (A7) and sets up the meter and key for the next number, the "Ballabile di vivandieri e soldati."

The ballet *Shakspeare* [sic]; *overro*, *Il sogno di una notte d'estate* (Casati, Giorza, 1855) contains a "Ballabile nazionale, le quatre nazioni" containing an introductory

polka, and dances for “Svizzero,” “Scozzese,” “Ungarese,” and a coda “Polacco.”²⁹⁵ A grand introduction starts off the initial polka in D major, which cycles through the keys of G, A, F# minor and back again. The phrasing displays harmonic, melodic and rhythmic antecedent / consequent form. The overall form is as follows:

Intro || A || B ||: C :|| D A (più mosso) ||

There is no ending bar as this leads directly into the “Svissero” (Swiss dance), which shifts to G major and a triple meter, peppered with triplet figures. Some interesting harmonic diversions occur here (such as the brief encounters with the Neapolitan, A-flat, in the eighth and sixteenth bar) but otherwise the goal is to make this different from the polka. Though in three, it is not a waltz and has more of a 9/8 feel underlayed by pulsing chords. The following “Scozzese,” in D major, is in a jaunty duple dominated by the continuous dotted rhythms of the melodic line. A short introduction sets up the body of the number, which has a few interesting harmonic progressions. This is the most “Scottish” sounding of the Scottish pieces examined, due to the dotted rhythms in the melodic line, though dotted rhythms *per se* do not signify Scottish music. (It is not unlike the Scottish-sounding music in Schneitzhoeffler’s score for *La Sylphide*, Paris, 1832, Taglioni). The “Ungarese” (Hungarian) returns to the G major of the “Svissero,” remaining in duple. This number also has a brief fanfare of an introduction, followed by a fermata. This feature in each of the national dances is likely to create a space for performers to exit and enter the stage, and set up for the dance (each in the appropriate

²⁹⁵ Paolo Giorza, *Shakspeare; ovvero, Il sogno di una notte d'estate, Ballo in tre parti del coreografo Giovanni Casati, Riduzione per pianoforte di P. Truzzi e G. Toja*, (Milano: Tito di Gio. Ricordi, [1855?]), 2-15. (NYPL)

national costume). It functions musically also as a transition between keys, as is the case between the D major “Scozzese” and the G major “Ungarese.” This number has a similar texture to the opening polka and “Svissero,” due to the strong duple meter and prevalence of dotted rhythms. The coda, entitled “Polacco,” retains that feel but builds tension and excitement through the classic shifting of keys, from D major to B-flat major and then to E-flat major, with an increase in tempo to Allegro for the duration of the piece.

This extended series of danced numbers is pure dance music, and is by no means a monotonous trip through related keys and variations on popular dances such as the polka. The frequent splashes of borrowed chords and trips to unexpected harmonic territories keep the interest without distracting from the essential nature of this music as danceable. Likely, the orchestration further accentuated the changes in key, meter and texture between each number (as is discussed under scoring below). There are no overt national signifiers except for possibly the Scozzese, though orchestration could also have played a role in this area too. (For example, orchestration that imitates the sounds of the “cimbalom” could have been applied to the score for the “Ungerese” though the piano reduction does not suggest this. Or, the “Scozzese” could have been scored with violin drones to imitate bagpipes, like the Scottish dances in Schneitzhoeffter’s score to *La Sylphide*.)

In the 1855 ballet *Gretchen* (Danesi, Scaramelli), which has plot similarities to *Giselle* (see section on supernaturals, below), the handmaidens dance a “Schottisch: Danza delle Ancelle” (Dance of the Maidens). In this number the melody is wide ranging and enthusiastic, with many grace notes and other ornaments adding to its buoyancy. In

fact the prevalence of acciaccaturas and grace notes in much of the dance music surveyed is noteworthy. (Notice that this is a characteristic in almost all of the examples I have included.) These devices embody, musically, the lightness and ballon of the dancers' footwork. The same melody played without these graces would give a heavier more grounded feel to the music, whereas the ornaments accentuate the upward motion and lighten the tonic accent created by many melodic notes in succession falling on the beat. This "Scottisch" in Example 17²⁹⁶ is a perfect example of the use of such ornaments.

Example 17: Gretchen (Danesi, Scaramelli, 1855), "Schottisch: Danza delle Ancelle"

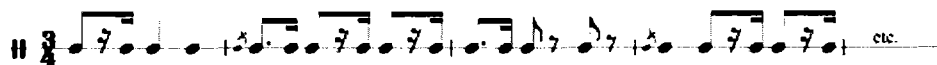
SCHOTTISCH "Danza delle Ancelle"



The image shows a piano score for a Schottisch piece. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has five measures, and the second system has five measures. The music is written for piano with a treble and bass clef. The melody in the treble clef is characterized by frequent acciaccaturas and grace notes, giving it a light, airy quality. The bass clef part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes. The piece is in 3/4 time and G major. The first system ends with a fermata over the final note of the melody.

The mazurka from the same ballet is exemplary of this dance type, and begins with a dominant harmony introduction followed by a fermata for the dancer(s)' entrance. Subtitled "La Gelosia" (Jealousy), mazurka rhythms such as the one below, are spread

²⁹⁶ Enrico Bernardi, *Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico del coreografo Luigi Danesi. Musica dei maestri Bernardi e Scaramelli. Riduzione per pianoforte di Ettore Contrucci*, (Firenze: Bratti Sciabilli, [1855?]). (NYPL)



throughout. Though the average Italian ballet mazurka is in a major key, this is in F minor at the beginning, likely portraying the jealousy. The modulations on the second page could bring rays of hope, which, after a repeat, give way to the more cheerful F major portion of the mazurka. (This number in the piano score is accompanied by a separate staff with the indication “orchestra” while the piano part is labeled “banda,” indicated that this piece was scored for both the orchestra and the “banda,” a separate entity. See page 319 for a discussion of this Italian practice.)

Stepping back to the late 1820s, we can compare two Chinese ballabile—one from early in the century and one from the mid-century. The “Ballabile Chinese” from the ballet *Gengis-Kan* (Henry, Brambilla et al., La Scala, 1828) in piano reduction looks like the opening to a classical piano sonata, beginning in Adagio with a gentle rolling bass and a nicely shaped melody. This has a slightly turbulent middle section before resolving back to the opening theme. The succeeding Allegretto, which is the body of the dance, features a sequence of themes, each repeated, that are highly danceable but not overtly in any national style. The basic 4/4 meter, phrase structuring, key and harmonic movement, and pianistic technique are akin to a Czerny exercise. The only catchy element is the quickly repeated staccato notes in the A theme, though whether these are meant to somehow signal “Chinese” shall remain a mystery. (See Example 18 below.)²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ Paolo Brambilla, Louis Henry, and L. Truzzi, *Ballabile cinese: nel ballo Gengiskan del Sigr. Henry* [piano score] John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre

In the mid-century ballet *Uno spirito maligno; ovvero, Metempsicosi di una farfalla* (Rota, Giorza, Carlo Felice in Genova, 1858) there is also a “Ballabile Chinese” (the setting for this ballet is Beijing). Here the music could be taking part in a stereotypical rendering of this nationality. It is notably not in a popular ballroom dance style such as the polka or mazurka (at least to start off with). The introduction sets up a quirky E minor texture with staccatos and grace notes, which is continued with short two-measure phrases featuring a rising triplet figure in the melody (A). The B section continues with the brief phrasing, even accenting the second beat of the second phrase for emphasis. It is unlikely that this pause did not accompany a choreographic counterpart. The C theme achieves a more continuous flow, but continues the mood of the previous sections through the ceaseless dotted rhythms. Only in the D and E sections, with the definitive shift to G major, does the number start to feel like a ballroom dance, with predictable four-bar antecedent and consequent phrases. (All sections are repeated.) A return to the B theme comes just before the coda, with its increase in tempo and expected oscillation between tonic and dominant in the closing key of G major. (See Example 19 below).²⁹⁸

Collection), (Firenze, Milano: Ricordi, Pozzi e Co., 1828).

²⁹⁸ Paolo Giorza, *Uno spirito maligno; ovvero, Metempsicosi di una farfalla. Ballo del coreografo G. Rota, rappresentato per la prima volta al Teatro Carlo Felice in Genova la primavera 1858. Musica del maestro Paolo Giorza e dallo stesso ridotta per piano forte solo*, (Milano: F. Lucca, [1858?]). (NYPL

Example 18: *Gengis-Kan* (Henry, Brambilla and others, La Scala, 1828) "Ballabile Chinese"

ADAGIO

The musical score is written for piano and consists of five systems of music. The first system is marked "ADAGIO" and includes dynamics markings "f" and "p". The score is in 3/4 time and key of B-flat major. The first system shows a piano introduction with a melody in the right hand and accompaniment in the left hand. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system features a more complex texture with arpeggiated chords in the right hand and a steady accompaniment in the left hand. The fourth system has a similar texture to the third, with arpeggiated chords and a steady accompaniment. The fifth system concludes the piece with a final melody and accompaniment.

18

Musical score for measures 18-21. The piece is in B-flat major (two flats) and 4/4 time. Measure 18 features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. Measure 19 begins with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic and contains dense chordal textures in both hands. Measures 20 and 21 continue with complex harmonic structures and rhythmic patterns.

22

Musical score for measures 22-24. Measure 22 continues the previous texture. Measure 23 introduces a piano (*p*) dynamic and a *con sord.* (con sordina) marking, with a wavy line above the staff indicating a tremolo effect. Measure 24 features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

25

Musical score for measures 25-26. Measure 25 features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. Measure 26 continues the previous texture.

27

Musical score for measures 27-28. Measure 27 features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. Measure 28 continues the previous texture.

ALLEGRETTO

staccato e leggero

p

7

13

Example 19: *Uno spirito maligno; ovvero, Metempsicosi di una farfalla* (Rota, Giorza, Carlo Felice in Genova, 1858) “Ballabile Chinese”

All. Mod. assai

f

p

f

p

6

7

This may not be the overt pentatonic scales or flute and pitched percussion combinations in such stereotypical “Chinese” sounding numbers as those in Tchaikovsky’s *Nutcracker* (1891), Carl Nielsen’s *Aladdin* (1919), or Puccini’s *Turandot* (1926), but it shares a family resemblance, especially if we imagine orchestration featuring pitched percussion and high flutes, and choreography that matches with the jaunty, short phrases of the opening sections. The subtlety of its “exoticism,” if we can even call it that,²⁹⁹ is more akin to the Chinese Dance found in Bournonville’s *Far from Denmark*, or *A Costume Ball on Board* (1861, music by Joseph Glaeser, A. F Lincke and Hans Christian Lumbye). The music is tinged with hints of foreign flavor but is clearly

²⁹⁹ Ralph P. Locke discusses the subtleties and complexities of musical exoticism in his new book, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*, (Cambridge: New York, 2009). Italian ballet music seems to exemplify the complexities examined by Locke, in that exoticism runs the gamut from subtle to overt, and is not just to be found in musical signifiers (a narrow approach) and is not necessarily negative in portrayal of cultural others.

ballroom dance music, for a costumed ball in which other dances such as the Fandango, Eskimo Dance and Indian War Dance, are also performed, with costumes found in a trunk aboard the ship.³⁰⁰

Comparison to the earlier “Ballabile Chinese” from the ballet *Gengis-Kan* (Henry, Brambilla and others, La Scala, 1828) shows the changes in approach to national dance that had taken place in the middle decades of the century. The earlier Chinese dance resembles a classical piano sonata, while the later is more clearly dance music, though with an original approach to phrasing and texture that is not reliant on a ballroom prototype. The only similarities between these two Chinese dance examples are their sequences of themes and the quickened tempo at the end, accompanied by V-I oscillation in harmonies at the close. Yet, these features cannot be considered Chinese elements because they are found in most dance music.

While the early Chinese ballabile music may have been revamped from Luigi Henry’s earlier *Gengis-Kan* ballet of 1819, which would further explain the classicism of its style, the fact that it was still deemed appropriate in the late 1820s reinforces the idea of a gradual transition occurring in ballet music beginning in the 1830s. Overall, the differences between the two examples illustrate the differences between danced music in ballets from the first part of the century and from the mid-century: early danced numbers

³⁰⁰ The dance is a “*pas de cinq* in the Chinese style, by three Spanish gentlemen, with Poul and Edward as the ladies.” These male characters wear female costumes found in the trunk. The music is predominantly in minor with a triplet feel, but has frequent pauses and meter changes. For the complete scenario, translated, see: Patricia McAndrew et al., “The Ballet Poems of August Bournonville: The Complete Scenarios, Part Six,” *Dance Chronicle* 4, no. 4 (1981): 418-427.

are in classical in form and content (e.g. theme and variations, rondos, sonata-like) while later danced numbers are either in a ballroom dance form or an invented number with similar qualities (with a basic rhythmic underlay that propels the number and series of repeated phrases and sections, while proceeding through a cycle of related keys).

While rooted in the national dances of Poland, Hungary and Germany, the mazurka, polonaise, polka and galop quickly became mainstays in the extended dance sections of any ballet. Ornella Di Tondo writes that the galop was often “a fast circular couple’s dance of German or Hungarian origin performed with a fast ‘pas chasse’ [the feet slide apart] in binary meter, and it was a “luogo deputato” (assigned place) of trivial music and was performed by the corps de ballet.” She also cites the frequency with which galops tended to end divertissements, which were “an integrated series of independent dances.”³⁰¹ Indeed, I observed this tendency in ballet scores of all types from the 1830s on, with galops appearing somewhat earlier and more often than the other types. The galop had been danced in Italian ballrooms from the early 1830s, though was not discussed in ballroom dance manuals until much later.³⁰² By the 1850s, ballroom dance types were common in all ballets. For example, *Gretchen* (Danesi, various composers, 1855) contained at least five waltzes, one polka, two galops and one mazurka.³⁰³ Nearly

³⁰¹ Di Tondo, “Boito’s *Mefistofele*,” 168. She cites Gloria Giordano, “Il Galop, un ‘frenetico tumulto’,” *Chorégraphie, Studi e ricerche sulla danza*, 1/1 (1993) 84-94.

³⁰² Mòllica, “La danza di società nell’Italia dell’800: un primo studio,” 117. See also: Gloria Giordano, “Il galop, un “frenetico tumulto”,” *Chorégraphie, Roma*, anno 1, no. 1 (1993): 84-94.

³⁰³ Enrico Bernardi, *Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico del coreografo Luigi Danesi. Musica dei maestri Bernardi e Scaramelli. Riduzione per pianoforte di Ettore Contrucci*,

all of the ballets from the 1850s that I studied contained at least one galop, and the typical placement of this dance was as a finale (of the ballet or of a danced section).³⁰⁴ The musical approach to waltzes, mazurkas, galops and polkas was consistent and audiences knew them well as they were also danced at balls.³⁰⁵

Ballabile

Every ballet had ballabili (group dances) and starting around 1830 (with some earlier examples from the 1820s) they were consistently noted along with the *pas de deux*, *trois*, etc. in libretti under the title “distribuzione delle danze.”³⁰⁶ Many of these ballabili have been discussed already because they fall under the category of national and characteristic dances. Audiences and critics alike were opinionated as to their value, importance, and especially the appropriate balance between them and the action-oriented

(Firenze: Bratti Sciabilli, [1855?]). (NYPL).

³⁰⁴ This was not only an Italian practice as galopped finales were common in French ballet and opera divertissements from the same period.

³⁰⁵ While social dancing in Italy has been fairly well-studied, less scholarship exists concerning the relationship between social dancing and that performed in theatres. Fabio Mòllica writes extensively about social dancing in Italy during the nineteenth century, covering the first appearances and descriptions of particular dances, their technical requirements and longevity. Gloria Giordano has studied specific dances including the galop and the polonaise with a similar approach (discussing history, stylistic evolution and choreography). See: Mollica, "La danza di società nell'Italia dell'800: un primo studio," and Gloria Giordano, "La Polonaise," *Chorégraphie, Roma*, Anno 1, no. 2 (1993): 85-96; and, "Il galop, un "frenetico tumulto"," 84-94.

³⁰⁶ An early example is found in Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* with Luigi Henry's *La Vedova nel Giorno delle Nozze*, a "ballo pantomimico" in five acts that was performed at the Teatro Carcano, carnevale of 1830-31, Milano. See: Gaetano Donizetti, Felice Romani, and Louis Henry, *Anna Bolena; tragedia lirica in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Carcano, il carnevale 1830-31, Toscanini libretti di ballo, no. 316*, (Milano: A. Fontana, 1830). (NYPL)

parts of the ballet. As the already-cited review of Casati's new ballet *Nadilla, ballo fantastico* (La Scala, 1850) shows, if the choreographer created a ballet that was nothing but dancing or a "series of ballabile" in each act, certain members of the audience were not pleased and wished for more action instead.³⁰⁷ A review of Salvatore Taglioni's *Ettore Fieramosca* (San Carlo, Naples, 1837) with music by Gallenberg praises the production, especially for its faithful adaptation of the novel, before mentioning that the ballabile was short. The reviewer continues by asking, "if there were more [ballabili], at what time would we leave the theater?" and points out that the length of the composition is essential. (It is well documented that the night's entertainment in Italian theatres could go on for hours, lasting until after midnight.) The author goes on to compliment the local color of the "danze pugliesi."³⁰⁸

Often the ballabile were national dances, as already discussed above. Also, though they were often large group dances, they could have sub-sections with smaller groups or solos. Some were extended numbers because of this, in fact the ballabile were the longest sections of music in a typical score. They tend to far outgrow the length of any of the individual mimed numbers or even the *pas de deux* or incidental dancing that also occurred. Finally, there is usually some dramatic rationale for the ballabile, either the plot calls for a large number of people, such as soldiers, magical creatures, and crowds, or

³⁰⁷ See review on page 141, and footnote 226.

³⁰⁸ "Il ballabile è poco, ma se fosse stato più, a che ora si uscirebbe dal teatro? ritenuto sempre che la lunghezza del componimento è indispensabile. Nondimeno è bello quello che vi è, in cui pare siasi dato il colorito delle danze pugliesi di quei tempi." "Napoli – Teatro San Carlo" *Teatri, arti e letteratura*, 28 (1837): 22 .

there is a celebration analogous to real life where dancing might occur, such as a parade or wedding. At the same time, it was generally expected that there would be dancing in the academic or French style, or what we now refer to as classical ballet technique. These were the sections where the *primi ballerini seri / francesi / di rango francese* took center stage. Thus, the types of dancing, numbers of dancers, and musical approach to the *ballabili* were highly varied amongst the ballets I studied, as the examples below show.

The “Terzetto ballabile” (danced trio) in the ballet *Agamemnone* (Galzerani, Pugni, La Scala, 1828) is typical in length and orchestration for a *ballabile* and, interestingly, contains a set of danced “variations” (labeled as such in the score, referring to danced variations rather than the musical form “theme and variations”) which may have been for solo dancing by each of the three dancers. The number is scored for flutes, oboes, clarinets, horns, trumpets, “tromboncinos” and trombones, bassoons, harp, violins, violas, ‘cellos and cimbasso, with serpan[t], timpani, tambourine and drums. An overture-like introduction punctuated by fermatas is followed by a lilting Andante in E-flat major (4/4) with a flowing harp and pizzicato string accompaniment and flute duet with clarinet interjections. The B section features a fuller orchestral texture and is followed by the return of A. The next section is an Allegretto in triple and in B-flat major. The violin leads here with sparse orchestral punctuation of the rhythm, then flutes take over with a syncopated string accompaniment.

Next is a set of sections labeled “variations.” The first is in E-flat (Allegretto, 4/4) with a perpetual motion, arpeggiated harp line and extremely regular phrasing, always with long notes at the end of each section (32 measures). The second variation shifts to C

major and is an *Allegro marziale* (4/4). The harp continues to be prominent but is accompanied by a fuller orchestra, (24 measures) before the clarinet takes over the solo role with strings of sixteenth notes filling each passage, while sparsely accompanied by strings. This is the third variation, though it is only labeled in the accompanying percussion score that follows the full score (This section is 29 measures). At the end of this variation the harp and clarinet trade solos leading into the coda. The coda transitions back to B-flat and duple meter as the orchestra comes into fuller use and the harpist performs sweeping arpeggios. The flutes solo before the marking “*mosso*” increases the excitement for the final 19 bars and the tutti cadence to B-flat.

Well exemplified here is the use of a virtuosic solo instrument (in this case the harp, violin and clarinet), to (likely) accompany the solo dancer. Also, there is a tendency to vary the texture and feel for each new danced variation. This is the typical approach to dance music (especially like that for the *grotteschi*) in the early part of the century: an introductory section with a few subsections, followed by solo danced variations featuring soloistic passages in the orchestra and a coda that increases in intensity as it closes. This musical and danced structure is similar to the introduction and series of “*antrès*” found in the dances of the *grotteschi*. (See the section above on the *grotteschi*, page 196; there is no indication that this “*Terzetto Ballabile*” was danced by the *grotteschi* however.)

Another example, the “*Gran Ballabile*” from *Amore e Psiche* (1835, Taglioni, Romani), does not contain any obvious solo variations for the dancers, rather consisting of a slow intro *Andante sostenuto* and then a series of themes alternating in rondo-like fashion. There is an interesting *cadenza*-like section in the middle that may have

indicated some action or soloistic gesture. A further contrasting example is the “Ballabile seguita dalla Cerrito e St. Leon,” (1846) published as a piano reduction, which consists of several pieces that were performed by Fanny Cerrito and Arthur St. Leon. It is not clear which ballets they come from and who composed them, though it quite possible that they are extracted from larger group numbers. Though these were apparently performed by the two dancers, I include them here under “Ballabile” since they were labeled *ballabile*, not *pas de deux* or *passo a due*.³⁰⁹ They may have been called ballabile because they are simply ballroom-style dances, rather than the multi-sectional *pas de deux* that were typical of the mid-century.

The first ballabile is a waltz in G major with a short dominant harmony introduction. Regular sections of eight dance-bars are repeated with a typical waltz accompaniment and feel, with a flowing melody. The B section moves directly to C major and a more blocked chord accompaniment and graced double notes in the right hand (repeated). After this is a retransition of eight measures (C), repeated, that modulates back to G major. The B section returns, repeats, and is followed by the A' section with tinges of E minor—this extended section turns into a closing theme. Thus, the form of this duet, which is distinct from the *pas de deux* discussed later, is:

³⁰⁹ The fact that Leon and Cerrito’s ballabile were not called *pas de deux* may be significant. Though I do not have proof that these particular ballabile are not *pas de deux*, it may be that Cerrito and Leon performed in them with many other dancers from the *corps de ballet* or that they were extracted from larger group numbers. Or, perhaps they are called “ballabile” since they are simply dances (such as waltzes) and not in the expected structural format of the *pas de deux* (see section below on *pas de deux*, page 251, and see also, Sandra Noll Hammond, “Windows into Romantic Ballet: Content and Structure of Four Early Nineteenth-century Pas de Deux,” Society of Dance History Scholars (U.S.). 20th Conference (Barnard College). Proceedings, (1997): 137-144.)

Intro ||A (internally aaba'ba') ||:B:||:C:||:B:||:A'||

The next numbers, labeled II and III, are also waltzes with similar musical forms. Then there are two more numbers entitled “Galoppe.” They are in an energetic 2/4, with the first beginning in D and ending in A (II has the same key structure). This lack of closure in the opening key could be further evidence that the dances were extracted from a group of danced numbers, where the galop ended the group—thus the key change could have brought the whole group of dances back around to the starting key.

A final example of a mid-century ballabile illustrates the flexibility of these danced portions of the ballet. In *Tutti Coreografi; ossia Un Ballo Nuovo* (Rota, Giorza, 1856), the Act I “Scena and Ballabile” featured some colorful characters, including sea monsters, bees, hornets, bats and owls (not only this menagerie, but the music itself reminds one of Saint-Saens’ *Carnival of the Animals*, 1886, with highly illustrative writing, such as is heard in the fluttering of bat wings in Giorza’s score, and the generally brilliant and swirling piano passages in both works). While these may be more appropriately included in the next section on specific musical topics, the depiction of these characters happens within a ballabile, and the sortita (sortie) of each group (rushing forth onto stage) was choreographed into the fabric of this danced portion of the ballet, showing that topical music could occur in dance as well as mime scenes. Example 20 below shows the opening of the ballabile and the music that accompanies each sortie.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ Paolo Giorza, *Un ballo nuovo; azione coreografica di G. Rota. Pianoforte solo dall'autore*, (Milano: F. Lucca, [1856?]); also: Paolo Giorza, Giuseppe Rota, and Niccola Olivieri, *Tutti coreografi, ossia, Un ballo nuovo: azione coreografica* [piano score] John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: F. Lucca, 1856. (NYPL and HTC) Pages 1-2, 5-8.

Examples 20a and 20b: Excerpts from *Tutti coreografi; ossia un ballo nuovo* (Rota, Giorza, 1856) Act I, "Ballabile e scena"

ATTO I°.
UN BALLO NUOVO

SCENA E BALLABILE

PAOLO GIORZA

Allegretto



23 (8) |



pp

27 **Andantino**
VIGLIARUMENDEMOANI



pp

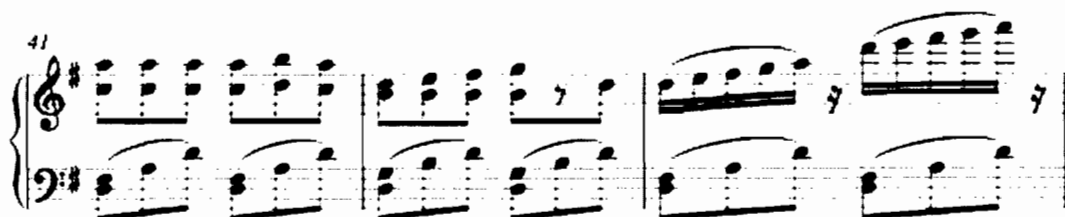
32



37



41



44



Example 20b – later section of “Scena e ballabile,” where more creatures enter in droves

3^{ma} Allegretto moderato

pp

leggerissimo

pp

3^{ma}

The musical score consists of five systems, each with a piano (p) and violin (v) part. The first system is marked *3^{ma} Allegretto moderato* and *pp*. The second system is marked *leggerissimo*. The third system is marked *3^{ma}*. The fourth system is marked *pp*. The fifth system is marked *3^{ma}*. The score features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The piano part often plays chords or simple rhythmic accompaniment, while the violin part plays more melodic lines.

First system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and some triplets.

Second system of musical notation, continuing the complex rhythmic pattern from the first system.

Third system of musical notation, showing a change in the bass line and the end of the system with a double bar line and a key signature change to two flats.

Fourth system of musical notation, featuring a *pp* dynamic marking and a *tr* (trill) marking. The bass line has a long note with a trill.

Fifth system of musical notation, continuing the piece with a *tr* marking and a *pp* dynamic marking. The bass line has a long note with a trill.

Sixth system of musical notation, continuing the piece with a *tr* marking and a *pp* dynamic marking. The bass line has a long note with a trill.

The image displays six systems of musical notation for piano, each consisting of a treble and bass staff. The music is written in a minor key, indicated by three flats in the key signature. The notation includes various musical elements:

- System 1:** Features trills (tr) in the treble staff and triplets (3) in both staves.
- System 2:** Continues with trills and triplets, showing a melodic line in the treble and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the bass.
- System 3:** Shows a more complex melodic line in the treble with trills and triplets, and a bass line with chords and triplets.
- System 4:** The treble staff has a melodic line with trills and triplets, while the bass staff features a series of chords with a steady rhythm.
- System 5:** The treble staff has a melodic line with trills and triplets, and the bass staff has a series of chords with a steady rhythm.
- System 6:** The treble staff has a melodic line with trills and triplets, and the bass staff has a series of chords with a steady rhythm. A dynamic marking "cres" is present in the bass staff.



To summarize, the ballabili, though they were often national dances, could also be generic multi-sectioned numbers or mixed with action and lively characters (or creatures) such as those described above. It seems that within the ballabile, which could feature nearly fifty dancers at times, there were subsections and even internal duets for the star *primi ballerini*. These sections were likely distinct, however, from the true *pas de deux* discussed next.

Solos and Pas de deux

In the earliest ballets of the nineteenth century there were many solo dances that existed as separate numbers and in many cases, entire numbers are labeled in the musical scores and manuscripts according to who danced. A typical solo dance from the period is

No. 4 of *I giuochi istmici* (Viganò, Weigl, Vienna, 1803) entitled “Solo de Mons. Viganò.” The Allegro has short chordal phrases in march time that end frequently with fermatas. This is followed by an Adagio that is chiefly constructed of scalar flourishes leading to chords, a trait common to many solos and one likely indicative of a particular type of dance. One can imagine a difficult series of fluid poses and balances with this music. The ending Allegretto is the longest section of music with an internal ABAC form and a triumphant closing.

In many of the solos, adagio entrances are followed by the dance proper. There could be several tempo and meter changes within a solo dance number, as in Gaetano Gioja’s solo from *I giuochi istmici*, where he danced to a march followed by an Adagio in triple and then an Allegretto in duple. Tempo shifts are also present in Angiolini’s solo from *Die Spanier auf der Insel Christina* (Viganò, Vienna, 1802). The quick interchange between the Adagio and Allegretto musical material that occurs in the middle of his solo is quite striking, and may be an extreme example of the types of tempo and meter changes that tend to occur in the early solos.

These solos are classical in musical style (and when reduced for piano are similar to easier Haydn and Mozart piano pieces) with a clear texture, periodic phrase groupings and predictable harmonic movement. The particular features that stand out from these solos, in addition to the meter and tempo changes within, are the frequent fermatas (usually over a rest), at times preceded by a scalar flourish. In fact, fermatas appear with more frequency in ballet music from this period in general, not just during the danced solos. This suggests that the dancers and conductor coordinated these pauses carefully

and also raises this question: were the pauses meant for holding of a particularly challenging pose or to accentuate the graceful landing of a series of jumps or pirouettes?³¹¹ Example 21 below illustrates a particularly dynamic section in the middle of a solo performed by Angiolini.³¹² Preceding the transcribed example are three longer sections, separated by fermatas, the last of which is an Adagio (for 17 measures). After the transcribed example is a section marked “Subito Allegretto” and a change to duple meter (this section closes out the number).

Many of the solos in later ballets are not labeled by the name of the dancer, and they began to take place within a ballabile or other group number and may even be labeled as variations in the score, as is shown in the ballabile from *Agamennone* (discussed above) and the *pas de deux* section, which begins below. The relative absence of entire numbers labeled as “Solo di . . .,” as well as the disappearance of the solos of the grotteschi seems to coincide with the beginning of danced variations within the context of a *pas de deux* or other group dance.

³¹¹ These are my own theories as to the coordination of music and dance. See footnote 270.

³¹² The key signature in this example is editorial. This part of the score lacks a key signature, while the piece opens with two flats. The accidentals in this section seem to indicate a key signature shift to three flats – for a key of E-flat major for this section.

Example 21: Die Spanier auf der Insel Christina: No. XVII. (Solo de M. Angiolini)
middle section in which many changes occur, m. 69 -94

Allegretto.

Adagio.

Allegretto.

Adagio.

Adagio.

Pas de deux

The *pas de deux* or *passo a due* (which mean the same thing: a dance for two people) could range from an expressive number containing pantomime (often between two lovers) to a piece for virtuosic solo dancing. The French and Italian terms were used interchangeably in the sources I studied.³¹³ The *pas de deux* was an opportunity for two dancers to show off their skills either simultaneously or in alternation, and may even have taken over the exclusively solo dances in popularity. Love was often the dramatic rationale for the dance and Blasis writes the following about the general appeal of love for ballet plots:

The passion of love, which is the soul of the stage and the source of so many other passions, whose variety and contrast produce numberless dramatic situations, is essentially necessary also to the Ballet. On it depends a multitude of striking and pathetic effects, which appear to be naturally allied to the Pantomime and dancing.³¹⁴

³¹³ I refer to specific examples using the terminology from the example, but in general discussions use *pas de deux* just as I use other French terminology for specific steps and positions, as this is an internationally known and used technical vocabulary at present. It is also important to keep in mind that dancing in the academic style or French style was already discussed using such terminology during the nineteenth century, though not with the consistency or necessarily the same meanings as today. This is related to why the leading couple of dancers, who only participated in the danced portions of the ballet, were often called “ballerini danzanti di rango francese” or some variation thereof. For the history of dance technique, the work of Sandra Hammond is invaluable. See especially: Hammond, “Windows into Romantic Ballet,” and “Windows into Romantic Ballet, part II: Content and Structure of Solo Entrées from the Early Nineteenth Century,” Society of Dance History Scholars (U.S.). Conference (21st: 1998: University of Oregon). Proceedings, (1998): 47-53. See also: Sandra Noll Hammond “Steps Through Time: Selected Dance Vocabulary of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Dance Research. London* 10, no. 2 (1992): 93-108; “Searching for the Sylph: Documentation of Early Developments in Pointe Technique,” *Dance Research Journal*, [CORD] New York. 19, no. 2 (1988): 27-31; “Clues to Ballet’s Technical History from the Early Nineteenth-century Ballet Lesson,” *Dance Research. London*. 3, no. 1 (1984): 53-66; and, “Early Nineteenth-century Ballet Technique from Léon Michel,” Society of Dance History Scholars. Proceedings, 10th annual conference, 1987 (1987): 208-212.

It is clear from the following review from *I teatri, arte e letteratura* in 1837 that Italian audiences wanted the *pas de deux* to be effective and impressive, not just a pretty dance:

We had, at la Scala, a *New passo a due* in which Mrs. *Varrin* made her first appearance. The dance, a composition of Mr. *Bretin*, is of beautiful handiwork, but the outcome was not as brilliant, and do you know why? *Varrin*, dancer of an illustrious name, dances in the style of Madame *Taglioni*, but should put aside her overly simple ways from time to time, and think about things of effect, and persuade herself, for we have seen too much now to be satisfied by so little. And we can say this with certainty that Mrs. *Varrin* can do as much as she wants, and soon achieve the full approval of the Milanese.

Abbiamo avuto alla Scala un *Nuovo passo a due*, nel quale fece la sua prima comparsa la signora *Varrin*. Il passo, di composizione del signor *Bretin*, è di bella fattura; ma l'esito non ne è stato brillante, e sapete perchè? La *Varrin*, danzatrice di chiaro nome, balla nel genere di madama *Taglioni*, ma dovrebbe scostarsi qualche volta dai modi troppo semplici, e pensare a cose di effetto, e persuadersi, che noi abbiamo veduto molto per accontentarci ora del poco. E ciò diciamo nella certezza, che la signora *Varrin* possa fare quanto vuole, e conseguire ben tosto la piena approvazione dei Milanesi.³¹⁵

While second-level theatres in the boulevards and provinces were influencing ballet in the early nineteenth century (especially at the Opéra in Paris), Pappacena explains that it was the Italian *grotesque* tradition that had been long providing “hints and ideas for the new techniques of the *pas de deux*...”³¹⁶ Sandra Hammond’s study of *pas de deux* from 1815-1835 show that the dances were technically challenging indeed, incorporating equally difficult steps for both male and female dancers, including many

³¹⁴ Carlo Blasis, “The Code of Terpsichore,” 162.

³¹⁵ [Gio. Battista], “Milano.” *Teatri, arti e letteratura*, 28 (1837): 15.

³¹⁶ Pappacena, “Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis,” 264.

types of *pirouette*, the use of full pointe by *both* dancers, and precursors to *pirouettes fouettés*.³¹⁷ The results of my musical research into both the dances for the grotteschi and the *pas de deux* in Italy support Hammond's and Pappacena's findings, as both types of dance contain sections of solo dance to show off the skill of the dancers.

The musical structure of the *pas de deux* examples I studied closely align with the general structural characteristics outlined by Hammond, which I cite here in their entirety:

Some attributes of these four *pas de deux* appear common to all:

- Each *pas de deux* is in two parts, beginning with a relatively short *andante* section followed by a longer *allegretto* or *allegro* section. Two of the *pas de deux* have endings designated as codas. This structure is similar to the examples in the Ferrère manuscript.
- Each *pas de deux* begins with a solo, which, in three out of the four dances, is performed first by the woman. Short solos then alternate between the two dancers, with the *andante* and the *allegretto* sections always ending with the couple dancing together.
- Each section finishes with a *pirouette* phrase, usually followed by a pose, the man either supporting or holding his partner, but never lifting her, and at the end of the dance they exit together, holding hands.³¹⁸

The images of dancers in Figures 6 and 7 below demonstrate the equality of the dancers and the partnered poses that may have been used.³¹⁹ In the first is a leading couple of Italian "primi ballerini danzante" and in the second is an internationally famous pair:

³¹⁷ Hammond, "Windows into the Romantic Ballet."

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

³¹⁹ Figure 6: "All'egregio merito dei conjugii Maglietti. Primi ballerini danzante nel nobil Teatro di Apollo in Roma nel carnevale del 1838, in segno di stima D. C." Lithograph, vignette, 23 x 19.6 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515958), 1838. Figure 7: "Madame Brugnioli [Brugnoli] & Samengo." Engraving, vignette, image: 15.5 x 11.5 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Lillian Moore Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1532698), [1832].

Amalia Brugnoli, who is often cited as one of the leading ballerinas to first dance *en pointe*, and Paolo Samengo.

Sometimes the music of *pas de deux* was extracted and sold as piano reductions, usually naming the famous dancers who performed them (and sometimes illustrated with lithographs of these dancers). In the case of Robert Gallenberg, several of his *pas de deux* from various ballets were published together early in the century. These pieces exhibit the main qualities of this genre in the beginning of the nineteenth century: a progression from slow to fast in tempo and the absence of explicitly indicated danced variations (as far as can be discerned). The first number is from the ballet *Talismano* (based on the Aladdin story, choreographed by Henry, San Carlo, 1812). It begins as an Andante in B-flat major, marked dolce, with an Alberti bass accompaniment and a soaring aria-like melody for the first eight bars. Then there is a shift in tempo to Allegro for a series of scalar flourishes, (m. 11-15) followed by an Allegretto in 2/4 with a sprightly melody and rhythmic propulsion supplied by off-beat accents in the left-hand accompaniment. The second part of this section is high in register (m. 16-46). The following Adagio section is grander, with the melody presented in octaves in the treble over a gently rolling accompaniment (m. 47-81). The Allegretto theme returns with a more active accompaniment and melds into a closing theme with grand rolled chords and scales emphasizing the home key for a triumphant ending (m. 82-133).

Figure 6: All'egregio merito dei conjugj Maglietti, primi ballerini danzante



Maglietti
Maglietti
Maglietti
Maglietti
Maglietti

Figure 7: Madame Brugnioli [Brugnoli] & Samengo



Madame Brugnioli

The second *pas de deux* (from the Gallenberg group) is from an earlier ballet, *Othello* (Henry, San Carlo, 1808). This has a Largo beginning, in E-flat major, 4/4 (m. 1-5). Following this is an Andante marked dolce with double notes in the right hand that suggest an instrumental duet. This section has an ABAC form, with the C section maintaining the duet-like melodic line. The next section is an Allegretto, again sprightly with a bouncing accompaniment, also with an internal form of ABA, the B section being a stormier C minor theme. This melds into a closing with busy figurations in both hands iterating the key of E-flat followed by chordal flourishes.

The third Gallenberg *pas de deux* is from *La morte di Cleopatra* (Henry, San Carlo, 1809) and also begins slow as an Andante in 3/4, in E-flat major. This features a singable aria-like melody right away, marked dolce mid-way through, but ending with more perturbed chords alternating between C minor and G major. The following Andante sostenuto returns to the calm of E-flat major with an ornate and quite vocal melodic line. This closes on the dominant with a fermata before beginning the Allegretto in E-flat major. The melodic line is quite high, suggesting flute or piccolo. This transitions into a cheerful C major section before returning to the original idea (internal form ABA), followed by the requisite closing material with the alternation and iteration of V and I.

Through these examples we can see that the approach to the *pas de deux* was dynamic but fit the format of multi-sectional number with the general movement from slow to fast. The recurring mood at the opening is dolce and the prevailing texture is aria-like. The faster sections were buoyant and energetic. Closing sections emphasized the tonic through tonic-dominant alterations and busy textures. While this matches the

general outline of slow-to-fast that Hammond found in her study, there are multiple sections (three or more) in these and the rest of the *pas de deux* examples discussed here. This suggests that the Italian approach to the *pas de deux* differed from those recorded by Michel St. Léon, which reflect the approach at the Paris Opéra between 1820 and 1835.

Luigi Carlini's *pas de deux* from *Atide e Cloe* (Taglioni, San Carlo, 1823) is similar to those by Gallenberg. Beginning with an Andante in 6/8, F major, the first few measures are introductory. The feel is lilting, and the marking "dolce" occurs soon after the opening phrase. Here the melodic line has some ornate moments where it is embellished in a virtuosic and free manner. In measure 29 there is a shift to 3/4 and the treble line is a continuous stream of eighth and sixteenth notes. This prevails until the end of the number where a long cadenza marked "a piacere" leads into a "Polonese" (an early nineteenth-century example of what will end up as part of the group of popular national dances used in succession in all ballets). Here the meter officially shifts to 3/4 and the melodic line is rhythmically propelled in two-measure bits as expected, though as the Polonese continues, the melodic line grows more and more active until it is a continuous stream of notes again.

Sesostri (Taglioni, Carlini, San Carlo, 1824) gives us the rare chance to compare a manuscript score to the piano score, revealing how important the orchestration can be and how the reduction is carried out. The *pas de deux* (which follows the "Arrivi degli Arabi" of Act IV in both the manuscript and the piano reduction) begins with string accompaniment and bassoon solo doubled by the violin "a punta d'arco." After the first phrase the violin takes over, then bassoon and violin pair again before the first fermata,

before the key changes for an oboe solo with a similar theme. After the next fermata, the flute and piccolo bring in new material, then violin and bassoon arrive with more new passages. In this example instrumental solos—especially for winds—abound, reflecting the intimacy and soloistic nature of the dance. The overall form appears to be ABA, followed by an Allegro mosso with internal repeats. In the piano reduction, of course, this looks like unremarkable music, though musical content is matched perfectly to the manuscript. But add in the interesting and highly variable orchestral textures and solos and the *pas de deux* comes alive, as each new phrase is distinct in music creating a dialogue that may have occurred in the dance also. Hammond’s research shows that much alteration occurred between dancers, and in one case, each phrase performed by the male dancer was echoed by the woman.³²⁰

Two further *pas de deux* by Gallenberg, one a “gran” *pas de deux*, exist in manuscript autograph full score, giving us the chance to further examine the scoring of this dance genre. Unfortunately, we do not know what ballets these pieces belonged to or their exact date of composition (Gallenberg died in 1839). The overall scoring for the first is: fl, pic, ob, cl, hn, hn, tr, vln 1&2 vla, bsn, vc, bs, trbn, timp, “piccolo tamburro militare.” (A separate score for percussion, including triangoli, gran cassa, picatti and campanelli is found at the end, which was a common practice in Italian ballet manuscripts.) The composer had many colors and textures available for this number. The second, entitled “Gran pas de deux” was scored for: fl, picc, ob, cl, hn, hn, tr, vln 1&2, vla, bsn, vc, bs, trbn, timpani, gran cassa. This is the first example of a “gran pas de

³²⁰ Hammond, “Windows into the Romantic Ballet,” 141.

deux” that I found in the musical sources I studied, and the use of “gran” certainly begs further investigation. Table 10 below shows the structure and flow of each *pas de deux*.

Table 10: Comparison of Gallenberg’s *pas de deux* and *gran pas de deux*

Pas de deux	Gran pas de deux
Allegro molto , 4/4, C major, (Intro) tambourine tremolos lead to tutti chords that pulse 4x, pulsing chords fill out the introduction which ends on an E chord (fermata)	Maestoso – A-flat major, 3/4, a fanfare like introduction, 12 measures
Larghetto sostenuto , 3/8, A minor, the violin starts (A) , with sparse accompaniment, in the second phrase the woodwinds play in thirds with clarinet interjections, followed by tremolos in the strings and more pulsing chords, then the A theme returns with the violin to close out the section (fermata).	Larghetto , 3/8, (A) a clarinet solo trades with the cello, then flutes with clarinet and horn for the second phrase, while the violins have a rolling accompaniment, the clarinet theme appears again with a tutti answer this time and a fermata. The next section has flute against violin to close out the section. (internal form: abac)
Allegretto 2/4, A major, (B) the flute solo is cheerful and regular in phrasing followed by a contrasting full orchestral answer with an ornate violin passage that leads back into the opening theme. (C) a fortissimo section with tutti chords accenting the string lines. (D) is characterized by pervasive dotted rhythms which close out the section (E) New key: C major, winds have the melody in a repeated section, with many triplet figures before the ‘Allegretto’ theme (A) returns, back in the key of A major, which leads into an extended closing marked by repeating figurations and violin noodles.	Allegretto 2/4, (B) flutes and winds begin this march-like section with the full orchestra answering, the second time around an elaborate modulation, marked fortissimo, brings us to C major, where the flute solo continues with rocketing figures and piccolo also. Cadences in C (fermata). Allegro risoluto , 3/4, (C) back to four flats but now F minor with the bassoons and trombones carrying the melody – a stormy sound results with the fortissimo string tremolos as accompaniment. The full orchestra provides the answer to the opening phrase, before the solo bassoon carries on the melody with the piccolo, then flute and clarinet take over and the full orchestra finishes off the section. Allegretto 2/4, (D) march-like, in C minor, again lead off by a flute solo and answered by the winds and strings – this is brief section – 7 measures – and is elided into the following Allegro 4/4, (E) A-flat major, the violins take over the melody with sparse accompaniment and timpani, with a march feel that soon crescendos into a fortissimo section involving the full orchestra – this whole section repeats and draws the entire pas de deux to a close
Form: Intro ABACDEA closing	Form: Intro A(abac)BCD E: closing

Here we can see that there is a notable grandeur to the “gran pas de deux,” as it has more distinct sections of music, though formally the two are not dissimilar. The main format remains: introduction, slow section, fast multi-part section, closing. This format is conspicuously similar to certain Italian opera arias of the same period that had a cantabile-cabaletta format.³²¹ This similarity is certainly no accident, as interchange was extensive between opera and ballet, both dramatically and musically.

An important musical element of the *pas de deux* sub-genre is the use of instrumental solos. In all of the manuscript examples of *pas de deux* discussed thus far, there is much instrumental soloing—more than in the average scoring for ballabili (without inner solos) and other ensemble dance numbers. This correlates well with the choreographic element, as the talents of only two dancers are put on display. This trend continues in the mid-century manuscript sources.

In two mid-century *passi a due* by Giuseppe Giaquinto (see Table 11 below, identified by who performed them: I: ‘Croce e Durante’ and II: ‘Montani e Croce’) we can again see this format, though it has expanded. Again, the ballets from which these pieces came are unknown. Furthermore, it appears that these manuscripts only give the music for part of the danced number. The orchestral forces are similar to those employed by Gallenberg. While the entire form for first *passo a due* is incomplete, since it appears that the variations are missing from the middle, it can easily be seen that a number of

³²¹ For details on the structure of arias during the nineteenth century see: Philip Gossett, “Verdi, Ghislanzoni, and Aida: the Uses of Convention,” *Critical Inquiry* 1, no. 2 (1974): 291-334, and Harold S. Powers, “La solita forma” and “The Uses of Convention,” *Nuove prospettive nella ricerca verdiana Parma [etc.]: Istituto di studi verdiani* (1987): 74-109.

Table 11: Two *passi a due* by Giuseppe Giaquinto

Passo a due eseguito da Sigr. Croce e Durante*	Passo a due eseguito da signora Montani e signor Croce
<p>Allegro vivo molto in 2/4, G major, introduction (on the dominant) with full orchestra—6/8, with the full orchestra on an 8 measure melody that ends by switching into 2/4 and then a fermata with a flute cadenza leading into</p> <p>Andante in 3/4, D major, the violin gets the melody (This is labeled A). The (B) section is really a transition of 7 measures into the</p> <p>Allegro vivo 2/4, (C) D minor, many internal repeats of material. This section is followed by another switch to 3/4 and directions to repeat the previous (A) and (B) sections. A brief transition leads, after this repeat, into a new section</p> <p>Allegretto (C) in 3/4, E-flat major with a dotted rhythm melody that ends the section</p>	<p>Allegro ‘introduzione’ in B flat major—2/4 with full orchestra, then</p> <p>Adagio, also marked Larghetto, in 12/8, with the bassoon and viola providing a flowing accompaniment to the violin, clarinet and cello melody, which continues, growing fuller in orchestration over several pages before easing into a 3/4 section, marked più mosso, which quickly ends the adagio (also marked “Fine del Adagio”)</p>
<p>Variation(s). (MISSING) Following this, on the blank page in the score, is the direction “Siegue I.a Variazione” - it is unclear whether the next music is for that variation, though it is unlikely – it seems that the music for this variation is missing from the score.</p>	<p>Variations. (MISSING second variation) Following is an insertion of an Allegretto marziale in 6/8, inscribed as a “Variazione sigr. Croce (also signed Mo. Giaquinto). This is in E-flat, and, after an introduction and fermata, begins proper with the full orchestra participating in a rhythmically driving march. The end of this is marked “Siegue 2da variazione” though this is not found in the MS.</p>
<p>Coda the next music in the MS has the indication “Coda” 8 measures in. After a tempo increase and key shift back to E-flat the number ends, indicated by the inscription “Fine del Passo.”</p>	<p>Coda, Allegretto The next piece is an Allegretto also entitled “Coda” in 2/4 and in G, moving to C major and back to G, increasing in excitement “Stringendo” as it closes.</p>

*It is possible that this *passo a due* was performed by two male dancers, since we do not know who Durante is.

texture, meter and tempo shifts occur in the first part. Then there was a solo section (indicated by the direction to proceed to the first variation) followed by closing material. This does indicate that it is a mid-century example of the *pas de deux*, wherein the danced variations may have become more firmly established as part of this dance’s format. The music for the danced variation(s) is not included in this manuscript however.

'*Passo a due II*' has some of the danced variation music inserted in manuscript, though we are still missing the second variation, performed by Montani. Table 11 above shows the two *passi a due*. (It should be noted that while the second *passo a due* was performed by a female and male dancer, the first was performed by a male dancer and "Durante.")

Musical Topics

How did composers of Italian ballets handle certain topics musically? As with contemporary (and eighteenth-century) opera as well as twentieth-century film scores, events, moods, scene types and characters are fit with the appropriate musical types. Witches and devils, willis and sylphs, exotic characters, weather and elements, hell and tartaro, tragedy and death, the love scene, the weather, the mood, and other settings and emotions—all had specific and identifiable music.³²² The identifying music for these categories remained relatively stable throughout the period 1800-1870, and much of the music would be understood as signifying these categories even today.

Though the topic of musical signification is less studied for nineteenth century ballet than for opera, an important recent contribution by David Day relates to my discussion here. Day, who has studied the annotated *violon répétiteur* from the Belgian Théâtre Royal de Bruxelles between 1815-1830, defines musical signification in dramatic music as "the reinforcement of a broad spectrum of emotions, personalities, and stage

³²² Some examples have already been mentioned in the mime discussion, beginning on page 149.

actions by mean of musical device and gesture.”³²³ These were understood by the audience and evidenced in contemporary press. He groups the annotations as follows:

I. Staging Indications

- dancers' movements on stage and stage positions
- entrance cues for principal roles
- notes indicating the time-frame within the musical structure for specific actions and events
- descriptions of the scene design and stage furniture or prompts

II. Association by Musical Quotation

- dramatic situations conveyed to the audience by means of well-known music with an associated dramatic content

III. Codified Gesture

- common signs and meanings conveyed by bodily actions (such as shrugging one's shoulders or blinking one's eyes)
- depictions of emotions
- fixed moments of dramatic climax frozen or focused as tableaux
- verbal expressions to be mimed³²⁴

Many of these categories apply to the annotations found in Italian ballet scores, though it should be noted that a majority of the scores examined for this dissertation were not *violon répétiteur* or *foglietti* (a similar type of score used in Italy, see glossary).³²⁵ Day correlates his findings with Blasis' *Code of Terpsichore*, where three types of gesture are given: 1) natural (emotional), 2) artificial (representing objects), and 3) gestures of convention (require the assistance of imagination, such as an indication of power, father,

³²³ Day, "The Annotated *violon répétiteur* and Early Romantic Ballet at the Théâtre Royal de Bruxelles (1815-1830)," 1.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.

³²⁵ Day found that his sources were quite similar to a Pallerini score present in the Sowell's private collection, which is likely similar to the impressive group of annotated manuscript sources in the Ward Collection. This is indeed interesting because of the time span between Day's Belgian scores (1815-1830) and the Pallerini sources (1860s-70s).

husband, son, etc.).³²⁶ Day's list of codified gestures that appeared frequently in ballet-pantomime bears resemblance to the categories I found to be common, including greetings, pleas, prayers, oaths, threats or menaces, curses, expressions of humility of submission, and declarations of love.³²⁷ Generally, my investigation into these musical topics, which flowed directly from the sources themselves, lines up well with Day's investigation, despite distinct differences in context and source materials used in each of our studies.³²⁸

Supernaturals: Witches, Devils, Willis

Witches were common characters in Italian ballets. In *Il Noce di Benevento* (Viganò, 1812 and after) No. 6 "Agitato" is a dance for two witches in a quick 3/4 and F-minor. The character of this is urgent and punctuated by *sforzando* markings. See Example 22, below.³²⁹

³²⁶ Cited in Day, *Ibid.*, 170-71; Blasis, "The Code of Terpsichore," 116-117.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 171.

³²⁸ Day found that the Belgian theatre featured restagings of many Parisian works but, similarly to Italians, the Brussels audiences favored mime. While Day's sources were *violin répétiteur*, my sources are predominately published piano scores and manuscript full scores.

³²⁹ Franz Xaver Süssmayr, Salvatore Viganò, and Giulio Viganò, *Il noce di Benevento: ballo al[l]egorico* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection) Biblioteca di musica, anno 3, classe 2. Milano: Ricordi, 1822. (HTC)

Example 22: *Il Noce di Benevento* (Viganò, 1812 and after) No. 6 Agitato “Contesa delle due streghe” [Argument of two witches]

N.º 6
ALL.to
Agitato

Contesa delle due streghe

5

10

16

21

25

29

33

37

sf

f

f molto

Interestingly, the “Contraddanza delle streghe” (Witches’ contradance) in Example 23 below, which is from the same ballet, is a cheerful affair in duple meter, E-flat major. The theme would go on to become the musical material for Paganini’s famous orchestral variations titled “Le Streghe” Opus 8, 1813 (The Witches, also known as The Witches’ Dance) and was later used in the ballet *La Sylphide* (Taglioni, Schneitzhoeffter, Paris, 1832) to signify Madge the witch. So this seemingly cheerful bit of music ended up having a long life associated with witches. Paganini’s variations were reduced for piano

and for violin solo, which may have been the primary form in which they were transmitted.³³⁰

Example 23: *Il Noce di Benevento* (Viganò, 1812 and after) “Contraddanza delle streghe”

In *Fausto* (Cortesi, Viviani, 1852) several numbers involve witches and infernal spirits. The opening number entitled “Preludio” sets up the scene and is followed by the “Introduzione” where the witches and infernal spirits celebrate a Sabbath with dances. (See Example 24.)³³¹ Foreboding tremolos, chromatic passages, syncopated dissonances

³³⁰ Though this number appears only once in the ballet (as far as can be discerned from the published piano score) and is in major, the theme appears in minor during certain parts of *La Sylphide*, but is still easily recognized. Furthermore, the number is still published and used today as a teaching piece in the violin repertoire (and is specifically part of the Suzuki violin method).

³³¹ Luigi Maria Viviani, Antonio Cortesi, and Ermanno Picchi, *Fausto: ballo fantastico* [piano score], John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection).

and swirling motives characterize these supernaturals. (The dance music in No. 1 is rather like Grieg's Puck, from Lyric Pieces, Opus 71, No. 3, composed nearly fifty years later.) In number five of *Faust*, titled "Ridda Infernale" (Infernal turmoil), where the witches make a potion for Fausto to drink and become rejuvenated, similar swirling motives are heard. When he drinks it in the next number (No. 6), the music depicts the poison traveling down his throat with quickly descending passages in the melodic line.

Example 24: *Fausto* (Cortesi, Viviani, 1852) "Preludio" (pages 1-2), No. 1 "Introduzione" (m. 1-11), No. 5 "Ridda Infernale" (opening) and No. 6, (m. 1-8)

The image displays two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled "PRELUDIO." and "Largo". It features a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The music begins with a few notes in the bass clef, followed by a series of chords in the treble clef. The bottom staff shows a more complex passage, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. It includes a triplet of notes marked with a forte dynamic (*sf*) and a pedaling instruction (*Ped. ff*) in the bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values and articulation marks.

Firenze: Ferdinando Lorenzi, 1852; also: Luigi Maria Viviani, *Fausto; ballo fantastico del coreografo A. Cortesi. Rappresentato nell S. e R. Teatro della Pergola. Con musica composta dal Mo. L. M. Viviani. La riduzione per piano del Mo. E. Picchi* [piano score] Gift of Lillian Moore. Firenze: F. Lorenzi, [185-?]. (HTC and NYPL)

5 *sf*

6 *Ped. ff* *sf*

8 *Ped. ff*

9 *sf* *8va*

10 *Ped. ff*

11 *Ped. ff* *Ped. diminuendo*

Detailed description: This page of a musical score contains six systems of piano music, numbered 5 through 11. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. Measure 5 features a *sf* dynamic. Measure 6 includes a *Ped. ff* instruction and a *sf* dynamic. Measure 8 has a *Ped. ff* instruction. Measure 9 includes *sf* and *8va* markings. Measure 10 has a *Ped. ff* instruction. Measure 11 begins with *Ped. ff* and ends with *Ped. diminuendo*. The notation includes various note values, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Musical score for measures 13-18. The score is written for piano in two staves (treble and bass clef). Measure 13 starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The music features a complex melodic line in the right hand and a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. Measure 15 shows a change in the right hand's texture. Measure 18 includes the instruction "Ped. perdersosi ppp" and ends with a double bar line.

INTRODUZIONE. La Scziale e di Strin li fenza. Segguito a vrbato con laze analoche

N.º 1.
Allegro vivo

Musical score for the introduction of N.º 1. The score is written for piano in two staves (treble and bass clef). The key signature is two flats and the time signature is 8/8. The tempo is marked "Allegro vivo". The score includes the instruction "Ped. f" and "ff".

Musical score for measures 4-8. The score is written for piano in two staves (treble and bass clef). The key signature is two flats and the time signature is 8/8. The music features a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand and a melodic line in the right hand. Measure 8 includes the instruction "Ped. ff".

Durante la quale alcune Streghe fabbricano il liquore che deve fare ringiovanire Fausto.

N.º 5
ALL.º SPIRITOSO ASSAL.

N.° 6.
ALL.° SPIRITOSO.

Fausto beve il liquore

L'orrida Scena si cambia in un delizioso Giardino

In *Gretchen: ballo romantico fantastico* (Danesi, various, 1855), which has some obvious plot parallels with the French ballets *La Sylphide* (Taglioni, Schneitzhoeffler, 1832) and *Giselle* (Coralli/Perrot, Adam, 1841), a “danza fantastica delle Willi, la selva

nera” (“fantastic dance of the Willi, the black forest”) occurs in Act VI. As one might expect, an ethereal and tremulous *Andante sostenuto* with a soaring violin solo depicts these supernaturals in their spooky setting. The flourishes in the solo line are marked “a piacere” and frequently consist of Chopin-esque improvisatory, odd-numbered note groupings juxtaposed over a steady accompaniment in the left hand. A middle *Agitato* section seems to indicate a new action involving the willis, followed by several more changes in meter, tempo and texture, which include a waltzed section and a galop-like closing. Thus this ballabile contains several distinct sections, some of which likely contained action, mixed in with the ballroom dance types. Table 12 shows the sections and in Example 25 I provide the beginning of each section.³³²

Table 12: “Danza fantastica delle Willi - la selva nera” from *Gretchen*

Tempo	Meter	Texture	Key	Measures
Andante sostenuto	4/4	tremolos, soaring violin, free flourishes, many fermatas	D major	1-23
Agitato	4/4	varied – possibly action / mime	A minor	24-46
Mosso	2/4	accented unison or homophonic lines, march-like, possible action	~ F minor	47-76
Andante	6/8	arpeggiated accompaniment, soaring melody, danced	B major	77-90
Moderato, con grazia	3/4	waltz- or mazurka-like accompaniment and regular phrases, many internal changes of texture and some repeats, danced	G major - modulates	91-106 107-114 115-130 131-144 145-160, 161
Allegretto sostenuto	4/4	galop-like accompaniment, perky RH melody, danced	A major	162-182

³³² Enrico Bernardi, *Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico del coreografo Luigi Danesi. Musica dei maestri Bernardi e Scaramelli. Riduzione per pianoforte di Ettore Contrucci*, (Firenze: Bratti Sciabilli, [1855?]). (NYPL)

Example 25: *Gretchen: ballo romantico fantastico*, (Danesi, various, 1855) Act VI, “danza fantastica delle Willi ... la selva nera” by Enrico Bernardi (beginnings of each new section)

ATTO VI "Danza fantastica delle Willi...La selva nera"

Andante sostenuto

pp

p

a piacere

4

7

10

11

12

Agitato

Agitato

The musical score for the **Agitato** section consists of three systems of music. The first system (measures 1-4) features a treble clef with a melodic line and a bass clef with a piano accompaniment of chords marked with a *p* dynamic. The second system (measures 5-8) continues the melodic and harmonic development. The third system (measures 9-10) concludes the section with a final melodic flourish and a tremolo effect in the bass line.

Mosso, with “Banda sotto il palco,” (Band under the stage) and Andante

Mosso **Banda sotto il palco**

The musical score for the **Mosso** section, titled **Banda sotto il palco**, consists of three systems of music. The first system (measures 11-15) is in a 4/4 time signature and features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes. The second system (measures 16-20) continues this rhythmic texture. The third system (measures 21-24) concludes the section with a melodic line in the treble clef and a bass line that includes a tremolo effect.

30 **Andante**

33

36

Moderato

Moderato
con grazia

pp

36

Allegretto sostenuto

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Allegretto sostenuto". The score is written for piano and consists of three systems of music. The first system begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#), and a common time signature (C). The music features a series of chords in the right hand and a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the left hand. A dynamic marking of *f* (forte) is present. The second system continues with similar accompaniment and includes a dynamic marking of *p* (piano). The third system concludes the piece with a final chord and a fermata. The tempo marking "Allegretto sostenuto" is repeated at the top right of the first system.

There is some evidence that the spectacles of dances that involved witches and other infernal creatures were quite elaborate and reflected the swirling music with swirling patterns on stage. The danced portions of Arrigo Boito's opera-ballo *Mefistofele* (La Scala, 1868, rev. Bologna, Teatro Comunale, 1875), according to Ornella Di Tondo, includes one such dance involving supernumeraries, choirs, nine little witches, twenty-four female witches, twenty-seven wizards, and twelve elves (there was also a band on stage). According to the "disposizione scenica" (published staging manual) by Ricordi in 1877, these groups "follow various configurations (aligning, moving, and stopping in concentric or divergent lines, diagonals, whirling or arching circles and spirals) very actively taking advantage of the stage space vertically and horizontally..."³³³

³³³ Di Tondo, "Italian Opera Staging Manuals (Disposizioni sceniche) and Ballet. An Example: Arrigo Boito's *Mefistofele*," in *Die Beziehung von Musik und*

Boito was known to have admired Giuseppe Rota's ballets, and, though the choreographer of the dance portions of *Mefistofele* is unknown, it is likely that these parts were similar to large *corpo di ballo* scenes in Italian ballets. Later in *Mefistofele*, the witches again perform a dance during a chorus that is "highly animated, with leaps and picturesque groups" ("Animatissimo, con salti e gruppi pittoreschi").³³⁴ The author discusses the formation of many tableaux, similar to what Marian Smith describes in the French ballet, clearly indicating that this was also a choreographic approach used in Italy, at least for the opera-ballo, and likely for the Italian ballet beyond the era of Viganò (in whose ballets the picturesque tableaux are famous).

At the end of the staging manual for *Mefistofele*, the instructions specifically indicate that the choreography should follow the intensity of the music:

Keep in mind that the beginning of the movements are not casual, but instead *support and correspond to the musical effects realized by the composer*. The choreographer does not need to study the steps as much as he needs to realize big movements and lines, and picturesque groups; they are witches and demons that make a group of devils and so they must stay in character; this also applies to the choir.³³⁵

Choreographie im Ballett Buch. Edited by Michael Malkiewicz and Jörg Rothkamm. (Berlin: Vorwerk 8, 2007) 161.

³³⁴ Ornella Di Tondo, "Boito's *Mefistofele*," 162.

³³⁵ Quoted and translated by Ornella Di Tondo from "Boito's *Mefistofele*," 163, from the *Disposizione scenica per l'opera Mefistofele di Arrigo Boito compilata e regolata secondo le istruzioni dell'autore da Giulio Ricordi*, (Milano: Ricordi, No. 45401, 1877).

Weather and the Elements

Storms are often depicted similarly to witch music, and not surprisingly the two appear together quite often. In fact, thunderstorms are common in musical-dramatic productions of the nineteenth century and are used in the same ways that they are later in film, that is, to set a particular mood, produce anxiety, excitement, and fear, often bringing about major changes or plot events. Storms in ballet scores often sounded and functioned just like the musically obvious storm in Rossini's *La Cenerentola* (1817), Act II, which paints the dismal mood of the stepsisters and their father as they return from the ball, while at the same time providing the rationale for the prince to knock on their door, all setting us up for the complete change of fortune for Cenerentola. (See Example 30.)³³⁶ In *Il Noce di Benevento* (Viganò, 1822) the "Temporali" (storms) of No. 3 are depicted with quiet tremolos, adamant chords and swirling patterns marked with *sforzandi*. (See Example 27.)³³⁷ In an even earlier ballet, *I giuochi istmici* (Viganò, Weigl, Vienna 1803), the same textures are found with No. 38 entitled "La Tempesta" featuring stereotypical storm music, in minor, agitated with tremolos and scalar flourishes that sound like wind. (See Example 26.)³³⁸ In *Faust*, (Cortesi, Viviani, 1852) the "Tempesta" (Atto quarto, No.

³³⁶ Gioacchino Rossini and Jacopo Ferretti, *La Cenerentola: melodramma giocoso in 2 atti, Opera completa per canto e pianoforte*, (Milano: New York, 1952), 275.

³³⁷ Franz Xaver Süssmayr, Salvatore Viganò, and Giulio Viganò, *Il noce di Benevento: ballo al[l]egorico*, John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection) Biblioteca di musica, anno 3, classe 2, (Milano: Ricordi, 1822).

³³⁸ Louis-Luc Loiseau de Persuis, [*Noverre and Viganò ballets: librettos and scores*] [*contents include: libretto for Salvatore Viganò's ballet, Il principe Fortunio (Milano, G. Pirola, 1817); and piano scores for Viganò's ballets I giuochi istmici and Der Spanier auf der Insel, music by J. Weigl (Vienna, n.d.)*] *Cia Fornaroli Collection*, (Paris, Chez Boieldieu, jeune

1) too, features typical tremolos, *sforzando* accents, swirling and scalar passages, all in F minor. (See Example 28.)³³⁹ In *Sieba* (Manzotti, Marengo, 1880-81), the “Tempesta” features more of the same though in an isolated section that passes quickly. (See Example 29.)³⁴⁰

Example 26: *I giuochi istmici* (Viganò, Weigl, Vienna 1803) No. 38 entitled “La Tempesta” m.1-10, 20-25

La Tempesta.
Allegro moderato
No. 38.

[1818?]: Chez Boieldieu, [ca. 1762-ca. 1817]). (NYPL)

³³⁹ Luigi Maria Viviani, Antonio Cortesi, and Ermanno Picchi, arranger, *Fausto: ballo fantastico*, (Firenze: Ferdinando Lorenzi, 1852), 63; or, Luigi Maria Viviani, *Fausto; ballo fantastico del coreografo A. Cortesi. Rappresentato nell S. e R. Teatro della Pergola, Con musica composta dal Mo. L. M. Viviani, La riduzione per piano del Mo. E. Picchi, Gift of Lillian Moore*, (Firenze, F. Lorenzi [185-?]), 63. (Housed at HTC and NYPL).

³⁴⁰ Angelo Venanzi and Remigio Vitali, *Sieba, Ballo di L. Manzotti ... Riduzione per pianoforte di R. Vitali*, (Milano, 1884), 77-78. (Housed at the Conservatorio di Musica di Santa Cecilia) See piano score pages 77, opening of the number, and 81, transition into the “Tempesta”

6

Musical notation for measures 6-8. Treble clef has a sixteenth-note triplet pattern. Bass clef has a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

9

Musical notation for measures 9-11. Treble clef has a sixteenth-note triplet pattern. Bass clef has a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

20

cres.

Musical notation for measures 20-21. Measure 20 has tremolos in both staves. Measure 21 has a melodic line in the treble and a bass line with a sharp sign.

21

Musical notation for measure 21. Treble clef has a melodic line with a slur. Bass clef has a bass line with a sharp sign.

22

Musical notation for measure 22. Treble clef has a melodic line with a slur. Bass clef has a bass line with a sharp sign.

23

Musical notation for measure 23. Treble clef has a melodic line with a slur. Bass clef has a bass line with a sharp sign.

Musical score for Example 27, measures 24 and 25. The score is in 3/4 time, key of B-flat major. Measure 24 shows a melodic line in the right hand with a slur over a series of eighth notes, and a bass line with a similar pattern. Measure 25 features a more complex texture with sixteenth-note patterns in the right hand and a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the left hand.

Example 27: *Il Noce di Benevento* (Viganò, 1822) No. 3 “Temporali” (storms) (m.1-19)

Musical score for Example 27, measures 1-5. The score is in 3/4 time, key of B-flat major. Measure 1 is marked "N.° 3 TEMPORALI" and "All.° molto." with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The score includes a crescendo (*cres.*) leading to a change in dynamics and texture. Measures 2-5 show a variety of rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth-note runs.

8

11

Example 28: *Faust*, (Cortesi, Viviani, 1852) Act IV, No. 2 “Tempesta”

TEMPESTA.

N.º 1.
All.º vivo

f

sf

sf

sf

sf

First system of musical notation, measures 1-4. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The music is written for piano in a grand staff. The bass line features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and quarter notes. The treble line has a melodic line with some grace notes. Dynamic markings *sf* (sforzando) are present in measures 2 and 3.

Second system of musical notation, measures 5-8. The key signature remains three flats. The bass line continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The treble line has a melodic line with some grace notes. Dynamic markings *sf* are present in measures 6 and 7.

Third system of musical notation, measures 9-12. The key signature remains three flats. The bass line continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The treble line has a melodic line with some grace notes. A *Ped.* (pedal) marking is present in measure 12.

Fourth system of musical notation, measures 13-16. The key signature remains three flats. The bass line continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The treble line has a melodic line with some grace notes. Dynamic markings *sf* and *Ped.* are present in measures 14 and 15.

Fifth system of musical notation, measures 17-20. The key signature remains three flats. The bass line continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The treble line has a melodic line with some grace notes. A *Ped.* marking is present in measure 18.

Sixth system of musical notation, measures 21-24. The key signature remains three flats. The bass line continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The treble line has a melodic line with some grace notes. A *Ped.* marking is present in measure 22.

Musical score system 1, measures 8-13. The system features a treble clef with a melodic line and a bass clef with a harmonic accompaniment. A dynamic marking of *p* is present in the bass clef. A *Ped. ff* instruction is placed above the treble clef. A bracket above the treble clef spans measures 8 through 13, with a '3' at the end, indicating a triplet.

Musical score system 2, measures 14-18. The system continues the melodic and harmonic lines. A *Ped.* instruction is placed above the treble clef in measure 18. A dynamic marking of *p* is present in the bass clef.

Musical score system 3, measures 19-23. The system continues the melodic and harmonic lines. A dynamic marking of *p* is present in the bass clef.

Musical score system 4, measures 24-28. The system includes vocal lines with lyrics: *di... mi... nuen... do*. A dynamic marking of *p* is present in the bass clef.

Musical score system 5, measures 29-33. The system continues the melodic and harmonic lines. A dynamic marking of *p* is present in the bass clef.

Example 29: *Sieba* (Manzotti, Marenco, 1880-81), opening and later “Tempesta”

SIEBA

SEGUITO DEL QUADRO VII. TEMPESTA

Andante

Corno

All.° agitato.

p

3

3

4

7

10

p

ff

16 **All.^o molto.**
p TEMPESTA.

21 *cres.*

24 *ff* *pp*

27

29 *cres.*

Example 30: *La Cenerentola* (Rossini, 1817) Act II, "Recitativo e Temporale"

The image displays a musical score for a recitative and tempo section from Rossini's *La Cenerentola*. The score is written for piano and voice, spanning five systems of music. The first system shows the piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a bass clef, featuring a steady eighth-note pattern in the bass and a few notes in the treble. The second system introduces the vocal line in the treble clef, with the piano accompaniment continuing. The third system shows the vocal line with a circled measure number '9' and a fermata. The fourth system shows the vocal line with a circled measure number '14' and a fermata. The fifth system shows the vocal line with a circled measure number '17' and a fermata. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the bass and various chords and melodic lines in the treble.

Hell, Tartaro, Inferno

In the ballet *I Titani* (Viganò, Ayblinger et al., 1819) a scene takes place in Tartaro in the beginning during Act II. “Il Tartaro” by Ayblinger (No. 1 in the piano score, see Example 31 below)³⁴¹ begins with octave unisons and dramatic opening gestures, with trills resolving into fanfare-like chords, which are sustained by fermate. A dotted figure accompanies the bass melody in B minor, followed by a layered progression through various keys which erupts finally into extremely quick scalar flourishes that end the section (m. 1-23). The intensity in this page of music is obvious and it accompanies the inscribed action “Il Gigante Atlante col capo e colle mani sostiene il Cielo. I Titani e i Ciclopi arrabiati e frementi vanno nell’eterna caligine aggirandosi.” (The giant Atlas with head and hands supports the sky. The Titans and the angry cyclopes go in the eternal haze swirling around.) The next section of music provides a great change in texture. An eerie ostinato in the right hand is accompanied by long notes as “Creo and Pluto rebuke the giants” and “Saturn disputes Giapeto.” This is followed by scary sounding section of tremolos with dotted gestures that continues for many measures without stage directions. Ritorni describes the Titans as being in an eternal dispute and summarizes all elements of the scene, including the stage design and music. Especially the descent of Tia from the clouds upon the palm of a giant drew surprise and excitement

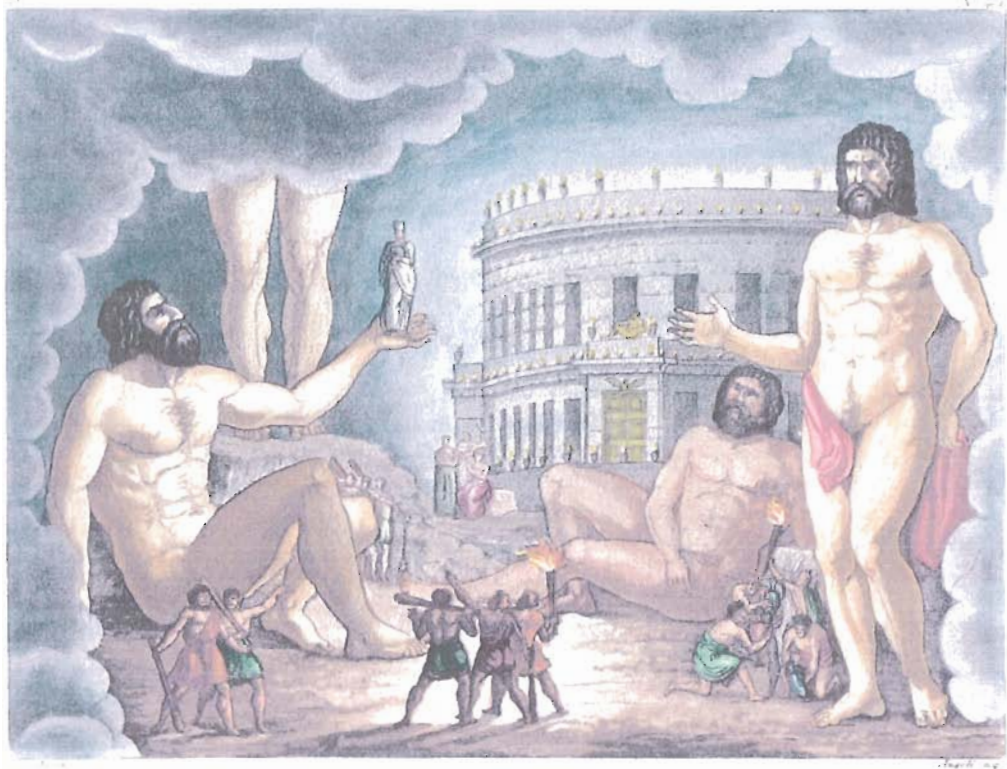
³⁴¹ Salvatore Viganò, Johann Kaspar Aiblinger, Michele Carafa, Gioacchino Rossini, Louis Jansen, and F. Bonazzi, *Raccolta di varj e più applauditi pezzi del gran ballo I Titani* [piano score] John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), (Milano: Gio. Ricordi, negoziante di musica, editore del C.R. Conservatorio, e proprietario della musica del R. Teatro alla Scala, che tiene stamperia, archivio di spartiti e magazzino di cembali di Vienna e Monaco, nella cont.a di S.a Margherita, N.o 1118, 1819). (HTC)

from the crowd, which was rapt with attention. This scene evoked the “natural satisfaction that comes when you see something represented precisely as you imagined it.”³⁴² The music for “Il Tartaro” is very distinct - most of it is marked *fortissimo* and the textures are tremulous, with quick flourishes, dotted motives, ostinati, pulsing diminished chords and generally scary sounding motives. As when writing music for storms and witches, composers were not subtle when it came to the underworld. Nor was the scene visually underplayed. Figure 6 shows the giants and titans in action as designed by Alessandro Sanquirico and described by Ritorni.³⁴³

³⁴² Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere di Viganò,” 249-50. “Il dipinto di questa decorazione; la musica che accompagna l'azione; il moto rapido ed attivo con cui essa sempre procede; e soprattutto la miracolosa discesa di Tia dalle nubi sulla palma della mano del Gigante, [. . .], eccitano negli spettatori una grata sorpresa, che produce la continuata attenzione, e quella naturale soddisfazione che nasce quando si vede rappresentata una cosa precisamente come uno se la figura.” (The painting of this decoration, the music accompanying the action, the rapid and active movement with which it always proceeds, and especially the miraculous descent of Tia from the clouds on the palm of the giant [. . .] excites in the audience a pleasant surprise, which [keeps their] continued attention, and that natural satisfaction that comes when you see something represented precisely as you imagined it.)

³⁴³ "Ballo I Titani, atto II. Il tartaro. Uno de' Giganti annunzia l'arrivo di Tia: ne esultano I Titani stimandola opportuna [sic] per trasportar immantinente sulla terra i tre insidiosi [sic]vasi. Progr. Stucchi inc. Angeli acq. [after a set design by Sanquirico]." Aquatint engraving (color), 13.5 x 15.9 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515812), [1819]. (Used with permission). The inscription actually reads, and translates, as follows: “...une de' Giganti annunzia l'arrivo di Tai: ne esultano i Titani stimandola opportuna per transporta immantinente sulla terra i tre insidiososi vasi.” (One of the giants announces the arrival of Tia: The Titans rejoice, judging it necessary to bring up immediately from the ground three insidious vessels.)

Figure 8: Ballo I Titani, atto II. Il tartaro.



Ballo I. Titani atto II
IL TARTARO

Il Tartaro è un luogo dove si castiga i peccatori, e dove si fa il giudizio universale. In questo luogo si vede il Tartaro, e si vede il Tartaro.

Example 31: *I Titani* (Viganò, 1819) Act II, No. 1 “Il Tartaro” by Ayblinger

IL TARTARO
Ridotto dal Sig. JANSEN

AYBLINGER
Atto 2.^o
N.° 1.

6

11

13

15

17

Musical score for measures 17-18. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). Measure 17 features a complex chordal texture in the right hand and a melodic line in the left hand. Measure 18 continues the melodic development in both hands.

18

Musical score for measures 18-19. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has two sharps. Measure 18 shows a continuation of the melodic lines from the previous system. Measure 19 introduces a new melodic phrase in the right hand.

19

Musical score for measures 19-20. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has two sharps. Measure 19 continues the melodic development. Measure 20 features a dynamic marking of *ff* (fortissimo) and a more active melodic line in the right hand.

21

Musical score for measures 21-22. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has two sharps. Measure 21 features a complex chordal texture in the right hand and a melodic line in the left hand. Measure 22 continues the melodic development in both hands.

23

Creo e Plutone rimproverano i Giganti

Musical score for measures 23-24. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has two sharps. Measure 23 features a dynamic marking of *sf* (sforzando) and a melodic line in the right hand. Measure 24 continues the melodic development in both hands.

26 *sf*

Saturno accusa Giapeto

28 *sf sf sf dim.*

30

Settings or elements such as an inferno could call for extremely chromatic swirls, as are found in the “Infernale” of *Iselda di Normandia* (1846, Casati, P. Bellini). (See Example 31.)³⁴⁴ As a whole, this number is highly dramatic with a driven chordal presto closing the piece. Even ballets as late in the century as *Brahma* (Monplaisir, dall’Argine, 1868) contain music similar to the Ayblinger number from *I Titani* described and shown above. *Brahma*’s “Ballabile Tartaro e Finale” is not quite as intense and frightening as that in *I Titani*, but does contain the dissonant harmonic accents and a similar aggressive nature, fitted to a danceable rhythmic flow that is also meant to be a “Mogul dance” (La Mogolienne). See Example 32, below.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ Pio Bellini, *Iselda di Normandia; ballo fantastico di Giovanni Casati. Riduzione per Pianoforte solo di A. Raineri*, (Milano: G. Ricordi, [1846?]). (NYPL)

³⁴⁵ Costantino Dall’Argine, *Brahma; ballo in sette atti e prologo del coreografo Ippolito*

Example 32: *Iselda di Normandia* (1846, Casati, P. Bellini) No. 4, Allegro, “Infernale” (excerpts)

INFERNALE

N.° 4.

ALLEGRO.

5

9

11

13

p

cres.

f

p

sf

p

*Monplaisir. Riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio, (Milano: F. Lucca, [1868?]); AND: Costantino Dall'Argine, *Brahma; musica di C. dall'Argine; riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio* [piano score], (Milano; New York: Ricordi, [1915]). (Both at NYPL)*

15

18

con tutta forza.

Example 33: *Brahms* (Monplaiser, dall'Argine, 1868) "Ballabile Tartaro e Finale"

BRADMA
Ballo del Coreografo I. MONPLAISIR

**BALLABILE TARTARO
E FINALE
(LA MOGOLIENNE)**

All.^o sostenuto

pesante

7

14

con 8



Musical depictions of natural elements and weather continued to be depicted in obvious ways in later nineteenth century ballets scores by Romualdo Marengo and Costantino dall'Argine (c.f. *L'Astro degli Afghani*, “The Reign of Fire,” *Brahma*, the river rapids as Brahma and Padmana travel, and in *Sport* when the music depicts “Flakes of Snow and Ice, Gran Ballabile.”)

Misery, Jealousy, Trouble, Anger and Death

In a similar vein to the trials of tartaro, troubled emotions and death were not treated lightly by ballet composers. In *Matilda and Malek-Adel*, (Clerico, various, 1824) Malek-Adel is pensive, confused and angry during Act 2 (No. 6, by Belloli). See Example 34, below.³⁴⁶ He accuses Berengeva of wanting to obtain the hand of Matilde in marriage. This accusatory music is turbulent in C minor, with swirling right-hand figures.

³⁴⁶ A. Belloli, Francesco Clerico, Pietro Romani, and Joseph Weigl, *Pezzi scelti dal ballo storico Matilde e Malek-Adel* [piano score] John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), (Milano: Ricordi, 1824). (HTC)

It is interrupted by two phrases of a gentler aria-like melody and followed by a stubborn octave unison (in transcription) as a transition in the original tempo.

Example 34: *Matilda and Malek-Adel*, (Clerico, various, 1824) Act II, No. 6

BELLOLI. Malek-Adel torbido e pensoso accenna a Berengera di volere in ogni modo ottener la destra di Matilde

Atto 2do.
N.º 6

ALLº agitato

Più lento

In Viganò's *La Vestale* (1818), the ballet ends with the tragic death of the main character Decio, in an Allegro impetuoso attributed to Spontini (which follows the death by live burial of the Vestal Virgin, Emilia, his lover). Death furnished the reason to include the ever-popular funeral march in a score. (See Chapter VI for a thorough discussion of this particular Spontini number and the funeral march.)

The funeral march was as prevalent as the storm or the love *pas de deux*, and many a "Marcia lugubre" appears throughout the period. In *Federico, re di Prussia* (Viganò, Garzia, unknown date), the slow, C minor "Marcia lugubre" shown in Example 35³⁴⁷ is carried out by orchestral homophony and dotted rhythms similar to the Funeral March, Op. 72 No. 2 by Chopin (which is in the same key) or the second movement of Beethoven's third symphony (Opus 55, Marcia Funebre, Adagio assai). In *Psammi Re d'Egitto* (Viganò, various, 1817) the "Marcia lugubre" by Brambilla is an Adagio with timpani tremolos even marked into the piano reduction. See Example 36, below.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Urbano Garzia, "Federico secondo, re di Prussia; ballo in cinque atti composto dal Sigr. Urbano Garzia. Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York (NYPL).

³⁴⁸ Salvatore Viganò, *Psammi re d'Egitto; gran ballo composto al R. Teatro alla Scala* [piano score], (Milano Gio. Ricordi, [1818?]) 21. (NYPL)

Example 35: *Federico, re di Prussia* (Viganò, Garzia, unknown date), “Marcia lugubre”

Marcia lugubre

Violini

Flauti

Oboe

Corni

Trombe

Fagotti

Bassi

Timpani

Example 36: *Psammi Re d'Egitto* (Viganò, various, 1818?) Adagio, "Marcia lugubre" by Brambilla

MARCIA LUGUBRE

21 Del SIG. BRAMBILLA

ADAGIO

Timpani

2

6

10

16

p

sf

sf

dol.

1.

2.

sf



In *Brahma* (Monplaisir, dall'Argine, 1868), when the protagonist is condemned to death in the sixth act, the tremolos over diminished harmonies portray the futility of the situation and in the funeral march section that follows, the tragedy is heard and seen.³⁴⁹ Example 37 shows the “azione mimica” that precedes the funeral march, followed by the opening of this unusual “march.”³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ This funeral march is actually an Allegretto in three—it is possible that the choreography was still march-like, but with a triple subdivision. Later it is a waltz marked Moderato followed by a Galopp. Costantino Dall'Argine, Ippolito Giorgio Monplaisir, and F. Almasio, *Brahma: ballo in un prologo e sei atti*, (Milano: F. Lucca, 1868), 96-101. (Housed at HTC, NYPL, and the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia, Rome)

³⁵⁰ Costantino Dall'Argine, *Brahma; ballo in sette atti e prologo del coreografo Ippolito Monplaisir. Riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio*, (Milano: F. Lucca, [1868?]); AND: Costantino Dall'Argine, *Brahma; musica di C. dall'Argine; riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio* [piano score], (Milano; New York: Ricordi, [1915]), 83, 96. (Both at NYPL)

Example 37: *Brahma* (1868), Act VI, “Azione mimica” Allegro assai, and Act VII, “Marcia funebre” Allegretto

ATTO VI.

BRAHMA

Bailo del Coreografo MONPLAISIR

Una capanna di Bambons

AZIONE MIMICA. Brahma e Padmana sono custoditi severamente. Brahma viene condannato alla morte dal

Moderato assai *p*

Souhah non potendo sottomettere Padmana.

5

9

13

16

MARCIA FUNEBRE
ATTO VII.^o

BRAHMA

Musica di

C. Dall' ARGINE

Ballo del Coreografo I MONPLAISIR

Il terrazzo degli Elefanti. Nel mezzo è preparato il rogo. Il popolo commosso addimostra colle sue danze

Allegretto

funebri il dolore da cui è compreso. Padmana al colmo della disperazione è forzata ad assistere al sacrificio.

10

21

Love and Other Emotional States

In *Cesare in Egitto* (Gioia?, ca. 1800-1810) a *pas de deux* between Cesare and Cleopatra (No. 12) is a love duet. This E-flat major piece begins with a five-measure

introduction (Largo) followed by a fermata and meter change from 4 to 2 (Andante) and a later shift to Allegretto. This move from slow to fast is typical of *pas de deux*, even as early as this ballet likely was. The body of the piece is a simple melody in thirds over a left hand Alberti bass. The presence of double-notes in the RH reads clearly as a duet accompaniment to the two dancers. Example 38 shows the opening Andante and the beginning of the Allegretto section.³⁵¹

Example 38: *Cesare in Egitto* (Gioia?, ca. 1800-1810) *pas de deux* between Cesare and Cleopatra (No. 12)

N° 12 **Largo**
 Pas de deux espressivo fra Cesare e Cleopatra

Andante

4

10

³⁵¹ "Cesare in Egitto: ballo in cinque atti: manuscript, [1800?]." 1 ms. piano score, bound. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.

18

Musical notation for measures 18-25. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The music features a mix of chords and moving lines in both hands.

26

Musical notation for measures 26-33. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature has two flats. The music continues with various chordal textures and melodic fragments.

34

Musical notation for measures 34-42. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature has two flats. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present in measure 38.

43

Musical notation for measures 43-47. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature has two flats. The music features some chordal textures and moving lines.

48

Musical notation for measures 48-51. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature has two flats. The music features some chordal textures and moving lines.

52

Musical notation for measures 52-56. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature has two flats. The tempo marking *Allegretto* is placed above the staff in measure 52.

57

Musical notation for measures 57-64. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature has two flats. The music features some chordal textures and moving lines.



In *La Vestale* (1818), Viganò depicts Emilia's love for Decio in the middle of a selection by Rossini where the prizes are distributed to winners of a public contest. The cheery and bright mood painted in this C major number shifts into a troublesome C minor aria. This slips unexpectedly into an A-flat major section and is precisely annotated "Emilia s'innamora di Decio" before transitioning again to a wholly new key (F major). These wild swings clearly accommodated changes in stage action or mood and period observers commented on the impact of this "innamoramento." Later in the ballet Viganò chooses a Rossini excerpt to depict "Emilia vaneggia per l'amore che sente per Decio" (Emilia raging with the love she feels for Decio). In this expressive number oboe and flute trade ornate lines, as the piece progresses through a variety of textures and rhythmic approaches that become more frenzied. (See Chapter VI for a detailed discussion of the music for both of these scenes).

Another example of "love music" may be found in *Matilde and Malek-Adel* (1824) where a last goodbye between two lovers is much like an aria in its simple

accompaniment and arching melody (by Belloli). This music is in E-flat major, a relatively common key for love. See Example 39, below.³⁵²

Example 39: *Matilde and Malek-Adel* (Clerico, various, 1824) lovers' goodbye

BELLOLI. Un ultimo addio divide i due amanti.

N.° 6.

All.° Vivace

pp

staccato

5

10

14

staccato

19

staccato

³⁵² A. Belloli, Francesco Clerico, Pietro Romani, and Joseph Weigl, *Pezzi scelti dal ballo storico Matilde e Malek-Adel* [piano score] John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), (Milano: Ricordi, 1824). (HTC)

24



29



p

staccato

34



ff

39

Più lento



pp

All°

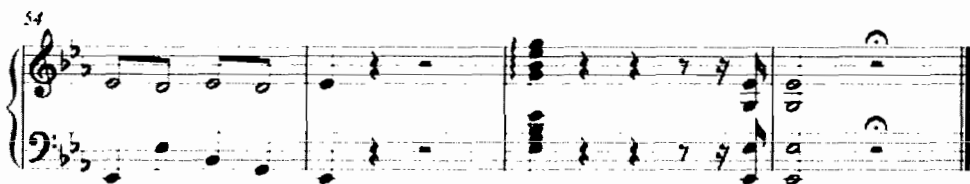
45



50



54



In *Brahma* (1868) the “Adagio del Nido Degli Amori” (Adagio in the lovers’ nest) of Act III, which is a *pas de deux* (though not in the multisectional format discussed above), again the texture is that of an aria over solo accompaniment, with the upward arch of the antecedent phrase answered by the downward arch of a consequent, likely featuring varied instrumentation. See Example 40, below.³⁵³

Example 40: *Brahma* (1868) Act III, “Adagio del Nido Degli Amori” (Adagio in the lovers’ nest)

ADAGIO DEL NIDO DEGLI AMORI

BRAHMA
Ballo del Coreografo I. MONPLAISIR

Adagio

³⁵³ Costantino Dall'Argine, *Brahma; ballo in sette atti e prologo del coreografo Ippolito Monplaisir. Riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio*, (Milano: F. Lucca, [1868?]); AND: Costantino Dall'Argine, *Brahma; musica di C. dall'Argine; riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio* [piano score], (Milano; New York: Ricordi, [1915]). (Both at NYPL)

Music for Special Dramatic Situations

While early nineteenth century ballets often used excerpts from opera, certain action scenes required such specific music that no quoted or adapted material would suffice. As the century progressed, there continued to be specific music for special situations. Also, music that was likely fit for “special effects” abounds in ballets where

often there were two operators of the “mecchanismo”—machines for staging effects—as well as electric lights, later in the century. It is hard without precise staging details to know where these effects may have occurred. The flight and fall of Icarus in Viganò’s *Dedalo* (1818, various composers) may have been one such location. Lichtenthal composed the number for this specific action which first builds upward, incorporating rising scales, followed by a chromatic descent. See Example 41 below.³⁵⁴

Supernaturals and other creatures, whether from the mythological plots popular earlier in the period, or the fantastic plots of a more Romantic vein, had their own special music. Specific music was called for in the “Ballabile delle Nereidi” (sea nymphs or mermaids) from *Iselda di Normandia* (Casati, Bellini, 1846), for example, which opens with harmonically ambiguous cadenzas before employing a barcarolle-style piece to accompany the sea dwellers. Not content with this character-appropriate music, however, the choreographer/composer has the mermaids perform a coda with a final galop, as was customary for ballabile endings and whole-ballet endings alike by the mid-century. See Example 41, below.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ In Example 40, measure twelve likely contains G-sharps and B-naturals in the left hand as in the measure previous and in the right-hand (outlining a sudden change to E-major). Salvatore Viganò, *Dedalo; gran ballo inventato e posto sulle scene del R. Teatro alla Scala. Ridotto con accompto. di forte-piano*, (Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1818?]). (NYPL)

³⁵⁵ Pio Bellini, *Iselda di Normandia; ballo fantastico di Giovanni Casati. Riduzione per Pianoforte solo di A. Raineri*, (Milano: G. Ricordi, [1846?]). (NYPL)

**Example 41: *Dedalo* (Viganò, various composers, 1818) “Volo e Caduta d’Icaro”
(Flight and fall of Icarus)**

ALL. LICHTENTHAL.

Volo e Caduta d’Icaro

4

7

10

13

p *f*

Example 42: *Iselda di Normandia* (Casati, Bellini, 1846) "Ballabile delle Nereidi"
(Dance of the sea nymphs or mermaids)

BALLABILE DELLE NEREIDI

N.º 5.

Andante.

3

rall.

pp

5

s_f

s_f

pp

dolce.

9

The apotheosis in *Brahma* is another example of remarkable stage effects combined with music, as a bright throne of light appears on which the God Brahma carries his lover (Padmana) towards the delicious Indian paradise. A rapturous blend of octave tremolos (which likely took the place of sustained and possibly tremolo strings) swell and recede to form the melody in 12/8, a rare meter marking for the ballet scores studied in this dissertation. This forms the climax before receding into *pianissimo*.

In *Sieba* (Manzotti, Marengo, 1881), specific goodbye music appears in Quadro II and has a marked quality as a downward sweeping melodic motive is accompanied by treble tremolos for eight measures, before this moment quickly passes on to new action and new music. See Example 43, below.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁶ Romualdo Marengo and Manzotti Luigi, *Sieba, ossia, La spada di Wodan: azione coreografica in 8 quadri. 3a. completa*, (Torino: Giudici e Strada, 1884). (Available from Harvard Loeb Music Library)

Example 43: *Sieba* (Manzotti, Marengo, 1881), goodbye music of Quadro II

ADDIO DI AROLDO A SIEBA

Andante

rall. molto

Scoring

Beginning with the instrumentation of Viganò's ballets, one finds, most of all, a tendency to provide contrast between numbers. Strikingly, no standard order of instruments emerges in the manuscript sources. At times the violin and other strings appear at the top of the page, at other times it is the flutes and winds. Most often the bassoon, violoncello, cimbasso³⁵⁷ and bass appear at the bottom of the page, brass in the

³⁵⁷ The "cimbasso," while an actual instrument described in sources from the 1820s as the "corno basso," referred generally to a low member of the brass family, similar to the serpentone. The part could have been performed on various instruments, including the bass trombone, contrabass trombone, contrabassoon, ophicleide, bombardone. For detailed information about the cimbasso, its use, and related instruments, see: Renato Meucci and William Waterhouse, "The Cimbasso and Related Instruments in 19th-Century Italy," *The Galpin Society Journal* 49 (1996): 143-79. The authors' suggestion that the term originates from abbreviating 'corno in basso' is the most plausible compared to other theories. Verdi used this term in his scores from *Oberto* to *Aida*, which the authors suggest were meant for the ophicleide, the bomabardone and finally the

middle, and woodwinds and/or violins and violas are at the top of the score. The percussion instruments are often found in a separate score following each number in the main orchestral score, sometimes with the trombones. Manuscript scores from 1800-1840 show a diversity of forces and instruments with the frequent appearance of harp, serpent, as well various ranges and keys of horn, trombone and other instrument families.

In the ballet *Sesostri* (1823, S. Taglioni/ Carlini), Act IV, a selection from the fourth act has alto, tenor and bass trombones, as well as “serpentone.” Throughout the course of a ballet various smaller groupings of instruments are utilized but in none of the numbers I examined did the bassoon disappear, and in only a few did the violins stay silent. An example of sparse orchestration occurs in No. 26 of *La Donna del Bosco* (1821, Zannini, Msaldinàdegen), actually by the composer Mirabella, where only the violins, violas, bassoons, and bass instrument play.

Orchestration could be geared to specific effects. Clarinet and mandolin were evoked by organ and orchestra in Salvatore Taglioni’s *Ettore Fieramosca* (San Carlo, Naples, 1837) with music by Gallenberg, as this review discloses:

... The execution is excellent, and the excellent mimes, Ms. *Porta* (Genevra), *Di Mattia* (il Valentino) and *Bolognetti* (Ettore), distinguished themselves in it. The scenario is all of a beautiful effect, and above all else the monastery of Saint Ursula is perfect, for which one must praise the director Cavaliere Nicolini, whose value is known and long proven. - And the music of Count *Gallenberg*, not all of equal merit, is admirable then in the cantilena played

contrabass trombone. To summarize, the cimbasso, while still indicated in the scores, was progressively replaced by the ophicleide and then the bombardone from 1820s-1860s, and other instruments such as the serpentone, could play in its place. It is fair to assume that these trends also apply to ballet scores from the period, as the same orchestras performed both the ballets performed with Verdi’s operas.

on the organ, where, to replace the voices, he masterfully supplied the clarinet [pipe] just as [he replaced] the beautiful harmony of mandolins with the instruments of the orchestra. - The undertaking has therefore captured the public because of this splendid ballet, whose success is also brought about in combination with the good costuming.

...L' esecuzione è ottima, e vi si distinguono i valorosi mimi la *Porta* (Ginevra), *Di Mattia* (il Valentino) e *Bolognetti* (Ettore). Lo scenario è tutto di bellissimo effetto, e sopra ogni altro è perfetto il monastero di sant' Orsola, del che se ne deve lode al direttore Cavaliere *Nicolini*, il cui valore è conosciuto per lunghe prove. - E la musica del Conte di *Gallenberg*, non tutta di egual merito, è ammirabile poi nella cantilena eseguita sull' organo, dove alle voci ha supplito maestrevolmente col clarino; come pure il bell' accordo fatto de mandolini cogli stromenti dell' orchestra. - L' impresa perciò si è cattivato il Pubblico per questo spendido ballo, al cui esito è concorso eziandio il buon vestiario.³⁵⁸

Likely orchestration played a much bigger role in portraying character and mood than the musical content of the piano reductions can convey. In fact this is evidenced by the frequent inclusion of separate staves in the piano score indicating instrumental solos, or cues within the piano reductions for instruments such as horns, violin, and even tambourine (though this also may be related to the ability of certain early fortepianos to actually play percussion). Example 44 demonstrates timpani cues in a “*Marcia Lugubre*,”³⁵⁹ while Example 45 shows the interjection of horn solos.³⁶⁰ Example 46 shows the use of cues for trumpet and cornette.³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ *Teatri, arti e letteratura*, Vol. 28-30. Bologna: Tip. Gov. della Volpe al Sassi, 1837, 22.

³⁵⁹ Salvatore Viganò, *Psammi re d'Egitto; gran ballo composto al R. Teatro alla Scala* [piano score], (Milano Gio. Ricordi, [1818?]). (NYPL)

³⁶⁰ Franz Xaver Süssmayr, Salvatore Viganò, and Giulio Viganò, *Il noce di Benevento: ballo all' [I]egorico*, John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection) Biblioteca di musica, anno 3, classe 2, (Milano: Ricordi, 1822). (HTC)

Example 44: *Psammi Re d'Egitto* (Vigano, various, 1818?) “Marcia lugubre” Adagio by Brambilla (with timpani tremolos marked)

MARCIA LUGUBRE

21 Del SIG. BRAMBILLA

ADAGIO

Timpani

2

p

Example 45: *Il Noce di Benevento* (Viganò, Süßmayer, 1812, 1822), No. 8, horn solos

Roberto va in traccia della Sposa .

N.° 8.

La Caccia

6

p soli corni

³⁶¹ Enrico Bernardi, *Gretchen*; ballo romantico fantastico del coreografo Luigi Danesi. *Musica dei maestri Bernardi e Scaramelli. Riduzione per pianoforte di Ettore Contrucci*, (Firenze: Bratti Sciabilli, [1855?]). (NYPL)

12

Musical notation for measures 12-17. The piece is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes.

18 *dimin.* **Como solo**

Musical notation for measures 18-24. Measure 18 begins with a *dimin.* (diminuendo) instruction. Measures 19-24 are marked **Como solo**. The right hand plays a descending eighth-note scale, and the left hand plays a simple bass line.

25 **L'istesso Tempo**

Musical notation for measures 25-31. Measure 25 is marked **L'istesso Tempo**. The right hand plays a melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand plays a bass line with eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present at the start of measure 25.

32

Musical notation for measures 32-36. The right hand plays a melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand plays a bass line with eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *pp.* (pianissimo) is present at the start of measure 32.

37 **Como solo**

Musical notation for measures 37-41. Measures 37-41 are marked **Como solo**. The right hand plays a melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand plays a bass line with eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *pp.* is present at the start of measure 37.

42

Musical notation for measures 42-47. The right hand plays a melodic line with eighth notes, and the left hand plays a bass line with eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *pp.* is present at the start of measure 42.

Example 46: Gretchen: ballo romantico fantastico, (Danesi, various, 1855) Act III, “Marcia trionfale” by Bernardi, trombe (trumpets) and cornette join at various points

Trombe

The image shows two systems of musical notation for the Trombe (trumpets). Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in 2/4 time and features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The first system ends with a double bar line, and the second system begins with a measure number '7' above the treble staff.

Later, the line for cornette is provided in an upper staff

Cornette

The image shows two systems of musical notation for the Cornette. Each system consists of an upper treble clef staff and a lower bass clef staff. The music is in 2/4 time. The upper staff contains a melodic line with slurs and accents. The lower staff contains a bass line with chords and triplets. A 'con 8' marking is present above the upper staff in both systems, indicating a change in tempo or a specific performance instruction. The second system includes measure numbers '3' and '3' above the upper staff.

The image shows a musical score for piano and orchestra. The top staff is a single melodic line in treble clef, starting with a measure number '12'. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef, marked 'con 8'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'ff'.

The Banda in Ballet Scores

The other practice indicated in both manuscript and piano scores was the use of a banda, a separate group distinct from the orchestra. In the manuscript sources, the repeats are often indicated to include the banda the second time around and notes as to whether the banda was to participate or not are abundant in these sources.³⁶² It was common for a spatially separated wind band to appear on stage for dramatic purposes, but the band could be under the stage or off-stage as well (and the separate banda was common in both opera

³⁶² Opera composers who incorporated a separate banda included Meyerbeer, Halevy, Verdi, Glinka, Berlioz and Wagner. This performance practice element has been written about by Jürgen Maehder and Rey Longyear and noted by many others in relation to nineteenth century opera and especially Verdi. See: Jürgen Maehder, "Banda sul palco": Variable Besetzungen in der Bühnenmusik der italiensichen Oper des 19. Jahrhunderts als Relikte alter Besetzungstraditionen?" In *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart: Bach, Händel, Schütz: Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Stuttgart, 1985*, ed. Dietrich Berke and Dorothee Hanemann, (Kassel, New York: Bärenreiter, 1987), 293-310; see also: Rey M. Longyear, "The "Banda sul palco": wind bands in nineteenth-century opera," *Journal of Band Research* 13, no. 2, Spring (1978): 25-40.

and ballet scores). For example Spontini's opera *La Vestale* of 1807 uses an onstage band for the return of the Roman soldiers.³⁶³

The makeup of the 'banda' in Italian theatres was not standardized and it was up to the "musical director of the theater, in conjunction with the local military or civic bandmaster, to work out an instrumentation which would be suited to the players and resources available."³⁶⁴ Clarinets may have dominated a "miscellaneous collection of wind instruments," as noted by Julian Budden; Rey M. Longyear cites a Mercadante score containing parts for flutes, two oboes, multiple clarinets, bassoons, horns, trombone and serpent, as well as an 1830 description of the banda as consisting of twenty clarinets, piccolo, oboe for solos, keyed trumpets (two in E-flat, two in A-flat), six horns, four bassoons, five to six trombones, and three ophicleides.³⁶⁵ Varied configurations were common, especially because instrumentation could serve a specific purpose (such as brass accompanying knights and priests).³⁶⁶ In Italian ballet scores the use of a separate 'banda,' whether scored explicitly (less common) or not, was the norm.³⁶⁷ The practice was even found in smaller cities (Longyear cites evidence from Messina and Foligno³⁶⁸). The actual

³⁶³ Maehder, "Banda sul palco," 294, also, Longyear, "The "Banda sul palco," 26.

³⁶⁴ Longyear, "The "Banda sul palco," 26.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 26-27. Longyear cites a "Lettre sur la musique à Naples," from the *Revue musicale*, 7, 1830, 174. See also, Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, I (New York, London: Cassel 1973), 20.

³⁶⁶ According to Maehder, while other countries made advances in notational accuracy concerning the use of a spatially separated band for theatre music, Italian practice became less clear, and varied especially between various cities. Maehder, "Banda sul palco," 295.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 297-298.

³⁶⁸ Longyear, "The Banda sul palco," 36.

banda parts were often extracted from the autograph score and likely arranged by the local bandmaster.

In an exchange between Verdi and the impresario Alessandro Lanari for the Teatro La Fenice concerning the use of an imperial banda for *Attila* it is clear that the band was under contract to play fifty performances and that if they did not play in the opera, they would certainly play in the ballet.³⁶⁹ The wealth of information on the banda in opera may be especially fruitful for figuring out the composition of the banda for ballets that played on the same nights as operas by Verdi, Donizetti and Bellini.

There are several examples of the banda making its way into the piano reductions. In the mazurka “La Gelosia” from the 1855 ballet *Gretchen* (Danesi, Scaramelli), the score contains an upper small staff that begins after the introduction. This part is labeled “orchestra,” while the piano part is labeled “banda.” (See Example 47.)³⁷⁰ This orchestra part is a sustained melodic counterpoint to the bouncy mazurka melody and could have been played by a stringed instrument, such as violin. It is interesting that the parts are labeled banda and orchestra rather than, for instance, piano and violin, as if the player is to remember and/or imagine this type of contrast when playing the piano score.

³⁶⁹ Maehder, “Banda sul palco,” 297-298. Maehder cites much Italian correspondence between composers and other theatre personnel concerning the use of the banda.

³⁷⁰ Enrico Bernardi, *Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico del coreografo Luigi Danesi. Musica dei maestri Bernardi e Scaramelli. Riduzione per pianoforte di Ettore Contrucci*, (Firenze: Bratti Sciabilli, [1855?]). (NYPL)

Example 47: *Gretchen* (Danesi, Scaramelli, 1855), mazurka “La Gelosia”

GRETCHEN
BALLO ROMANTICO FANTASTICO

DEL COREOGRAFO

Musica di E. BERNARDI

Cap. LUIGI DANESI

Riduz. per Pianoforte di E. CONTRUCCI

ATTO IV. "MAZURKA La Gelosia"

Mazurka

Orchestra

Banda

* * *

This survey of the styles of music that accompanied Italian ballets from 1800-1870 reveals some of the key features of ballet music as a genre and of Italian ballet music in specific. Though more detailed study is needed of individual ballets, groups of works by specific composers, music for specific theatres, and possible historical and geographical trends, the materials examined and cited here are revealing. First, the music shows that the amount of mimed action on stage was considerable, even past the mid-century. (This is congruent with Marian Smith's findings for the French pantomime-ballets during ballets Romantic period, though Italian ballets seemed to have even more mime.) The music for mime is usually apparent regardless whether the score was predominantly a pastiche or newly composed. At the opening of the nineteenth century

arranged scores containing original and adapted music were the norm, and the mime music in these scores was often newly composed (as in a majority of the examples included in this dissertation). If not, it was carefully selected and adapted in order to suit the mime and action it accompanied. By the 1830s, there was a shift to predominantly newly composed scores, though still with participation of multiple composers. By the 1850s, single-composer scores are the norm, yet expressive mime music remains prevalent in all of these scores. The musical approach to mime and action scenes is consistent throughout the period 1800-1870 and the amount of this special music that appears in the scores is significant throughout the period.

The overall style of the music does not shift as dramatically as one might expect, though a look at a score from the first decade as compared to a score from the 1850s certainly shows contrasts in style. Stylistic changes are most obvious in the danced portions of ballets. The mid-century ballets are full of ballroom dances, while the early ballets are full of adapted opera excerpts and pieces akin to sonatas, rondos, and theme and variations. Italian ballet music does tend to be conservative, inasmuch as it tends not to be loaded with the adventures in chromatic harmony and form that characterize some other nineteenth-century music. The dance music often has an uncomplicated harmonic structure, regular phrasing and antecedent-consequent periods. Upon closer examination of mid-century ballets, one finds subtle harmonic movements, chromatic shading in the melodic line and the tell-tale signs of national and ballroom dance rhythms. These elements easily indicate that the music is from the mid-century. On the other hand, some of the music for miming is quite daring (harmonically, rhythmically and formally quite

free from restraint) as the need to illustrate actions and words seems to allow greater freedom from harmonic and textural expectations. In fact, this music makes little sense without at least an accompanying description of the action.

The music for Italian ballets, as part of the total theatre production, does reflect two of the major musical-historical features of the nineteenth century. First, the quest for a realistic and natural portrayal of the plot results in intensely illustrative music, especially during action and mime, which certainly went hand in hand with the program music of the time. For example, there are compelling similarities between the music for witches and storms from Italian ballets and the short pieces with similar subject matter included in sets intended for the amateur pianist. One can find examples in the work in this genre by Burgmüller (1806-1874) (he was also a ballet composer) and Grieg (1847-1903), for example. Second, the music for dancing reflects the immense popularity of ballroom dances both at the ball and in the salon. This especially includes approaches to national dance, which are nonetheless inconsistently composed out by composers. Sometimes the nationality was obvious, but often the music was simply danceable and costume and choreography were more overt in the portrayal of nationality. Beginning gradually in the third decade is the rise of national and/or popular ballroom dances as the mainstays of the danced portions of ballets. Mazurkas, polonaises, polkas, waltzes and galops, with their strong and identifiable rhythms and propulsion, become the requisite components of ballets and remain so indefinitely. Chopin's piano music in these dance types is one of the top choices for accompanying today's ballet classes. Finally, the consumption of ballet music in piano reduction by the growing population of middle-

class piano owners shows its importance beyond the theatre. This body of repertoire, like today's sheet music adaptations from popular film scores, reminds us of the second life of both the music and the ballet itself, as played out in the home. Ballet music was a small part of the piano boom, at least for Ricordi in Milan and Ghirard in Naples.³⁷¹

Part of the process of writing ballet scores was to communicate where spoken and written language were relatively absent. The music speaks in many obvious ways: in the first quarter of the century through quotation of known numbers (largely from opera), and throughout the period 1800-1870 through a series of conventional topics and techniques that the audience identified much as we identify with film scores of today. Some of this illustrative music is overtly programmatic. Mapping these topics provides insight into the perception of the various characters and situations by nineteenth century audiences.

While the study of specific dance numbers, such as the *pas de deux*, has only just begun here, we can begin to unravel the processes of change that preceded the structured *grand pas de deux* of classical ballet and the various Italian approaches to this ballet highlight. The examples studied here show an initially flexible approach in which a slower opening proceeds through multiple distinct sections to an allegro closing. At the mid-century the variations or solos performed by individual dancers are distinctly labeled in some of the *pas de deux* and occur as separate elements in the piece, possibly even composed separately (as the manuscripts seem to suggest). The general approach to this sub-genre throughout the period is characterized by many sections and a progression

³⁷¹ As already discussed in Chapter III, ballets were made into whole series such as the "Biblioteca della Musica Moderna," of which some of Ricordi's complete ballets in piano reduction were a part.

from slow to fast (as, for instance, the cavatina-cabaletta form of Italian opera arias).

Combined with further research such as Hammond's on choreography, the musical scores may reveal much more about the actual dancing in the Italian *pas de deux*.

The music for Italian ballets offers up great riches in the study of musico-dramatic relationships as well as providing one of the most important components for re-imagining the spectacle in terms of the flow of scenes, the mixture of mime, action and dance, and even the possible choreography. It shows us how important mime was in Italian ballets and how music could help the mime communicate and express a wide variety of emotions. The music tells us about the forms of ballabili and *pas de deux*, and shows how orchestration complements such sub-genres as the *pas de deux* with ornate instrumental solos that were important enough to turn up as cues in the piano reductions. Finally, this music shows us that ballet helped reinforce the popularity of ballroom dances such as the waltz, mazurka, polka, polonaise and galop, which clearly found favor both in the theater and in the home.

CHAPTER VI

SALVATORE VIGANÒ'S *LA VESTALE* IN MANUSCRIPT FULL

SCORE AND CEMBALO REDUCTION

“Signore VIGANO [sic], the principal ballet-master, is the Shakespeare of his art; and with such powerful conceptions, and such intimate knowledge of nature and effect, as he exhibits, it is wonderful that [it is a wonder that], instead of composing ballets, he does not write epics.” – *Lady Morgan*, ca. 1818³⁷²

“...and the mute dialogues and acts proceeded from the situations in such a way, that naturally one understands [them], accompanied also by music magically speaking to the heart.” – *Carlo Ritorni*³⁷³

La Vestale offers an ideal case study for two main reasons. First, the available sources include both a manuscript full score and the complete ballet published in piano reduction, providing the rare opportunity to examine the relationship between reduction and manuscript through comparison. This match of manuscript and published sources is exceptional at present, and only a handful of ballets offer such an opportunity. Second, while the ballets of Viganò are well-studied and the music for his works has received scholarly attention, no single *Italian* ballet has undergone a thorough analysis that includes its music in manuscript. (Beethoven's score to Viganò's Viennese ballet,

³⁷² Lady Morgan and Sir Thomas Charles, "Italy," 98.

³⁷³ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò," 215. "...ed i muti dialoghi ed atti così procedenti dalle situazioni, che naturalmente si capiscono, accompagnati poi da musica magicamente favellante al cuore."

Geschöpfe des Prometheus, Op. 43, *The Creatures of Prometheus*, has received much scholarly attention from both musicologists and dance historians.) In fact, while *La Vestale* has been deemed one of Viganò's greatest works by period observers and later by scholars, the manuscript score held at Boston University's Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center and on microfilm at the NYPL has been hitherto neglected. In this chapter I study the music in this manuscript for the first time (to the best of my knowledge), in conjunction with the piano reduction, libretto, period commentary, imagery, and previous scholarly research. The overall goal is to determine how the music functioned as an integral part in the coreodramma.

Introduction and Overview of Viganò Music and Dance Scholarship

To date, four scholars have examined music for Viganò ballets: Rossana Dalmonte, Elizabeth Terzian, Francesca Falcone, and Alberto Rizzuti.³⁷⁴ In 1984, Rossana Dalmonte, the only scholar to have taken on the study of Viganò's ballets from a musical standpoint, wrote that the main hindrance to studying Viganò's Milanese ballets is that for many there is no trace of music and for others there are only "pezzi scelti." Sometimes the libretto cannot be found. She lists the five Milanese ballets that she has found as complete, albeit in pianoforte reduction, as *Dedalo*, *Otello*, *La Vestale*, *Alessandro nell'Indie* and *Giovanna d'Arco*.³⁷⁵ When she published her study this may

³⁷⁴ See also the review of secondary literature in Chapter 2. Rizzuti's contributions do not concern *La Vestale* and are discussed in Chapters 2 and 4; see pages 13 and 157. Viganò has received relatively more scholarly attention than any other Italian choreographer during the period 1800-1870. See Chapter II of this dissertation, review of literature, page 23.

³⁷⁵ Dalmonte, "Une écriture corperelle," 148-155.

have been the case, but at present there are a significant number of additional musical resources available to scholars (see table 14 below), including a manuscript full score for *La Vestale*.

Elizabeth Terzian's 1986 master's thesis "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)" (University of California) is one of the few other studies that explicitly deals with Viganò's use of music.³⁷⁶ Terzian, aiming to increase both the "breadth and depth" of Viganò scholarship while focusing on the Milanese ballets, briefly discusses the piano scores from *Otello* (1818) and *La Vestale* (1818). Additionally, she examines the dramatic composition of Viganò's ballets and emphasizes the role of excerpts from operas of Spontini and Rossini. Terzian worked chiefly with the ballet music sources (and other items) held at the New York Public Library, providing a catalogue of Viganò's Milanese ballets which lists not only the key information about their premier performances, but the existence of sources and references in period and modern works.³⁷⁷ The musical materials she used for her chapters on *Otello* and *La Vestale* (cited in her bibliography) were the piano reductions published by Ricordi ca. 1818. While the thesis is well-researched and valuable, there remains much more to be

³⁷⁶ Terzian, "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)."

³⁷⁷ Terzian refers the reader simply to the two reels of microfilm that list the source materials for Viganò's life and work rather than citing all of the musical materials for his ballets that are held at the New York Public Library. See: Terzian, "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)," 88, 90, cited as: The New York Public Library, *Salvatore Viganò, 1769-1821: Source Material on his Life and Works*. microfilm. 2 reels. New York, The New York Public Library, 1955.

done, as many of the problems with Viganò scholarship cited by Terzian remain over twenty years after her and Dalmonte's works were published.³⁷⁸

The main library where Dalmonte worked and where much of Viganò's music is held in original sources or photocopies and microfilms is the Archivio del Teatro Municipale "Romolo Valli" di Reggio Emilia. A list of those sources is provided in her study.³⁷⁹ Please refer to Table 13 below to see her sources. See Table 14 for my list of additional Viganò sources from 1800 on.³⁸⁰ Many of the published piano scores listed by Dalmonte are also held at the New York Public Library and other libraries. However only two of her sources are listed as chiefly coming from the New York Public Library: *Balletto aus Diana und Endymione getanzt von Mr. et Mme. Viganò* (pf score, 1793, Dresden) and *Gli Ussiti: Danza e Valz* (pf score, 1815, Milano). While the *La Vestale* pianoforte score which Dalmonte studied is listed as coming from the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna it is also held at the New York Public Library and the

³⁷⁸ The discussion of music in these studies, while useful, is broadly focused rather than giving a detailed account of how music contributed to Viganò's spectacular coreodrammas.

³⁷⁹ Dalmonte, "Une écriture corperelle," 148-155.

³⁸⁰ At the time, Dalmonte may not have had access to further holdings at the New York Public Library (such as the manuscript score for *La Vestale*). Furthermore, the John and Ruth Ward materials now at Harvard had yet to be catalogued and likely, sources at various Italian libraries and archives were also not as accessible. For this reason, I take the time here to update the list of available scores for Viganò ballets, as it stands over twenty years later, in order to provide a clear picture of what is now available and possible for music and dance study relating to Viganò. These are compiled from not only my searching for and study of ballet music sources at the New York Public Library and John and Ruth Ward Italian Ballet collection at the Harvard, but in on-line library catalogues of collections in Italy and the United States. Still, the list I provide is also not complete, especially since it only includes sources from ca. 1800 forward, and those found primarily in catalogued collections in the United States and Italy (many of Viganò's pre-1800 ballet sources can be found in Vienna, for instance). Yet, we can see that the number of available sources, especially manuscript sources, has grown since Dalmonte's chapter was written in 1984.

Harvard Theatre Collection, and may exist elsewhere. While Dalmonte was aware of the valuable Viganò sources held at the New York Public Library, it is not clear why the manuscript score for *La Vestale* was not included in her study.³⁸¹

One further study of a portion of *La Vestale* is pertinent to this chapter, and that is Francesca Falcone's article "The Italian Style and the Period," in which she discusses Italian ballet style from the late eighteenth century to 1830, in order to show the background to the influences upon Bournonville during his time in Italy.³⁸² Falcone uses her recreation of the "Coloquio agitato de' due amanti" from Act III of *La Vestale* to exemplify Italian dance qualities such as danced pantomime and national character that were to influence Bournonville. Indeed her recreation, which includes the keyboard reduction as a main source, is just the type of work that I advocate for in this chapter and as a whole in relation to the musical sources for ballets.

It should be emphasized that a list of Viganò's works and sources from all libraries and archives worldwide is sorely needed (but beyond the scope of this study). While Terzian's and Dalmonte's lists are a good start, even a comprehensive list of all his ballets is not readily available (as Terzian also points out). Perhaps a published works and sources list of this sort would bring about the further attention and scholarly rigor that is deserved by such a great and influential artist.

³⁸¹ It is unclear whether the collection studied by Dalmonte in the early 1980s has expanded since then, but it likely has.

³⁸² Francesca Falcone, "The Italian Style and the Period," *Dance Chronicle* 29, no. 3 (2006): 317 - 340.

The key primary source for this dissertation chapter is the manuscript full score for *La Vestale*, which is held in microfilm copy at the New York Public Library and which was owned by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, at least in 1964 when it and number of other early nineteenth-century ballet scores were filmed. These scores were collected by Sergei Koussevitzky, a longtime conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, who bequeathed them to the Boston Symphony Orchestra. The BSO donated them to Boston University in the year 2000 and they are now held at the Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University.³⁸³

As Dalmonte notes, one of the main problems for the Milanese ballets and Viganò's ballets in general is the limitations of sources materials. Either there is no

³⁸³ I am extremely grateful to Ryan Hendrickson, Assistant Director for Manuscripts at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University, for tracking down the location of the actual scores microfilmed at the NYPL and supplying me with the information on their provenance. The *La Vestale* manuscript, which is part of a series of early nineteenth century ballets mostly in manuscript, is from the Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University. The ballets with music in manuscript score on this microfilm and held in the above collection include: *Federico secondo, re di Prussia; ballo in cinque atti* (Garzia, n.d.), *La Donna del bosco; ballo in cinque atti* (Zannini, Msaldinádegen, n.d.), *Aroldo, ossia I templari, tragedia ballo-mimica* (music by Belloli, n.d.), *La barba bleu; musica in cinque atti* (music by Robert Graf von Gallenberg, n.d.), *La Niobe, gran ballo in sei atti* (Gioia, Gallenberg et al., likely 1816), *Gaudemberga; ballo in sei atti* (likely Armand Vestris, diversi, n.d.), *La fata malvagia; ballo in cinque atti* (Armand Vestris, Pacini et al., n.d.), *Il figlio del mistero; ballo in quattro atti* (Hus, Gallenberg, n.d.), *La Vestale* (Viganò, Mirabella [et al.], likely 1822 restaging), *Sesostri* (Taglioni, Carlini, 1824). Ryan Hendrickson also supplied the following information for the ballet scores housed in the Boston collection: each volume was given a number by whomever bound them and the volume numbers correspond to the titles, which are full of misspellings in the inventory. They are: *Seostro* [*Sesostri*] = 188, *La Barba Bleu* = 73, *Otto Mesi in Due Ore* = 116, *Il Figlio del Mistero* = 135, *Federico Secondo, Ri [Re] di Prussia* = 27, *Aroldo, Atto 1* = 43, *Aroldo, Atto 2* = 44, *La Vestale* = 157, *Adone e Venere, Atto 1* = 129, *Adone e Venere, Atto 2* = 154, *Paggi di Vendomme* = 158, *La Donna del Bosco* = 32, *La Fata Malvagia* = 120, *La Niobe* = 74, *Gabriella di Vergi* = 159, "A Ballet of Many Celebrated Authors," by *Gaudemberga* = 119. See also Appendix A.

libretto to match the music to, or the music exists only in piano reduction of selected pieces. Yet, with *La Vestale*, we have an ideal situation: there are multiple libretti, a complete piano reduction and manuscript full score, along with much rich period commentary, imagery, and scholarship from non-musical arenas. It is for this reason that a more thorough study of *La Vestale's* music is possible here.

The Plot, Origins and Appearance of *La Vestale*

Salvatore Viganò's *La Vestale* premiered at La Scala in 1818, and was seen by contemporary critics and subsequent generations as one of his greatest tragic coreodrammas. In his 1838 biography of Viganò, Ritorni devotes more time to this ballet than to many others, writing for twenty pages with thorough description of the plot and his assessment of the ballet. According to him, the tragedy was so stunning that it initially provoked an extremely sad silence throughout the entire theatre, more than causing applause, especially at the first performance.³⁸⁴ Viganò's plot, according to Stendhal, followed Augustin Nadal's dissertation *Histoire des Vestales* (1725),³⁸⁵ which was based on the account by the Encyclopedists, who in turn took their information from Giusto Lipsio (a late sixteenth century philologist).³⁸⁶ Viganò was also certainly influenced by

³⁸⁴ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere core drammatiche di Viganò," 217.

³⁸⁵ Augustin Nadal and Pierre Ribou, *Histoire des vestales: avec un traité du luxe des dames romaines*, (Paris: La veuve de P. Ribou libraire, quay les augustins, à l'image S. Louis, 1725).

³⁸⁶ Cited in Terzian, "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)," 13. See, Stendhal, *Voyages en Italie*, 807.

Table 13: Musical sources for Viganò's ballets listed by Rossana Dalmonte in "Une écriture corperelle," (1984) 148-155

Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date ^a	Location	Instrument	Pgs.	Sort Date ^b
<i>Raul Signore di Crechi ossia La Tirannide repressa Ballo Tragicomico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Salvatore Viganò	Venezia 1791, Vienna 25 giugno	1791, 1793	MS clavicembalo score	-	-	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	clavicembalo	58 pages 28 pieces three acts	1791
<i>Diana ed Endimione Ballo Serio</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Pietro Dutillieu, Salvatore Viganò	Vienna	13 maggio 1793	MS clavicembalo score	-	-	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	clavicembalo	17 pages 14 pieces	1793
<i>La Figlia dell'Aria ossia L'Innalzamento di Semiramide Ballo favoloso pantomimico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	Vienna	15 ottobre 1793	MS clavicembalo score	-	-	Vienna, Gesellschaft der Muikfreunde AND Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	clavicembalo	86 + 44 pages 28 pieces	1793
<i>Balletto aus Diana und Endymione getanzt von Mr. et Mme. Viganò</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	?	?	Published piano score	Dresda, L.C. Hilscher	-	NYPL Cia Fornaroli coll.	clavier	6 pieces	[1793]
<i>[Das übelgehütete Mädchen]</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	Venezia primavera, Vienna 25 gennaio	1793, 1794	MS first violin part	-	-	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,	first violin	74 pages 38 pieces two acts	1794

Table 13 continued

<i>Die Luperkalien oder Das Opfer des Pan</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Weigl, Pleyel, Viganò	Vienna	28 agosto 1794	MS piano	-	-	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	piano	43 pages 17 pieces	1794
<i>Richard Löwenherz Ein grosses heroisches Ballet in 6 Aufzügen</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Franz Joseph Weigl	Vienna	2 febbraio 1795	MS partitura	-	-	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	orchestra ^c	736 pages 47 pieces	1795
<i>Cothilde Prinzessin von Salerno</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Franz Joseph Weigl	Vienna	15 ottobre 1799	Published piano score	Wien in dem Kais. Königl. Hof Theater Musik Verlag in der Burg	1799	Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde	transcription for keyboard	20 pieces missing first 2 acts	1799
<i>Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Ludwig van Beethoven	Vienna	28 marzo 1801	Published score	Leipzig, Breit-kopf und Härtel	1864	widely available	orchestra ^d	?	1801
<i>Die Zauberschwestern im Beneventer Walde oder Die abenteuerliche Hagd</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Franz Xver Süssmayer	Vienna	14 gennaio 1802	MS piano score	-	-	Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde	clavier	137, 24 pieces	1802
<i>Die Spanier auf der Insel Christina ein Ballet in drey Aufzügen</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Franz Joseph Weigl (Ioseph) and others	Vienna	17 marzo 1802	Published piano score	Wien in dem Hof Theater Musik Verlag in der Burg	1802	Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde	keyboard	20 pieces solos id'd	1802

Table 13 continued

<i>I Giuochi Istimici Ballo tragico in sei atti</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Franz Joseph Weigl (Giuseppe)	Vienna	13 luglio 1803	Published piano score	Vienna nella Stamperia di Musica dei Teatri Imp.li	1803	Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde	keyboard	43 pieces solos id'd	1803
<i>Ballo secondo Il Semplice e la anarella</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	Padova	1806	MS parts	-	-	Padova, Biblioteca del Conservatorio	orchestra ^c	26 pieces	1806
<i>Prometeo^f</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Beethoven, Weigl,	Milano, La Scala	22 maggio 1813	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1813	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale	(piano-forte)	3 pieces	1813
<i>Gli Ussiti: Danza e Valz</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Viganò, Beethoven, Generali	Milano	Carnevale 1815	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1815	NYPL Cia Fornaroli coll.	forte-piano, ridotti dal Paolo Brambilla	3 pieces	1815
<i>Numa Pompiglio: due "pas-de-deux"</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	Milano	quaresima 1815	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1815	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale	cembalo	5 pieces	1815
<i>La Vendetta di Venere</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Weigl, Rossini, Beethoven, Umlauf, Carafa	Milano	primavera 1817	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1817	Corregio, Biblioteca Comunale	cembalo, ridotto dal Ferdinando Bonazzi	18 pieces	1817
<i>Psammi Re d'Egitto: Gran ballo, pezzi scelti</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Gallenberg, Lichtenthal Brambilla, Umlauf, Lipavsky	Milano	autunno 1817	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1817	Corregio, Biblioteca Comunale	forte-piano, ridotto dal Editore	11 pieces	1817

Table 13 continued

<i>Dedalo: gran ballo: pezzi scelti</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	Milano	1818	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1818	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio	forte-piano, ridotto dal' Luigi Schmidt	32 pieces	1818
<i>Otello: gran ballo tragico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Rossini, Brambilla, Carafa	Milano	1818	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1818	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale	cembalo	26 pieces	1818
<i>La Spada di Kenneth: gran ballo Eroico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Rossini, Farata, Kreutzer	Milano	1818	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1818	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio	forte-piano, ridotti dal Pietro Piazza	15 pieces	1818
<i>La Vestale gran ballo tragico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Weigl Lichtenthal Rossini Viganò Beethoven Mozart Carafa	Milano	1818	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1818	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale	cembalo, ridotto dall' Editore	31 pieces	1818
<i>I Titani, raccolta di vari e più applauditi pezzi del...</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Aiblinger, Carafa	Milano	autunno 1819	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1819	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio	forte-piano, ridotto dal' Editore	3 pieces	1819
<i>Alessandro nell'Indie gran ballo eroico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Brambilla, Weigl	Milano	quaresima 1820	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1820	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio	forte-piano	18 pieces	1820

Table 13 continued

<i>Giovanna d'Arco gran ballo storico: pezzi scelti</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Aiblinger, Generali, Paisiello, Haydn, Viganò, Dussek, Rossini	Milano	1821	Published piano score	Ricordi, Milano	1821	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio	cembalo, ridotto dal Dionigi Brogialdi	18 pieces	1821
<i>Didone: Ballabile</i>	Salvatore Viganò, Giulio Viganò	?	Milano	autunno 1821	Published piano score	Luigi Carulli	1821	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio	piano-forte, ridotto da Benedetto Carulli	1 piece	1821
<i>L'Adidone "Ultimo ballo composto dal Sig. Salvatore Viganò": Ballabile</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	Milano	1821	MS score?	-	-	Torino, Fondo Foà-Giordano	banda militare, ridotto dal Agostino Belloli ^g	Ballabile, 19	1821

^a See note b below.

^b If there is no date attached to a record I have given my best guess, and applied it to the column "sort date" at the right. These dates are given in brackets []. A dash (-) in a column means that the information does not apply (e.g. publisher and published dates do not exist for manuscript sources).

^c Orchestration: 2 fl, 2 ob, 2 cl, 2 fag, 2 cor, 2 tr, timp, archi.

^d Orchestration: 2 fl, 2 ob, 2 cl, cor di bass, 2 fag, 2 cor, 2 tr, arpa, timp, archi

^e Orchestration: fl, ob 1, 2, cl, fag, corni 1,2, trombe 1,2, violin 1, v2, vla 1, 3 basso

^f Pieces are entitled: "Zuffa dei Selvaggi", "Cupido all fucina di Vulcano" and "Sortita di Eone e Lino I selvaggi"

^g Orchestration: fl, terzino, 4 cl, corni, trombe, oboi, fagotti, tromboni, serpan, fagottone, tamburo piccolo, tamburone

Table 14: Additional Musical Sources for Viganò's Ballets from 1800 Available at Collections in the United States and Italy

(sources listed in bold print are **not identified** by Dalmonte in her 1984 study, those not in bold replicate her sources but in other collections, and those preceded by an * are mixed or it is unknown if the contents match her sources or not—likely these do contain some of the same contents as sources cited by Dalmonte)

Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
<i>Manfrina tratta da un ballo</i> ^a	Salvatore Viganò	.	.	.	Published pf score	Giuseppe Lorenzi, Firenze	18--	Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	[pianoforte]	2	?
* <i>Der Spanier auf der Insel</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Franz Joseph Weigl and others	Vienna,	1802	Published pf score on microfilm	Chez Boieldieu	?	NYPL	piano	a few nos.	1802
* <i>I giuochi istmici</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Franz Joseph Weigl and others	Vienna, La Fenice Venezia	13 luglio 1803, 1804	Published pf score on microfilm	Chez Boieldieu	?	NYPL	piano	a few nos.	1803
<i>Il Noce di Benevento: Variazioni per clavicembalo: sopra la prima controdanza del ballo "Il noce di Benevento"</i>	[Viganò]	Francesco Pollini	Vienna ^b then La Scala	1802, 1812	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1808	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena	clavicembalo	11	1808

Table 14 continued

<i>Il Noce di Benevento</i>	[Viganò]	Franz Xaver Sussmayr	Vienna, then La Scala	1802, 1812	MS orch. score	.	.	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	orchestra ^c	?	1812
<i>Il Prometeo (Innamoramento di Eone e Lino)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	La Scala	1813	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1813	HTC	pf	6	1813
<i>Il Prometeo (Cupido alla fucina di Vulcano)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Weigl	La Scala	1813	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1813	HTC	pf	3	1813
<i>Il Prometeo (pezzi scelti see footnote^d)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Beethoven, Weigl	La Scala	1813, autunno	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1813	HTC	pf	12	1813
<i>Il Prometeo (Nel ballo Il Prometeo: sonata per forte-piano: Innamoramento di Eone e Lino)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	La Scala	1813	MS pf score	.	1813	HTC	pf	11	1813

Table 14 continued

* <i>Prometheus; Raccolta di varj e migliori pezzi di musica per forte piano del ballo, Prometeo.</i> ^c	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: various compers inc Weigl and Beethoven, arr. By Viganò	La Scala	May 22, 1813	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	ca. 1813	NYPL	piano	4 nos.	1813
* <i>La Vendetta di Venere</i> (gran ballo)	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Weigl, Rossini, Beethoven, Umlauf, Carafa	La Scala	1817	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1817	HTC	pianoforte	31	1817
* <i>Mirra; ossia La vendetta di Venere</i> : gran ballo	Salvatore Viganò	diversi rinomati autori: inc. Weigl, Rossini, Beethoven, Carrafa and Umlauff	La Scala	Giugno 1817	Published pf score (cembalo)	Ricordi, Milano	?	NYPL	cembalo, Ridotto per cembalo solo dal Sig.r Ferd.o Bonazzi	31	1817
* <i>Psammi, Re d'Egitto</i> (gran ballo: No. 5)	Viganò	Josef Lipavsky +	La Scala	1817, autunno	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1817	HTC	pianoforte	3	1817
* <i>Psammi re d'Egitto</i> ; gran ballo	Viganò	Viganò and others	La Scala	1817, autunno	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	? 1818	NYPL	pianoforte	31	1817

Table 14 continued

<i>Dedalo:</i> [extracted pieces]	[Viganò]	Peter Lichtenthal, Robert Gallenberg, Rossini, Mozart	La Scala	1818	MS piano score	.	.	Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	pianoforte	?	1818
* <i>Dedalo:</i> gran ballo	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: based on works by Gallenberg, Lichtenthal Umlauf and Rossini, arranged by Viganò.	La Scala	.	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	? 1818	NYPL	forte-piano	51	1818
* <i>Otello: gran ballo tragico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Gioachino Rossini, Gallenberg, Brambilla, Carafa, +	La Scala	1818, primavera	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1818	HTC	pianoforte	41	1818
* <i>Otello: gran ballo tragico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi rinomati autori	La Scala	1818	Published pf score (cembalo)	Ricordi, Milano	? 1818	NYPL	cembalo, ridotto per cembalo solo	53	1818

Table 14 continued

* <i>La Vestale</i> (2 copies)	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Weigl, Lichtenthal , Rossini, Kinsky, Viganò, Spontini, Beethoven, Mozart, Carafa, +	La Scala	1818 June	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1818	HTC	pianoforte, rid. by Giovanni Moro, Ferdinando Bonazzi, Pietro Piazza	47	1818
* <i>La vestale;</i> gran ballo tragico	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Weigl, Lichtenthal Beethoven Kinsky Spontini Rossini,	La Scala	Spring 1818	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	? 1818	NYPL	piano	47	1818
* <i>La vestale;</i> gran ballo tragico	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Salvatore Viganò Rossini, Beethoven and others	La Scala	1818	Published pf score, SD	Ricordi, Milano	? 1819	NYPL	piano	47	1818
<i>La Vestale:</i> Addio nel Ballo La Vestale	[Viganò]	Cavatta	La Scala	1818	MS	.	.	Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense	part of "Composizi oni strumentali "	?	1818
<i>La Vestale</i>	[Viganò]	.	La Scala	1818	MS piano score	.	.	Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	pf reduction	?	1818

Table 14 continued

<i>La Vestale</i>	Salvatore Viganò	various authors, arr. and orch. by Mirabella	La Scala	1818	MS score on microfilm	.	.	NYPL	orchestra	299	1818
<i>Bianca: Variazioni per Forte-Piano: sulla Siciliana, del Sig.r Ayblinger: nel ballo "Bianca"</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Jean-Antoine-Frédéric Jansen, also Giaochino Rossini, Johann Kaspar Aiblinger	La Scala	1819	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1819	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena	forte-piano, dedicate alla signora Lionel Goldsmid	9	1819
* <i>I Titani: Raccolta di varj e più applauditi pezzi del gran Ballo i Titani : atto 1.</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Jean-Antoine-Frédéric Jansen, Johann Kaspar Aiblinger	La Scala	1819	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	ca. 1819	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina sezione musicale	piano, ridotti per forte-piano [da J.F.A. Jansen] ^f	18	1819
<i>I Titani: Variazioni brillanti per Forte-Piano: sopra un tema del ballo "I Titani"</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Jean-Antoine-Frédéric Jansen, also Giaochino Rossini, Johann Kaspar Aiblinger	La Scala	1819	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1819	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena	forte-piano, E dedicate all' Ill.° Sig.r Marchese Costantino Maruzzi	9	1819

Table 14 continued

* <i>I Titani " ...più applauditi pezzi..."</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Aiblinger + Carafa and Rossini	La Scala	1819, Oct.	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1819	HTC	pianoforte	62	1819
<i>Alessandro nell' Indie; gran ballo eroico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: inc. Brambilla and Weigl	La Scala	1820	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	? 1820	NYPL	forte-piano	39	1820
<i>Allesandro nell'Indie</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Brambilla, Weigle, +, arr. Brambilla and Lichtenthal	La Scala	1820, Feb.	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1820	HTC	pf, rid. Louis Jansen and Dionigi Brogialdi	39	1820
<i>Giovanna d'Arco; Pezzi scelti del ballo storico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi autori, arranged and partly composed by Viganò	La Scala	1821	Published pf score (cembalo)	Ricordi, Milano	? 182-	NYPL	cembalo, ridotti per cembalo solo dal Sigr. Dionigi Brogialdi	53	1821
<i>Giovanna d'Arco "Pezzi scelti del ballo storico..."</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi autori Lichtenthal+ Aiblinger, Generali, Paisiello, Haydn, Viganò, Dussek, Rossini, arranged by Viganò	La Scala	1821, autunno	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1821	HTC	pf, "...ridotti per cembalo solo ... Dionigi Brogialdi."	41	1821

Table 14 continued

<i>Il Noce di Benevento: ballo alegorico</i>	Giulio Viganò after Salvatore Viganò	Franz Xaver Süssmayer	La Scala	1812, 1822, april	Published pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1822	HTC	pf reduction	49	1822
--	--------------------------------------	-----------------------	----------	-------------------	--------------------	-----------------	------	-----	--------------	----	------

^a Sul front.: eseguita nel balletto *La pianella perduta* rappresentato nell' I. Teatro della Pergola. Little other information could be found about this source, or the performance at the Teatro della Pergola under the name *La pianella perduta*. This was the title of several dramas, farces and operettas from the same time period. It may have been the alternate title of the ballet *L'inverno*.

^b In Vienna this ballet was called *Die Zauberschwester im Beneventer Walde*

^c Scored for: fl1, fl2, ob1, cl1, cl2, fag1, fag2, cor1, cor2, tr1, tr2, timp, vl1, vl2, vla, vlc, basso.

^d The two pieces are: "Sortita di Eone e Lino ed I Selvaggi", "Zuffa de' Selvaggi"

^e The pieces are: "Sortita di Eone, e Lino ed i selvaggi," "Zuffa de' selvaggi," "Cupido alla fucina di Vulcano" and "Innamoramento di Eone e Lino," by Weigl and Beethoven. Dalmonste's source has only three musical numbers, missing the "Innamoramento di Eone e Lino."

^f Dedicati dall'editore al Sig.r Giacomo Meyerbeer rinomato Maestro di Cappella.

Gaspare Spontini's opera *La Vestale* with its libretto by Etienne de Jouy, which had premiered in Paris in 1807. (Viganò used some of Spontini's music for his ballet.)

Ritorni's and others' assessments of the ballet's content hint at correlations to the unstable political situation in Italy and even Europe as a whole, after the rise and fall of Napoleon and the subsequent shaky French and Austrian control over Italian regions. It was likely easy for some to see the Vestal Virgin's victimization and unusually cruel punishment according to archaic rules and an unforgiving minister as analogous to the spirit behind the recent revolutions and control of Italian territories by outside powers who were likely also seen as archaic and harsh. Elizabeth Terzian cites a strikingly political anecdote by Lady Morgan, an English traveler and writer, who attended one of the many performances of *La Vestale* in Milan in 1818:

The story of this piece is well known, but it is curious to remark, that a great part of the interest it excited, arose from the reference which the audience made of the circumstances of the piece to certain institutions, placed throughout Europe under the protection of the Holy Alliance.³⁸⁷

Morgan clearly sympathizes with the Vestal virgin, whom she repeatedly describes as a victim of "horrible bigotry" (which she proceeds to trace though history to more recent times).

Regarding the scenic decoration, costuming, and groupings of the dancers and actors, Ritorni and Lady Morgan both comment on the use of many elements of classical antiquity—important to dance historians as clues to the appearance of the choreography.

³⁸⁷ Lady Morgan, "Italy," 99. According to Lady Morgan, even more political was "The Pope's Ballet" or *Il Generale Colli in Roma* or *Il Ballo del Papa* which she describes on pages 77-80. [Punctuation and spelling are Morgans for all citations].

Ritorni calls the images created by Antonia Pallerini in the role of the Vestale “totally Greek and Roman,” and notes that she and Decio form “groups from the model of sublime sculpture.”³⁸⁸ He repeatedly compares the unfolding of the mute choreography to versification, while stating that Viganò’s mastery of pantomime is the superior method for reaching the audience. Lady Morgan describes the scenic design similarly:

...nothing that antiquity has left on the subject is omitted—the architecture, the costume, the groupings, are classical, and partake in nothing of the coarseness and clumsiness of theatric imitation.³⁸⁹

Morgan later point out further classical elements:

The living groups are formed after the finest sculptures; and down to the bronze vase on the Consul’s festive board, the lamp, tripod, and consular chair, all seemed borrowed from *Herculaneum* or *Pompeii*.³⁹⁰

Viganò knew Spontini’s *La Vestale*, a three-act opera in the French style, which premiered in Paris with great success in 1807 before it was brought to Naples (the only Italian center to appreciate French-style opera at the beginning of the nineteenth century). Some of Spontini’s music is incorporated into Viganò’s score (see Table 15 below). Spontini’s *La Vestale* with its internal ballets was performed at San Carlo in Naples in 1811, 1813, 1815 and 1818.

Spontini’s opera *La Vestale* provided many a rationale for dancing. (Terzian identifies the choreographer as, in all likelihood, Pierre Gardel.³⁹¹) In the first act there

³⁸⁸ Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò,” 205, in description of the third act.

³⁸⁹ Lady Morgan, “Italy,” 99.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

are the extensive festivities celebrating the Roman Victory over Gaul and in the third act there is the happy celebration of Giulia's and Licinius' marriage. There is also an inserted ballet between the first and second acts. There is plenty of drama and action with the scandal of Giulia letting the Vestal flame expire, an angry mob, her death sentence to be buried alive, and a violent storm and lightning bolt that ignites her veil showing that Vesta has forgiven her. Outside of Naples, *La Vestale* (and most French opera) had limited success, with performances in Florence in 1817 and at La Scala years after Viganò's ballet, in the 1824/25 season.³⁹² Terzian provides a summary comparison between the opera's and the ballet's plot structure and music (comparing the plots in more detail than I have offered here, though her discussion of the music is brief).³⁹³ Her contributions are noted throughout my musical discussion (below) and hers and Dalmonte's identification of music borrowed from Rossini and Spontini's operas are especially useful.

³⁹¹ See Terzian, "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)," 30.

³⁹² In the Italian version of the opera, the dancing takes place in similar locations but may have been more integrated into the action, as a general chorus commenting on all that has transpired precedes the dances at the ends of Acts I and III and there is a lack of evidence of a separate *divertissement*, at least in the Italian score published by Ricordi. There are differences between the scores for the French and Italian versions (the scores were published immediately after their premiers), beyond the simple but major difference in language.

³⁹³ Terzian, "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)," 25-29. Terzian determines that Viganò handled the themes of "love, fate, courage, and sacrifice" more effectively than did Spontini. She also asserts that the actual danced portions of both works are *divertissements*, yet I would argue (in agreement with Ritorni), that those in Viganò's ballet are integral to the plot and well justified, they are certainly not *divertissements* of the type that often occurred with French opera of the time, which were more detached from the action of the opera.

Unlike Spontini's opera, Viganò's *La Vestale* is a tragedy. Emilia (Giulia in Spontini's opera) is not rescued by a benevolent Vesta; instead she is buried alive in an underground tomb in a horrifying scene described in great detail by period observers. Decio's (Spontini's Licinius) passionate efforts to rescue her result in a mortal wound and he draws his last breath at Emilia's tomb. Ritorni writes that apparently there were those who so desired a happy ending that they would have opened the tomb (at the ballet's conclusion) thus ruining the sublime tragedy.

Libretto

Before proceeding with the study of the music, I have provided a translation of the libretto in Table 15 below.³⁹⁴ Though English synopses of this ballet are available in Cyril Beaumont's *Book of Ballets* and other sources, the detailed plot contents from the original libretto are important, as they link up with the annotations in the scores.³⁹⁵ Furthermore, this scenario is exemplary of the typical Italian ballet libretto, and the details are important to the discussion of the music that follows. Even more detailed descriptions of each act by Ritorni and other writers are included in the discussion that follows, and it should be emphasized that any close consideration of the ballet must take

³⁹⁴ Salvatore Viganò, *La vestale; ballo tragico di Salvatore Viganò da rappresentarsi sulle scene dell'i. r. Teatro alla Scala nella primavera dell'anno 1818*, Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector, *Libretti di ballo. no. 195e*, (Milano: G. Pirola, 1818); and, Salvatore Viganò, Giulio Bertini, and Filippo Viganò, *La vestale; ballo tragico di Salvatore Viganò, posto in scena da suo fratello Giulio da rappresentarsi nel gran Teatro La Fenice, il carnevale dell'anno 1828*, Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector, *Libretti di ballo. no. 293a*, (Venice: Casali, 1828). (Both housed at NYPL)

³⁹⁵ Beaumont, "Complete Book of Ballets," 35-39. See also, Kirstein, "Movement & metaphor," 134-135.

into account Ritorni's detailed account, which is too lengthy to offer in complete translation here.

Table 15: *La Vestale* Libretto and Translation

Atto I: Circo	Act I: Circus
<p>Ricorrendo l'anniversario delle feste cereali, si celebra una tale solennità colla lotta all presenza de' Consoli, de' Senatori, della Vestale e del popolo romano. Terminato questo spettacolo, i Flamini ofrono sacrifici di ringraziamento agli Iddii, e le Vestali fanno le usate libagioni sovra le palme e le corone destinate a' vincitori, innalzando fervide preghiere al cielo perchè siano sempre concedute all Repubblica giovani così prodi. Compiuto il sacro rito, si distribuiscono i premi.</p> <p>Fra gli atleti vincitori si trova Decio figlio del console Murena. Mentr' egli viene premiato, la vestale Emilia lascia trasparire la compiacenza dell'animo suo, effetto di nascente amore; e Decio similmente coll'eloquenza degli sguardi le fa conoscere che per lei sola gli è dolce quel premio.</p> <p>I saltatori, a diverse maniere contrafatti, chiudono la festa.</p>	<p>At the recurring <i>feste cereali</i> (Feast of the goddess Ceres), one celebrates such solemnity with a gladiator fight in the presence of Consuls, Senators, Vestal Virgins and the Roman people. After the show ends, the Priests offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to the Gods, and the Vestal Virgins make traditional libations over the palms and crowns destined for the winners, raising fervent prayers to heaven so that the Republic may always be granted such brave young men. Having completed the sacred rite, the prizes are distributed.</p> <p>Among the winning athletes is Decio, the son of the consul Murena. While he is rewarded, the vestal Emilia reveals the complaisance of her soul, an effect of nascent love, and Decio similarly, with the eloquence of his gaze, lets her know that that the sweetness of that prize is only because of her. The jumpers (dancers), disguised in a variety of ways, close the festival.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Atto Secondo <i>Appartamento nella casa del console Murena.</i></p> <p>Decio, pensoso e mesto, ritorna dal circo alla casa paterna. La riportata corona non ha per lui nessuna attrattiva; egli non ha presente all'animo se non l'immagine di Emilia; tutti i suoi voti sono ad essa rivolti: ma bene egli vede l'impossibilità d'appagarli, e già s'abbandona al più profondo dolore.</p> <p>Sopravviene il padre suo, accompagnato da vari patrici, e seguito da suoi schiavi, per dar libero sfogo all sua gioja; ma vedendo il figlio così costernato, non sa che mai si debba pensare. Decio però, alla vista del genitore, procura di ricomporsi, e gli fa supporre che le fatiche sostenute nella lotta</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Second Act Apartment in the house of the consul Murena.</p> <p>Decio, pensive and sad, returns from the circus to his family home. The conquered crown does not have any attraction for him, he has nothing in his heart, but the image of Emilia; all of his vows are addressed to her, but he well sees the impossibility of satisfying these desires and is already abandoning himself to the deepest anguish.</p> <p>His father appears, accompanied by various patricians and followed by his slaves, to freely express his joy, but in seeing his son so dismayed, has no idea what to think. Decio, however, at the sight of his parent, attempts to compose himself, and allows him to believe</p>

Table 15 continued

<p>sieno la cagione del suo abbattimento. Egli sel crede, e fa domesticamente solennizzare la vittoria del figlio con uno splendido banchetto, con suoni e con danze; dopo di che tutti si ritirano, ad eccezione di Claudio ch'è trattenuto da Decio.</p> <p>L'inconsolabile Decio confida all'amico il segreto del suo cuore, e protesta di volersi uccidere, giacchè non gli rimane speranza alcuna di possedere l'oggetto delle sue fiamme. Ma Claudio, fatto incautamente pietoso, lo distoglie da sì terribile proponimento, palesandogli ch' egli conosce una via sotterranea che mette al tempio di Vesta, e promettendogli di condurlo per essa nella prossima notte a rivedere la bella Emilia. Allora il tenero amante riprende spiriti e fiducia, abbraccia ripetutamente l'amico, e pieno d'impazienza seco lui se ne parte.</p>	<p>that the fatigue sustained in the fight is the reason for his despondency. The father believes him and solemnizes the victory of the son in his home with a splendid banquet, with music and dances, after which all retire except Claudio who is held back by Decio.</p> <p>The inconsolable Decio confides in his friend the secrets of his heart, and declares the wish to kill himself, since no hope remains of possessing the object of his passionate desires. But Claudio, being imprudently merciful, dissuades him from his terrible proposition, by revealing to him that he knows an underground path that leads to the temple of Vesta, and by promising to lead him to it the next night to see the beautiful Emilia again. And so the tender lover [Decio] regains his spirits and confidence, embraces his friend repeatedly, and full of impatience, departs.</p>
<p style="text-align:center">Atto Terzo Tempio di Vesta. <i>Innanzi al simulacro della Dea arde il sacro fuoco.</i> Notte.</p> <p>Emilia, per sua sciagura, veglia in questa notte alla custodia del sacro fuoco. La solitudine ed il silenzio la invitano a meditare sopra il suo stato. Ella sente che ama, e ben comprende che la sua condizione di Sacerdotessa le vieta un amore profano; onde è che atterrita si prostra innanzi alla Dea, e invoca il suo favore. Già pare che una dolce calma acqueti il suo cuore; ma l'amoroso travaglio a poco a poco si ridesta, e tanto si avviva, ch' ella vaneggiando parla a Decio, come se questi fosse a ei presente, e gli manifesta la terribile pugna de' suoi affetti co' suoi doveri.</p> <p>Frattanto s'inoltra Decio stesso, accompagnato da Claudio, che subito retrocede per vegliar all' ingresso del tempio. All'improvviso apparir dell' amante la misera Emilia si sbigottisce, e fa per involarsi. Ma Decio l'arresta, impiega tutte le persuasioni, che gli suggerisce l' amor suo, per</p>	<p style="text-align:center">Third Act Temple of Vesta <i>In front of the statue of the Goddess burns the sacred fire.</i> Night</p> <p>Emilia, much to her misfortune, is awake on this night in the care of the sacred fire. The solitude and silence invite her to meditate on her condition. She feels that she loves, and understands well that her status as Priestess prohibits profane love; from whence terrified she prostrates herself before the Goddess, and invokes her favor. Already it seems that a gentle calm quiets her heart, but the amorous torment is reawakened little by little, and revives itself to such an extent that, raving, she speaks to Decio and as if he were present, and a terrible conflict between her affections and her duties manifests before her.</p> <p>Meanwhile, Decio himself advances, accompanied by Claudio, who immediately falls back to keep watch at the entrance of the temple. At the sudden appearance of her lover, the miserable Emilia is dismayed, and tries to flee. But Decio detains her, employs all of his powers of persuasion, suggesting his love for</p>

Table 15 continued

riconfortarla, e le propone di fuggire con esso. Emila, compresa da terrore a proposizione sì fatta, corre a piedi del silmulacro e l'abbraccia, onde scampare da tanto pericolo. Decio crede allora di non esser riamato, e s'allontana da lei co' segni dell'estrema disperazione. L'infelice Vestale, a quell'atto, cade svenuta a piè dell'ara. Decio, commosso, ritorna indietro, la soccorre, e con giuramento si obbliga d'obbedire a qualunque suo cenno.

Ma la sacra fiamma intanto si è spenta. Inesprimibile è la costernazione dei due amanti. In questo mezzo ode Emilia la voce, per lei sconosciuta, di Claudio, il qual viene ad avvertir l'amico che è tempo di partirsene, e poi quella d'alcune Vestali che s'avanzano alla volta del tempio, sì ch'ella vergognando di sè e spaventata ricade sul terreno. Decio e Claudio rimangono smarriti in quella oscurità.

Entrano allora le Vestali colle loro lucerne. Ma quale è lo stupore di esse in veggendo ch'è spento il sacro fuoco, che Emilia è prostesa sul suolo, e che due nomini si nascondono nell'augusto ricinto!

Decio vorrebbe metter riparo a sì funesto contrattempo, scongiurando le sacre Vergini a non palesar nulla di quanto esse hanno veduto: ma Claudio, che teme per sè e per l'amico, a forza lo strascina fuori del tempio.

Non prima sono questi fuggiti, che, chiamati dal romore, accorrono i Sacerdoti coll'Arciflamme (Pontif Maximus). Le più giovani fra le Vestali, con quella innocenza ch'è propria dell'età loro, rivelano subito ogni cosa. L'Arciflamme arde di furore, consegna la rea a' suoi ministri, e, annunziandole la morte, la toglie alle sue compagne, le quali da lungi la seguono con amare lagrime.

her, in order to comfort her, and proposes that she run away with him. Emilia, overtaken with terror at such a proposition, runs to the foot of statue and embraces it, whence she might be saved from such danger. Decio believes in this moment that his love is not returned, and distances himself from her with signs of extreme desperation. The unhappy Vestal, at this act, falls unconscious at the foot of the altar. Decio, moved, comes back, attends to her, and takes an oath to obey her every nod.

But in the meantime the sacred flame has been extinguished. The lovers' dismay is inexpressible. In the middle of this, Emilia hears the voice, unknown to her, of Claudio, who has come to warn his friend that it is time to leave, and then [she hears] that [voice] of some of the Vestals who are advancing to the face of the temple, so that ashamed and frightened [Emilia] falls to the ground once more. Decio and Claudio remain bewildered in the darkness.

At this point, the Vestal Virgins enter with their lanterns. But how great is their surprise in seeing that the sacred fire has gone out, that Emilia is prostrate on the floor, and that two men are hiding in the sacred enclosure!

Decio would like to avoid such a pernicious setback, begging that the Holy Virgins not reveal anything of what they have seen: but Claudio, who fears for himself and his friend, forcibly drags him from the temple.

As soon as they had fled, the priests with the High Priest (Pontiff Maximus) arrive on the scene, summoned by the noise. The youngest of the Vestal Virgins, with that innocence appropriate to their age, immediately reveal everything. The High Priest burns with fury, turns the guilty [girl] over to his ministers, and, announcing her impending death; he separates her from her companions, who follow her from afar with bitter tears.

Table 15 continued

<p style="text-align: center;">Atto Quarto <i>Bosco sacro attiguo al collegio de' Flamini ed al tempio.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Fourth Act <i>Sacred forest near the College of Priests and the temple.</i></p>
<p>Decio e Claudio entrano celatamente nel sacro bosco, onde spiare della sorte d'Emilia. Claudio s'avvicina al collegio de' Flamini, e subitamente ritorna all' amico avvisandolo che i Sacerdoti s'avanzano per giudicare la infelice, e che bisogna ritirarsi. Decio impallidisce; ma, risoluto essendo liberare l' amante sua o di morire insieme con essa, s' invola con Claudio a fine di preparare tutto quanto è necessario al compimento de' suoi disegni.</p> <p>Di mano in mano arrivano i Flamini e le Vestali, e quindi i Consoli a' quali l' Arciflamine espone il motivo che qui li raduna. Allora comparisce Emilia in mezzo a littori. Ella viene esaminata e dichiarata colpevole; ma invano si tenta di farle palesare il complice del suo delitto: se non che Decio stesso, vinto dalla disperazione, corre a' piedi del console suo padre, confessa l' error suo, e lo scongiura a distruggere la barbara legge che condanna la misera Vestale. Le sue parole agitano tutti i cuori, ed eccitano universale bisbiglio. Ma l' Arciflamine, non mettendo tempo in mezzo, pronuncia la fatale sentenza, strappa d' indosso alla delinquente le insegne sacerdotali, la copre d' un negro velo, e la respinge da sè qual vittima esecranda. Poi, fatto intendere al console Murena, che il figlio di lui ben conosce l' inviolabilità del rito, e che si ripromette dalla sua prudenza ch' egli saprà rispettarlo, segue la Vestale insieme col sacro collegio. Gli altri si ritirano da lati opposti: ma nel Console si riconosce l' estrema afflizione che gli reca il delitto del figlio; e gli atti di Decio fanno presagire tutti gli eccessi d' un uomo che non ha più nulla da sperare nè da perdere su questa terra.</p>	<p>Decio and Claudio secretly enter the sacred forest, from which they can observe the fate of Emilia. Claudio approaches the college of Priests and immediately returns to his friend, warning him that the priests are coming forward to judge the unhappy one [Emilia] and that they must withdraw. Decio grows pale, but, having resolved to set his lover free or die with her, he steals away with Claudio to prepare all that is necessary to complete their plans.</p> <p>Hand in hand the Priests and Vestal Virgins arrive, followed by the Consuls to whom the High Priest explains the reasons for which they are gathered here. Then, Emilia appears in the middle of the lictors ("littori")^a She is examined and found guilty; but in vain they try to make her reveal the accomplice to her crime: except that Decio himself, overcome by despair, runs to the feet of his father, a consul, and confesses his error, and he implores him to destroy the barbaric law that condemns the poor Vestal. His words stir all of their hearts and excite universal whispering. But the High Priest, not wasting any time, pronounces the fatal sentence, tears from the offender the sacerdotal insignia, covers her with a black veil, and pushes her away from himself as an abhorrent victim. Then, having made the consul Murena understand that his son is well aware of the sanctity of the rite and that he intends from his prudence that he will make sure to respect it, [the high priest] follows the Vestal along with the sacred college. The others withdraw to opposite sides: but in the Consul one recognizes the extreme affliction that the crime of his son causes him; and the acts of Decio foreshadow all of the excesses of a man who has no hope left and nothing more to lose on this earth.</p>

Table 15 continued

Atto Quinto <i>Campo scellerato.</i>	Fifth Act <i>Campus sceleratus (Wicked field)^b</i>
<p>Già per tutta Roma si è sparsa la notizia della sentenza pronunciata contro la Vestale; sicchè da ogni parte il popolo afflitto accorre a questa volta per vederne l' esecuzione.</p> <p>D'indi a poco s' avanza il convoglio funèbre, composto de' ministri del rito, dell' Arciflamine, del console Silano, delle Vestali e de' soldati; finalmente viene la rea, circondata da' littori.</p> <p>L' Arciflamine innalza allora una preghiera agli' Iddii, per impetrare la loro tutela sopra l' Impero, esposto a' più gravi infortuni della colpa dell' impura Vestale. Poscia egli medesimo conduce la vittima infino al limitare della tomba ov' ella debb' essere innanzi morte sepolta, e là rassegna tala all' esecutore della giustizia, le volge iratamente le spalle, e si ritira in disparte.</p> <p>La infelice, compianta da tutti, viene calata nell' eterno suo carcere, che è subito chiuse con grave marmo.</p> <p>In questo punto irrompe in mezzo all' attonita moltitudine il forsennato Decio, seguito da uno stuolo d' armati, e risoluto di salvare i giorni d' Emilia: egli cerca da prima d' intenerire il cuore dell' Arciflamine; e non vi riuscendo, s' avventa contro di lui per ucciderlo; ma il suo colpo cade a vuoto, ed egli stesso è mortalmente ferito dalle guardie.</p> <p>Giunge in questo mezzo il console Murena, credendo d' essere ancora in tempo a frenare l' audacia del figlio; ma visto da lungi il miserabile caso, si sofferma inorridito.</p> <p>Decio, fra i tormenti dell' agonia, si strascina sulla tomba d' Emilia, e quivi spira ripetendo ancora l' amato nome, ed empiendo tutti gli astanti di dolore e di raccapriccio.</p> <p><i>FINE.</i></p>	<p>Already the news has spread throughout Rome of the sentence pronounced against the Vestal; so that from all parts, the distressed people come to this place to see the execution.</p> <p>From thence, the funeral convoy slowly advances, composed of the ministers of the rite, the High Priest, the consul Silano, and the Vestal Virgins, soldiers, and finally the guilty one [Emilia] surrounded by the lictors.</p> <p>At this point the High Priest raises a prayer to the Gods to implore their protection over the Empire, exposed to the gravest misfortunes in the guilt of the impure Vestal. Then he himself leads the victim to the edge of the grave where she is to be buried alive, and there presents her to the executor of justice, he angrily turns his back to her and retires to the side.</p> <p>The unhappy one [Emilia] mourned by all, is lowered into her eternal prison, which is immediately closed with heavy marble.</p> <p>In this moment the insane Decio bursts in from amongst the astonished multitudes, followed by an armed troop, and resolved to save Emilia's life: he tries first to soften the heart of the High Priest; and in failing at this endeavor, he flings himself against him in order to kill him; but his shot falls empty, and he himself is mortally wounded by the guards.</p> <p>In the middle of this the consul Murena arrives, believing to be still in time to stop the audacity of his son; but having seen from a distance the miserable event, he freezes horrified.</p> <p>Decio, amongst the torments of his agony, drags himself onto Emilia's tomb, and here expires, repeating still the beloved name [Emilia] and filling all the onlookers with pain and horror.</p> <p><i>THE END.</i></p>

^a Generally, a lictor was said to precede the carriages of vestal virgins wherever they went. More specifically, this was a procession of officials that were involved in the arrest, bondage, scourge and

beheading of criminals. Part of the procession involves a bundle of elm boughs tied together with an axe in the middle. The sad ceremony and procession is described as having twenty-four such ministers or public servants under the console, a military forum of twelve, six magistrates and one vestal virgin. See “littore” in the “Dizionario Etimologia” <http://www.etimo.it/?pag=hom>, (accessed February 13, 2010). The definition reads: “Ufficiale pubblico corrispondente al Liturgo dei Greci, che, per una usanza ricevuta dagli Etruschi e precisamente secondo Silio Italico, dai Vetuloni, precedeva gli alti magistrati romani, portando un fascio di verghe d’olmo legate assieme, in mezzo al quale talvolta si riponeva una scure, ed aveva il triste ufficio, in esecuzione degli ordini che riceveva, di arrestare, legare, flagellare ed anche decapitare i malfattori. Un dittatore era preceduto da ventiquattro di cotali ministri o agenti della pubblica forza un console, un tribuno con potestà militare da dodici, un pretore da sei, ed una vergine vestale da uno.” [“Public official corresponding to the *Liturgo* (public ritual leader) of the Greeks, who, according to the custom passed down from the Etruscans and precisely, according to Silius Italicus, from those of Vetulonia, preceded the high Roman magistrates, carrying a bundle of elm rods tied together, in the middle of which there was sometimes placed an axe, and [the lictor] had the sad duty, in the execution of orders that he received, to arrest, restrain, flagellate, and also decapitate criminals. A dictator was preceded by twenty-four of these ministers or agents of public force; a consul by a tribunal with the military force of twelve [lictors]; a magistrate [preceded] by six; and a vestal virgin by one.”] The definition in the brackets above was translated by Elizabeth Elmi.

^b This was a field reserved for such underground live burials located within the city walls near the Colline gate. Vestal virgins must not spill blood but must be buried within the city, against Roman laws stating otherwise. Therefore they were buried alive with some food and water as well as a lamp. Then they would die “willingly” in a “habitable room.”

Music and Musical Sources for *La Vestale*

The musical sources for *La Vestale* examined for this study are the published cembalo score (Ricordi, ca. 1818), and the manuscript full score,³⁹⁶ which bears the title: *La Vestale / Ballo Tragico / Musica de’ più rinomati e celebri autori / Tradotta, e strumentata / Da / Nicolò Mirabella*. At the very end of the score is written “Fine del Ballo / Anno 1828 Mensis Februarj,” which suggests that this may be the score used for the 1828 restaging at La Fenice in Venice by Giulio Viganò for carnevale of that year.

³⁹⁶ Salvatore Viganò, *La vestale; gran ballo tragico inventato e posto sulle scene del R. Teatro alla Scala dal Sigr. Salvatore Viganò, Ridotto per cembalo solo [dal Sigr. Po. Piazza]*. (Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1818?]); and, Salvatore Viganò, *La vestale; gran ballo tragico inventato e posto sulle scene del R. Teatro alla Scala*, (Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1819?]). (Two copies housed at NYPL) and, Salvatore Viganò, *La vestale: gran ballo tragico*, (Milano: Ricordi, 1819), (housed at HTC); and, Nicolò Mirabella, *La vestale; ballo tragico, Musica de piu rinomati e celebri autori, Tradotta, e strumentata da Nicolò Mirabella*: [n.p.] (microfilm, housed at NYPL, original housed at the Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University, “La Vestale” vol. 157).

The libretto for the 1828 production (*La Vestale; ballo tragico di Salvatore Viganò, posto in iscena da suo fratello Giulio da rappresentarsi nel gran Teatro La Fenice, il carnevale dell'anno 1828*) matches the original 1818 libretto (*La Vestale; ballo tragico di Salvatore Viganò da rappresentarsi sulle scene dell' i. r. Teatro alla Scala nella primavera dell'anno 1818*)³⁹⁷ except for a few footnotes which explain minute changes. The manuscript full score seems to reflect these changes. For example we do not find the music for the “Corsa delle Bighe” which was removed from the 1828 performance due to “insurmountable obstacles.”³⁹⁸

Regardless, the manuscript full score and piano reduction correlate remarkably well, considering the normal incongruence that tends to characterize music sources from multiple stages of theatre production, restaging, and post-production. Table 16 below shows how the manuscript full score compares to the published cembalo score. Terzian and Dalmonte have identified the excerpts from contemporary Spontini and Rossini operas, and these are noted. Their work is valuable because sources of opera excerpts are

³⁹⁷ See footnote 394.

³⁹⁸ The 1828 restaging of *La Vestale* at La Fenice was put on by Giulio Viganò with Alix Baeucaire and Filippo Bertini. The libretto is the same with a few footnotes about the changes as follow: (a) “Altra cimentosa gara egualmente usata dalla Gioventù Romana, si è sostituita alla Corsa delle Bighe, resasi qui impossibile da più ostacoli insuperabili.” [Another trial race also used by Roman youth, has replaced the chariot race, which has become impossible here because of more insurmountable obstacles.] (b) “Se la storia è qui notabilmente alterata, si spera che l’indulgente spettatore vorrà di leggieri comportarlo, ed ascriverlo alla difficoltà di trovare un intrecciò più lodevole.” (This occurs just after the statement that Decio is among the winners). [If the story here is noticeably altered, we hope that the indulgent viewer will want require little of it, and that he will ascribe this to the difficulty of finding more praiseworthy plot.] Here I believe that Giulio is referring not to changes between his and Salvatore’s version but to Spontini’s opera and De Jouy’s version. This is because the libretto corroborates so well with Ritorni’s in depth description and others, such as Lady Morgan’s. The only major change is the absence of the chariot race.

never identified in the published keyboard scores of Italian ballets; only the composer is given (and can even be wrongly attributed). In the discussion below, I explore the connections created by such musical choices.³⁹⁹

From the table below we can see the close correlation between the sources, which is striking considering the likely separation in time and place between performances from which they likely originate (Milano, 1818, Salvatore Viganò versus Venice, 1828, Giulio Viganò). Notable discrepancies only occur in the first act, which can be explained if the manuscript score was used for Giulio Viganò's 1828 staging, which changed this act (according to the libretto), and one small number in the third act. It is unclear why the *sinfonia* and other opening numbers are absent from this otherwise complete manuscript full score. The following discussion examines the first, third, and fifth acts of the ballet in depth, while making note of other significant musico-dramatic moments. This is because

³⁹⁹ Terzian basically lists the usages and gives details about measures that have been cut and other manipulations, but does not describe the music in great depth, the effects it achieves in both the opera and ballet, or the relationships possibly created by these operatic musical borrowings. Furthermore she is under the impression that the ballet "presents short dramatic sections cut abruptly without transitions between one number and the other." (Terzian, "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)," 33). Yet while this may seem the case when looking at the piano score, I am under the impression the transitions between numbers are generally no more abrupt than those that occur in Spontini's opera, for example. It may be that Terzian is reacting to the inherent qualities of ballet music. Whereas opera's recitatives act as transitions between songful numbers, where the difference between is distinct but the singers provide the glue to meld the parts together, the ballet score is a continuous unfolding of a variety of musics, and what appears in the cembalo score as abrupt transitions, are usually for dramatic purposes (and can occur within a number as much as between numbers). Many of the pieces in the piano reductions of Viganò ballets in general do flow together quite well, as a number will, for example modulate to end on the dominant of the next. (See, for example, my discussion of Act IV of Viganò's *Giovanna d'Arco*, 1821, in Chapter V, page 157, Without the dancers, we are missing the gestural and pictorial "glue" that helps create that continuity. Furthermore, the orchestra score appears more continuous, and may present a more accurate picture of how the music for the ballet actually proceeded.

these three acts were apparently the most impressive, according to Ritorni and Lady Morgan.

Music and Action: Act I, Jubilant Celebrations for the Feast of Ceres

The published cembalo score starts with the opening sinfonia, a somber G-minor Adagio in its opening phrases, which leads into a brief march in B-flat. A transitional Maestoso section with many scalar flourishes foreshadows the first number proper, entitled “Lotta nel Circo” (wrestling in the circus) attributed to Weigl. The textures and contents of the two numbers blend together (the beginning of number one is a continuation of the ending of the introduction) and it is likely the beginning of the actual first number is where the curtain rose, making it necessary to separate it from the introduction even though the music is continuous. Ritorni discusses at length how Viganò begins the drama without lengthy exposition or narrative, requiring no previous knowledge from the spectator. He then describes the opening scene as follows:

A scene of astonishing breadth suddenly appears, of all new construction, of marvelous richness due to the many objects that fill it. It is divided in two parts. Behind and outside of the common scene [...] and on the lower-level you notice the Roman circus of oval shape, [...] full of obelisks and statues, that forced the running chariots to turn around the periphery. The bleachers and the galleries are full of consuls, senators, of all the Roman dignitaries, and general spectators of the struggle already begun between the athletes, during which the trumpets announce that the chariot race must follow.⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰ Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò,” 199-200. “Apparisce subitamente uno scenario di sorprendente vastità, di tutta nuova costruzione, di maravigliosa ricchezza pe’ tanti oggetti ond’ è popolato. In due parti è diviso. Indietro, e fuori della scena comune, dirò così per un di più, e con piano più basso, scorgesi il roman circo, d’ovale figura, mostrato per lo lungo, e diviso da quel prolungato piedestallo, carico di obelischi e di statue, che costringeva girar attorno alla periferia le correnti bighe. Le gradinate e le loggie son piene de’ Consoli, di Senatori, di tutte le romane dignità, e popolo spettator della lotta già accesa fregl’ atleti; alla quale le trombe annunciano che dee succeder il corso delle bighe.”

Table 16: *La Vestale* Contents of the Manuscript Full Score and Cembalo Reduction Compared

Manuscript full score (transcribed and arranged by Mirabella, 1828?) ^a	Pgs.	Cembalo reduction (by various reducers, Ricordi, ~1818) ^b	Pgs
ACT I			
		Atto I.° “Sinfonia introduzione” Adagio, Tempo di Marcia Maestoso	1-3
		No. 1. “Lotta nel Circo” Maestoso attr. Weigl	3
		No. 2. “sul palco” “Annunzio de’ Senatori” Andantino “Ballottazione de’ Premi” attr. Weigl	4
		No. 3 “sul palco” “Corsa delle Bighe”	5
		No. 4 “Distribuzione delle Corone e Palme alle Vestali” Allegretto attr. Lichtenthal	6
“Cominciando, e fino alla Danza Pirica e Musica del M°. A. Monteleone” Largo	1-7		
“No. 3” Andantino	10-13		
Maestoso	14-24	No. 5 “Ballabile delle Vestali” Maestoso by Rossini, ^c later: “Sacrificio de’ Torri”	7-8
		No. 6 Atto I.° Tempo giusto attr. Weigl	9-11
No. 5 Allegro at the end: “Siegue Marcia del Palco e poi Bacchanale Ballabile”	25-41	No. 7 Allegro “Distribuzione de’ Premi a Vincitori” by Rossini, ^d later: “Emilia s’innamora di Decio”	12-14
“Danza Pirica” Allegretto	42-57		
“Bacchanale” Largo – Allegro	58-105		
ACT II			
“Atto 2 ^{do} ” Adagio	106-108	Atto 2.° No. 1. “Decio pensoso” Adagio	16
Allegro	109-116	No. 2. Allegro moderato later: “Rimproveri a Decio aver gettato l’alloro”	16-17
Allegretto	118-131	No. 3. “Ballabile al Banchetta in casa di Decio” Allegretto attr. Kinsky	18-19

Table 16 continued

Manuscript full score (transcribed and arranged by Mirabella, 1828?)^a	Pgs.	Cembalo reduction (by various reducers, Ricordi, ~1818)^b	Pgs
Adagio	132-142	No. 4 “Decio confida all’ amico il segreto del suo core” Adagio attr. Weigl later: “Claudio gli promette di condurlo nel Tempio di Vesta per una via sotoranea per riveder Emilia”	20-21
ACT III			
Adagio “Tempio di Vesta” “Emilia intenta a Doveri del Rito”	143-145	Atto 3.° No. 1, “Tempio di Vesta” Adagio attr. Vigano, “Emilia intenta a doveri del Rito”	22
Andante grazioso	146-154	No. 2. Lento espres. by Rossini, ^c “Emilia vaneggia per L’amore che sente per Decio”	22-25
Moderato “Entra Decio coll’ Amico furtivo nell’ Tempio di Vesta”	155-158	No. 3. “Entra Decio coll’ amico nel Tempio di Vesta” Allegro by Spontini ^f	26
Allegro “Colloquio agitato fra Decio ed Emilia”	159-167	No. 4 Allegro by Rossini, ^g “Coloquio agitato de’ due amanti”	27-28
“Emilia ritorna in se” (at top); Andante	168-174	No. 5. Andantino attr. Beethoven later: “Emilia ritorna in se”	29
“Si spegna il fuoco sacro” Andante	175-177		
“Le Vestali scoprono ch’ Emilia ha lasciato spegnere il fuoco sacro” Allegro	178-198	No. 6 “Le Vestali scoprono che Emilia ha lasciato il fuoco Sacro” Allegro con forza by Spontini ^h	30-33
ACT IV			
“Atto Quarto” Allegro agitato “Decio e Claudio vengono per indagnar la sorte d’Emilia	199-202	Atto 4. ^{to} No. 1. “Decio e Claudio vengano per indagare la sorte d’ Emilia” “Bosco Sacro” Allegro agitato attr. Weigl	34
Allegro vivace	203-206	No. 2. Allegro vivace attr. Weigl, actually by Rossini ⁱ	35
Andante	207-209	No. 3 “Sortita d’ Arciflamine” Andante attr. Mozart	35
Andante “Arrivo de’ Consoli”	210-213	No. 4. “Arrivo de Consoli” Andante attr. Weigl	36
Andante “Informazione dell’ Arciflamine a Consoli”	214-218	No. 5 Andante “Informazione dell’ Arciflamine a Consoli” attr. Weigl	36
Andante sostenuto	219-226	No. 6 “Esame d’ Emilia” Andante sostenuto later Allegro Agitato by Spontini ^j	37
Allegro	227-242	No. 7. “Emilia Condannata a Morte” Allegro by Rossini ^k	38-40
ACT V			
“Atto Quinto” Allegro non molto “Campo scellerato” “Il popolo si raduna piangendo la sort d’ Emilia”	243-246	Atto 5. ^{to} “Il popolo si Raduna piangendo la sorte della Vestale Emilia.” “Campo Scellerato.” No. 1. Allegro non molto attr. Spontini	41

Table 16 continued

Manuscript full score (transcribed and arranged by Mirabella, 1828?) ^a	Pgs.	Cembalo reduction (by various reducers, Ricordi, ~1818) ^b	Pgs
Tempo di Marcia	247-258	No. 2 Lento "Marcia Funebre" by Spontini ¹	41-43
Lento "Emilia vien tolta (?) dalla bara"	259-260	No. 3 "Emilia vien sciolta dall Barra" Lento attr. Weigl	44
Andante	261-266	No. 4 "Congendo delle sue Compagne." Andante espres. attr. Carafa	44-45
Largo "Sepelliscono Emilia"	267-270	No. 5 "La Seppelliscono" Largo attr. Lichtenthal	45
Allegro impetuoso "Arrivo e morte di Decio" at end of score "Fine del Ballo, Anno 1828 Mensis Februari"	271-293	No. 6 "Arrivo e Morte di Decio." Allegro impetuoso attr. Spontini, ^m then Carafa	46-47

^a I have given numbers to all of the pages of the manuscript full score starting with the first page of music as number one. I account for pages of blank staves but not for accidental repeats of pages in the process of filming. Also the numbering of pieces is derived from the instructions at the end of the previous piece, e.g. "Siegue No. 5" unless there is a doubt about the next number actually being the correct number.

^b Ricordi supplied a new plate number for each act of the ballet, found in the bottom middle of each page of the cembalo reduction. Act I: 469, II: 470, III: 471, IV: 472, V: 473. Plate numbers have been useful to scholars applying dates to the items of the Ricordi catalogue. See: Ricordi. Catalogo delle pubblicazioni, Regio Stabilimento Ricordi: Milano, 1875. See also: Compagnia, G. Ricordi e. Catalogo generale delle edizioni G. Ricordi & c. 3 vols. Milano [etc.]: G. Ricordi & c., 1892, and see especially: Zecca-Laterza, Agostina. Il Catalogo numerico Ricordi 1857 con date e indici, Bibliotheca musicae 8; Cataloghi editoriali 1 Roma: Nuovo istituto editoriale italiano, 1984.

^c This is identified by Terzian (and others) as coming from *La gazza ladra*, Act I, Finale, 'maesteso' of the terzetto, "Oh Nume benefico," see: Terzian, "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)," 86, 103.

^d This is from the next section of the above cited number in Rossini's *La gazza ladra*. Ibid.

^e This is identified by Terzian as coming from Rossini's *Otello*, Act I, duettino between Desdemona and Emilia, "Vorrei che il tuo pensioso," Ibid.

^f This is identified by Terzian as coming from Spontini's *La Vestale*, Act II, No. 10, duet between Licinius and Giulia, "Avran pietà gli Dei." Ibid.

^g This is identified by Terzian and Dalmonte as coming from Rossini's overture to *La gazza ladra*. Ibid. Dalmonte, 196.

^h This is identified by Terzian and Dalmonte as coming from Spontini's *La Vestale*, Act II, finale, "Allegro con forza." Ibid, Dalmonte, "Une Écriture corporelle," 197.

ⁱ This is identified by Terzian as coming from Rossini's *Otello*, Act II, scena giardino. Terzian, "Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)," 87, 103.

^j This is identified by Elizabeth Terzian as coming from Spontini's *La Vestale*, Act III, scena. Ibid.

^k This is the third section of the above terzetto from Rossini's *La gazza ladra*, see footnote 36.

^l This is identified by Elizabeth Terzian and Rosana Dalmonte as coming from Spontini's *La Vestale*, Act III, No. 16. Ibid, Dalmonte, "Une Écriture corporelle," 197.

^m This is identified by Elizabeth Terzian as coming from Spontini's *La Vestale*, Act III. Ibid.

The unstable harmonies and the swirling patterns give one a sense of the struggle, which now makes sense as a continuation of the introduction, since it has already begun as the curtain rises. This does not resolve, but moves directly to the eight-measure “Annunzio de’ Senatori” (No. 2). This fanfare was likely played by an onstage band as the indication “sul palco” precedes the passage in the piano score. According to Ritorni, the trumpets announce the chariot race. The Andantino that follows, attributed to Weigl, is for the “Ballottazione de’ Premi,” a quaint number in 3/4, B-flat major with classical structure and internal repeats. The “Corsa delle Bighe” (chariot race) that follows offers contrasts in key and feel, in a pompous E major, where again, the on-stage band seems to have played. This number in binary form. Actual horses were brought on stage for this scene, which, according to Ritorni, did not cause too much of an incongruence of proportions with the large horses against the set, which squeezes the entire Roman circus and amphitheatre onto the stage. Furthermore, the horses did not bring about any other disasters or confusion (which must have been frequent problems with live animals onstage).⁴⁰¹ All of the numbers thus far are short, ranging from twenty to forty measures of music, some with repeats.

The next few numbers involve the Vestal Virgins, and the solemn mood is different from that of the opening. The “Distribuzione delle Corone e Palme alle Vestali” (No. 4, Allegretto, attributed to Lichtenthal) is a more involved number, harmonically and pianistically (when reduced), with more changes in texture and harmony than the

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, 200.

previous numbers. This is followed by the first dance number of the ballet, the “Ballabile delle Vestali,” with music borrowed from Rossini’s *La gazza ladra*.⁴⁰² Here is the first place the full score and cembalo score line up. Previous to this, there are two numbers in the full score—one labeled “Cominciando; e fino alla Danza Pirica e Musica del M°. A. Monteleone” at the beginning and, “Siegue No. 2: Danza Pirica,” and another piece labeled No. 3. These could have been the numbers that accompanied Giulio Viganò’s changes to the opening act for the 1828 performance (they do not appear in the cembalo score).

No. 4 in the manuscript is the piece identified in the piano score as the No. 5, “Ballabile delle Vestali,” (adapted from Rossini’s *La gazza ladra*). We know that this was a slow, picturesque dance, for Ritorni writes:

They [priests and priestesses] receive the crown from the hands of the Vestal Virgins [to be blessed] meanwhile, obtaining from such action a grave dance of these virgins, with attitudes and balances that recall the victorious sculptures of the ancient arches of triumph, almost hovering in the air with the tall crowns elevated.⁴⁰³

This description of the action helps explain why the music is not particularly dance-like (in addition to it being a borrowed number from opera), but rather, begins with an introduction that is majestic and serene, in three, with *pianissimo* effects, trills and chordal tuttis. It is scored for strings and winds, which often alternate in groups (the score

⁴⁰² Please refer to the above table of manuscript and cembalo score correlations and footnotes for details. (See footnote

⁴⁰³ Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò,” 200-201. “Quegli riceve dalle mani dell Vestali le corone a benedire, ricavandosi intanto da tale azione una grave danza di queste vergini, con atteggiamenti ed equilibri che ricordan le sculte vittorie negli archi di trionfo dell’ antichità, quasi librantesi esse in aria colle sostenute in alto corone.”

is for violins, violas, flutes, oboes, clarinets, horns and bassoons, with trumpet in a separate score at the end). After the fermata in measure fourteen begins a bassoon solo that is the aria, replete with the intricate ornamental passages, giving way to oboe with other winds interjecting, then oboe and clarinet duets and dialogue as the number progresses. In fact, instrumental interjections were already a part of the aria in Rossini's score.

The choice of this number from Rossini's opera *La gazza ladra* is fitting from a dramatic standpoint because of its plot parallels. In Rossini's opera the female protagonist, in love with the young male, is accused of theft and sentenced to death. She is saved by the discovery of the "thieving magpie." More specifically, the number begins as a plea to god, "Oh nume benefico," appropriate to the ceremony at hand. The florid writing lines up especially with the indicated "Sagrificio de' Torri" at the end of the number which is accompanied by a brief cadenza marked with fermatas in all parts. Here Ritorni describes fake bulls, which are sacrificed by the priests and fall at the foot of an altar. The match between manuscript and cembalo reduction is nearly exact, minus one measure of the manuscript omitted in the cembalo score before the sacrifice.

In the cembalo score, the music after this sacrifice is a more extended and cheerful number by Weigl, which could have continued the dancing by the Vestal Virgins, as well as a procession back to the galleries by the priests involved in the sacrifice. The winners are made to come forward to receive their prizes. However, the next number in the manuscript is another Rossini number (which will follow Weigl's number in the cembalo score; the manuscript does not contain the Weigl number). The

Rossini excerpt is the next section of the terzetto used for the previous ballabile, thus if Weigl's number were skipped (as it is in the manuscript) the terzetto would be continued.

The giving of prizes occurs during this number (pf: No. 7, Allegro, Rossini, ms: No. 5) which is speckled with fermatas and a mix of fanfares and sweet but energetic melodies. The scoring is the same as for the previous Rossini number. What is most striking about this number is the shift to a troubled minor and modulation to a relatively distant key (from C major to A-flat major), which emphasizes the encounter between Emilia and Decio where they fall in love. This is clearly labeled in the piano score and gives the entire number the sense of dramatic development (such as is found in the development sections of sonatas, for example). Ritorni remarked on how clear this moment was to spectators.

Among them [the winners] the young Decio, son of the consul Murena, falls for the Vestal Emilia, and, their eyes meeting each other, they are both left wounded by one of those arrows that love receives from the hands of Fate. Three times he, breaking away from his group, is at the point of revealing his sudden love to her, [which is] received by her, almost frightened at first with a virginal blush, then with ill-concealed tenderness of no less ardent flame. It is to be noted that the actors, intent on the sacred ceremony, have turned all their backs to the audience, facing which the last remain, on one side the group of Vestal Virgins, and on the other the winners; this is because the action of falling in love, however much more hidden to the attentive actors elsewhere in the scene, is furtively license to viewers in the audience.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò," 201. "Fra questi il giovin Decio, figlio del consol Murena, abbattesi nella vestale Emilia, ed i loro sguardi incontrandosi assieme, rimangon feriti entrambi d' uno di que' dardi che Amore riceve dalle mani del Destino. Per ben tre volte costui, distaccandosi da' suoi, trova il punto di palesarle il repentino suo amore, accolto da lei quasi spaventata, prima con virginal rossore, poi con mal celata tenerezza di non men ardente fiamma. È da far notare che gli attori, tutti intenti all sacra cerimonia, han le spalle voltate all' uditorio, verso il quale ultimi rimangono, da una parte il drappello delle Vestali, dall' altra i vincitori; il perchè l'azione del l'innamoramento, quanto più occulta agli attenti altrove attori nella scena, è furtivamente patente agli spettatori della platea."

The use of facial expressions in tragic mime, widely noted as a feature of Viganò's ballets and discussed at length by Fabrizio Frasnedi, was an important part of this scene.⁴⁰⁵ I find that the music aids in this dramatic emphasis—as the attention is drawn to our two protagonists and away from the action in the background, the striking musical developments and modulation occur. The fuller texture with flutes and clarinets trading with violins and oboes in two measure bits gives way at this moment, albeit briefly, to a bassoon solo with string accompaniment. Tutti sections dissolve into descending scales to settle on A major. The textual relation of the piece in Rossini's opera (*La gazza ladra*) is ironic, as the dialogue is between the mayor who loves the maid, but she, unlike Emilia, refuses his love, and is in fact repulsed. Overall, the musical choice is very fitting as the fanfare is apt for the giving of prizes to the winners, while the contrasting middle section (common to arias) is perfect for the young couple to fall in love.

A new section of music comes next, modulating to B-flat to close out the piece. Here, the instructions in the manuscript orchestral score state “Siegue Marcia sul Palco e poi Baccanale Ballabile” (Follow [proceed to] a march on stage and then a bachannale dance) which concurs with Ritorni's description: a bachannale with numerous participants that included historic scenes and the steps of “modern dance,” (academic dance) followed by a grand march.⁴⁰⁶ The cembalo score lacks these numbers, while the music in the manuscript contains a more fully orchestrated “Danza Pirica” with a piano

⁴⁰⁵ Frasnedi, “Il genio pantomimico,” 241-326.

⁴⁰⁶ Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò,” 201-202.

score style “Guida per la Banda” (Guide for the band) at the bottom. (See section describing the “banda sul palco,” page 319). This extended number is dance music, typical in its regular phrasing and internal repeats, and it is more lengthy than the sequence of shorter mimed and action numbers we have seen thus far, including the ballabile. The following Bacchanale ends the act and is the lengthiest number in the act. Both numbers are more fully orchestrated than the previous pieces, especially those that accompanied action and mime scenes.⁴⁰⁷ (Placing lengthy numbers at the end of an act is common to many ballets of the period and will hold true for all but the second act of this ballet.)

Act II: Decio’s Plan and a *Pas de deux* “in the French Style”

Ritorni defends the act, likely from a contemporary reviewer in the *Gazetta di Milano* who found it useless, stating that the critic’s few criticisms “prove anything but the alleged uselessness of the act.” Ritorni, by contrast, finds in Act II the

...general basis of the remaining action, for which reason it is not idle, while [it is] then most useful to dramatic effect, serving with its modesty as a favorable repose between the very busy first and third [acts], as well as inducing for the second time the most natural recreation of the dances, which in the first act are of dramatic character, and in the second of art; dances being in the most positive sense.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ The orchestration for these pieces varies only in that the “Guida per la Banda” appears for the “Danza pirica.” The scoring from top to bottom is: violin, viola, ottavino, flauto, oboe, clarinet, horn, trumpet, trombone, bassoon, [bass].

⁴⁰⁸ Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò,” 204. “Queste critiche provan però tuttalto che la pretesa inutilità dell’ atto secondo, che anzi in esso sta la base qualunque dell’ azione rimanente, a cui perciò non è ozioso, mentre utilissimo poi al drammatico effetto, servendo colla sua modestia di favorevol riposo fral primo e terzo operosissimi, nonchè inducendo per la seconda volta naturalissima la ricreazion delle danze, nel

The dancing he is referring to occurs during the banquet called for by Decio's father. Ritorni writes that Greek slaves perform a *pas de deux* "in the French style" which he deems perfectly acceptable since the steps of actual Greek dance are not known. Ritorni admits that his readers might be surprised that he approved of such a break in the action for pure dancing (something he did not always prefer):

That then two Greeks dance a *pas de doux* [sic] in the French style, is only because we cannot compose it from Greek steps, [just] as indeed the interlocutors of a Greek tragedy speak the verses in Italian instead of Greek.⁴⁰⁹

The music for this dance is a cheerful Allegretto in duple, G major, by the composer Kinsky.⁴¹⁰ It is unassuming and repetitive in regular eight-bar segments with the typical rhythmic propulsion and buoyant qualities that make music worth dancing to. The music is also appropriately pleasant for dinner music for Decio's father's guests to enjoy. Notably, this *pas de deux* does not fit the multisectional scheme (with slow-fast format) discussed in Chapter V (the overall form is A||:A':||BCA'D). In the scores it is simply referred to as a "ballabile," not a *pas de deux*. See Example 48 below.⁴¹¹

prim' atto di carattere drammatico, nel secondo d'arte; danze essendo nel più positivo senso."

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 203. "Che poi due greci ballino un *pas de-doux* di passi francesi, sta se non altro perchè non is può comporlo di passi greci, come appunto gl'interlocutori d' una tragedia di greco argomento parlan i versi italiani in vece de' greci."

⁴¹⁰ This may be by or related to the famous Prince Kinsky who payed an annuity to Beethoven in partnership with Prince Lichnowsky and Archduke Rudolph (the latter who infamously failed to continue the payment and were sued by Beethoven).

⁴¹¹ All musical examples in this chapter are transcribed from the cembalo and manuscripts scores already cited (see footnote 396). The transcriptions are offered in reduction since, in most cases, the reduction matches the manuscript score nearly perfectly. Instrumental cues are then given in the transcriptions.

Example 48: *La Vestale*, Act II, No. 3, Allegretto by Kinsky

N.° 3.
Allegretto

Ballabile al Banchetto in casa di Decio

6

12

19

24

The image shows a musical score for piano, consisting of two systems of staves. The first system starts at measure 31 and the second system starts at measure 36. The music is in G major and 4/4 time. The right hand (treble clef) features arpeggiated chords and melodic lines, while the left hand (bass clef) provides harmonic support with block chords and a fermata in the final measure.

On the other hand the music that opens the act perfectly illustrates Decio's distraught state of mind with jaunty rhythms, motives that are passed around the orchestra, and wandering harmonies that do not readily lead to a cadence. The sparse orchestration and Adagio tempo makes this more intimate (as Decio's mental state is the focus of the musical expression), beginning with only clarinets and horns and filling out with the rest of the winds (bassoons and flutes) before adding in the strings. The music seems to progress through various forms of angst, growing more intense with thicker texture, greater movement, fluctuating dynamic levels and with accents in the ending passages. This marks the path from pensive and sad to having abandoned oneself to the deepest anguish. This number halts on a dissonance followed by a fermata for the interruption of Decio's father and ensuing action. See Example 49, below.

Example 49: *La Vestale*, Act II, No. 1, Adagio, "Decio Pensoso"

Decio pensoso

ATTO 2.^o N.º 1

ADAGIO

(clarinet)

(flute & oboe)

(bassoon)

(violins)

(violins)

sf

sf

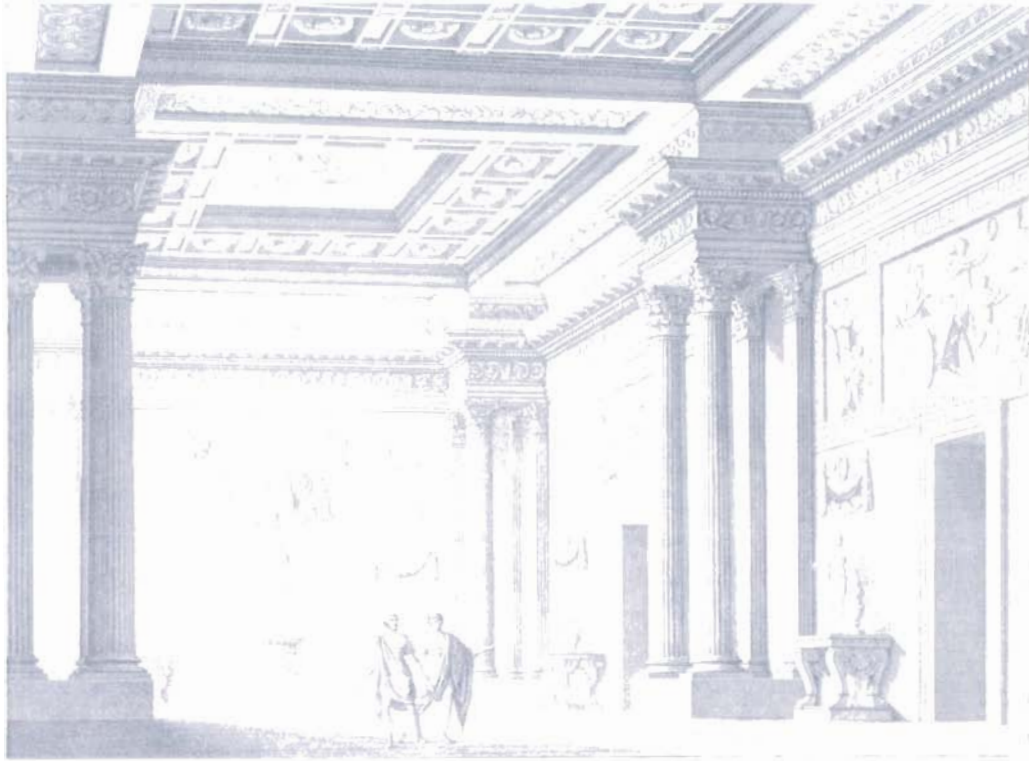
cres

Another important mimed scene in this act is at the end, and it depicts Decio confiding in Claudio that he would kill himself because Emilia is impossible to obtain. Claudio discloses that he knows an underground passage to the temple, convincing Decio not to commit the horrible act. Instead the two men plan to visit her. It is likely that the following illustration (Figure 7, below) comes from this part of the act, since only two men are on stage.⁴¹²

The little piece by Weigl (shown in Example 50, below) that accompanies this important turn of events is sonatina-like, depicting the changes of heart in a format that could easily be played for pure enjoyment at the keyboard without knowledge of any extramusical details such as plot. It is an Adagio in E-flat major, with a sentimental theme played by the violins and violas. The first two themes are a miniature exposition (m. 1- 13). This continues as a repeat of the opening but moves more quickly to the second idea, which is presented in F minor (m. 14-26). The next section could read as a development. Beginning in B-flat, the new scalar passages, which are related to the second mini-theme, cycle through several keys before landing in G minor (m. 36). Here we have a return to the opening theme in violins and flutes, but now wistful, and this too is developed as it modulates through several keys, dissolving into suspenseful halting

⁴¹² Alessandro Sanquirico and G. Durelli inc., "Appartamento nella casa del console Murena. Questa scena venne eseguita pel ballo tragico, La vestale, composto, e posto sulle scene dell'I. R. Teatro alla Scala dal Sig. Salvatore Viganò. Nella primavera dell'anno 1818. A. Sanquirico inv. e dip. G. Durelli inc." Aquatint engraving, 33 x 40.9 cm. Milano: Antonio Bossi Editore, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (part of digital gallery ID: 1515822), [1818?]. (Used with permission)

Figure 9: Appartamento nella casa del console Murena



progressions marked by fermatas, with violins, flutes and clarinets. It is at this moment, which functions quite like the end of a development with a hint of a false recapitulation, that the text above the staves in the cembalo score reads, “Claudio gli promette di condurlo nel Tempio di Vesta per una via sotterranea per riveder Emilia” (Claudio promises to lead him into the Temple of Vesta by an underground passage to see Emilia again) (m. 47-57). In the manuscript this section is marked *sotto voce*, also setting it apart as special. The first violins have long held notes that act as inverted pedals, creating even more suspense. From here the scalar theme takes over as a closing theme, with the rising

passages reflecting Decio's new, happier and excited state of mind. The ending is grand as the two friends embrace repeatedly (likely in time with the repeated iterations in E-flat major of measures 68-70). Their impatience is shown by the troublesome deceptive diversions from the tonic and dominant, as if to portray that they are happy to have a plan that does not involve Decio's suicide yet trouble is brewing for the plan is excitingly dangerous. It should be emphasized that the manuscript and cembalo reduction are perfectly matched in this scene, with minor changes made to the cembalo score in measures 71-72 which shorten the piece slightly.

Example 50: *La Vestale* Act II, No. 4 Adagio by Weigl (transcription with form and instrumental cues marked) "Decio confida all'amico il segreto del suo core"

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is E-flat major (three flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked ADAGIO.

- System 1 (Measures 1-4):** Labeled "N.º 4.º" and "ADAGIO". It begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. Above the staff, a box labeled "A" indicates the start of the "violins" section. The vocal line (treble clef) and piano accompaniment (bass clef) are shown.
- System 2 (Measures 5-8):** Starts at measure 5. Above the staff, a box labeled "A1" indicates the start of the "violins - flutes" section. The piano accompaniment continues in the bass clef.
- System 3 (Measures 9-12):** Starts at measure 9. Above the staff, a box labeled "A2" indicates the start of the "flutes/strings" section. The piano accompaniment continues in the bass clef.

16 (violins)
cres.

20

25 B (violins - basso)
p

29

33

36 A2 (violins - flute)
p

Act III: Emilia's Downfall

When one imagines this act, it is important to keep in mind that the burden of it fell to the famous actress and prima ballerina who played the Vestal Virgin Emilia, Antonia Pallerini (for the initial run of performances at La Scala). Ritorni called the act a “treasure of tragic pantomime,” writing:

This time however I cannot call myself at all unhappy, because I saw the *coreodramma* with my own eyes. But how to depict the actions of Pallerini in the mind of the reader, which corresponded to the inventions and instructions of the master with their forms and appearances [that were] just as suitable for the expression of tragic terror entirely in the Greek and Roman image!⁴¹³

Lady Morgan describes how this mute monologue combined with the music to great effect:

The pale light of the altar fire gleams upon the face of the Vestal [Virgin], as she watches it; she stands deeply absorbed in thought, and in her countenance the most passionate abstraction is perfectly expressed; while the music which symphonizes her reverie, seems a part of her own sensations.⁴¹⁴

That the music seemed a part of the Vestale Emilia's sensations, shows that Morgan strongly identified with the protagonist, and that the music caused her to feel the emotions that she imagined the Vestale felt. The first two numbers were the symphonic reverie to which Lady Morgan refers. Number one, an Adagio by Viganò, begins with slow, halting chords in E-flat major by the strings and horns. Viganò desired such

⁴¹³ Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò,” 204. “Questa volta però non posso chiamarmi affatto infelice, perchè vidi il coreodramma cogli occhi miei. Ma come raffigurar alla mente del Lettore l' azione della Pallerini, che corrispondeva all' invenzioni ed istruzioni del maestro con quell sue forme e sembianzo cotanto atte ad esprimere un tragico terrore in immagine tutta greca e romana!”

⁴¹⁴ Lady Morgan, “Italy,” 100.

specific music that he wrote the number himself. Here, “Emilia s’intenta a doveri del Rito” (Emilia focuses on the duties of the Rite). Reflected in the ample room for rests and the *pianissimo* dynamic are the meditation, calm, and solitude. This brief number is indeed much like an instrumental recitative, but played by the orchestra. It ends in a half cadence on D major.

The next number (No. 2) shows how the Vestale’s duties conflict with her love for Decio, causing her to slowly go mad. The music used is by Rossini, from his *Otello* and marked *Lento espressivo* and is in a lilting 6/8. This is from the duettino “Vorrei, che il tuo pensiero” in which Desdemona expresses to Emilia, her confidante, how distraught she is over a secretive letter that has gone missing. The adventurous harmonic diversions from the home key of G major to F-sharp major (m. 2, m. 6) and B-flat major (m. 12) help portray the Vestale Emilia’s (and Desdemona’s) troubled states of mind, pulling them away from the calm they had previously felt. Violins and oboes take the melody, followed by the flutes, then violins again. The next section (beginning after the fermata in m. 18 in the MS, 13 in the cembalo score) features an increasingly florid approach to the thematic material, traded between the flutes and clarinets with sustained string accompaniment. After the next fermata, the texture changes again with *pianissimo* dotted rhythms in staccatos in the strings. Though the theme is not strictly adhered to as in a true theme and variations, this still feels like variations. After diversions to E-flat and A-flat majors, a C minor section adds a twinge of sweetness which is extended by several measures in the manuscript to end the number (the cembalo reduction adds on a repeat of

material from section two).⁴¹⁵ Notably the music in the manuscript matches Rossini's *Otello* duettino almost exactly, with the internal repeat of the middle section indicated by brackets. Also, the scoring of the arrangement for the ballet is similar to Rossini's, with the two singers replaced by flutes and clarinets. The music is entirely moving and appropriate. See Example 51.

Example 51: *La Vestale* Act III, No. 1 Adagio by Viganò, "Tempio di Vesta" and No. 2, Lento espressivo (beginning) adapted from Rossini's *Otello* duettino "Vorrei, che il tuo pensiero"

VIGANÒ

ATTO 3.
N.° 1

ADAGIO

(horns - strings) (flute:clarinet:strings)

(violins) (flute:horns:bassoon)

pp Emilia intenta a dove ri del Rito

⁴¹⁵ The reasons for this mismatch are unclear, though the manuscript of the cembalo reduction held at the Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati of Ostiglia may shed light onto the reduction process and as would the original full score to this ballet, if one exists.

14

Musical score for measures 14-17. The score is in a key with two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a common time signature. It features a piano accompaniment with a melodic line in the right hand and a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The music is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic.

18

(violins)

Musical score for measures 18-21. The score is in a key with two flats and common time. It features a piano accompaniment and a violin part. The violin part is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic.

ROSSINI (strings)

N.° 2

Emilia vaneggia per L'amore che sente per Decio

Lento espres.

p (clarinet)

Musical score for measures 22-25. The score is in a key with one sharp (F#) and common time. It features a piano accompaniment and a string part. The piano part is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The string part is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic.

6

(flute)

(violins)

sf

p dol.

Musical score for measures 26-29. The score is in a key with one sharp and common time. It features a piano accompaniment, a flute part, and a violin part. The flute part is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The violin part is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic.

11

Musical score for measures 30-33. The score is in a key with one sharp and common time. It features a piano accompaniment and a violin part. The piano part is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The violin part is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic.

The Allegro by Spontini that accompanies Decio and Claudio as they sneak into the temple (annotated in both scores) would have worked perfectly for such a situation in a film score from the early twentieth century. It is from an accompanied recitative between Giulia and Licinius in Spontini's opera *La Vestale*, Act II, scene III, where Licinius meets Giulia in the temple. Thus the moments from the opera and ballet are aligned using Spontini's appropriately suspenseful music. Quiet but accented string tremolos with the entire orchestra in octave unisons progress chromatically, rising via a falling pattern repeated at successively higher pitch levels, from B-flats up to E-naturals, where the unisons are broken for a new rising pattern which halts suddenly in F minor. The unison tremolos begin again, this time pushing upward to cadence in G. The manuscript matches the keyboard score exactly in musical content, though the ominous texture of the full score is certainly difficult to transfer to the cembalo or piano. The dramatic pauses from Spontini's score where the singers interjected dialogue are kept in the ballet number.⁴¹⁶

The result of all this suspense is the agitated meeting of the two lovers through the tarantella-like number from Rossini, which is from the overture to his opera *La Gazza Ladra* that had just premiered at La Scala in May of 1817. (Again, the action is described identically in both scores.) The excerpt, still well-known today, and used in modern film scores, is the beginning of the Presto within the overture (roughly the first minute and a half of it). This is the section that Francesca Falcone recreated the dance for in July of

⁴¹⁶ Just the ominous opening phrases from Spontini's scene are used here, not the rest of this extended scene from the opera.

2005, and she points out that Viganò himself likely adapted the ending material of the number, as only the first 69 measures are from the overture.⁴¹⁷ The strings have agitated lines of triplets that drive incessantly forward in E minor. Soon the shift is to E major, after a violin recitative, which softens the encounter, while retaining the same melodic contours in the violins. At the middle of this number, amidst full orchestral pulsing, is a rare moment where the bass and low brass have the melodic material and this is reflected in the left hand melody of the cembalo reduction. The culmination of this intense moment is likely where the struggle between Decio and Emilia (mostly on the part of Emilia) reaches its zenith. Falcone studied contemporary painters and sculptors, sixteenth-century art works that were admired at the time, and manuals on mime and drama.⁴¹⁸ She found that Viganò's approach to gestures was influenced by Angiolini and must by "eloquent and straightforward."⁴¹⁹ Falcone proceeded with her reconstruction by matching the music to the libretto and Ritorni's description.

Ritorni wrote eloquently and in minute detail about the action of this section, and I quote him liberally here. The first half involves Emilia alone in her "symphonic reverie" (to quote the previously cited passage by Lady Morgan) (No. 2), mid-way through is when Spontini's sneaky music occurs (No. 3), and as they meet Rossini's overture is heard (No. 4). This detailed description combined with the music gives us plenty of detail to envision a reenactment of the choreography, especially since both stage action as well

⁴¹⁷ Falcone, "The Italian Style and the Period, 327-8.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

as monologue and dialogue are described in the passage. Falcone has taken that step and a sample of her description of the choreography follows Ritorni's passage, below.

Descending again from the steps of the altar where she had orated, she stops herself with a thought that depicts to her the image of her lover; she sees this [image] with the eyes of fantasy; she even wants to discard it, but the sweet semblance is present still to her; from another direction, a celestial voice, coming to her mind almost in a flash, seems to remind her of her duties; she turns her gaze to the ground and prays nonetheless. Everything in vain; here, her Decio watches from one side: it is he! who she contemplated in the arena as sweetly proud in face and majestic in person, and how he received her praise, and how he smiled at her, and how he explained his passions to her. Ah, she cannot withstand this sight any longer! she opens her arms, and goes to embrace him, but at that point, you might say, rather that she feels a fury against her breast; she turns around, horrified and disguising [her love]: she runs away rejected (this act and this conversion [are] of sublime evidence for Pallerini): it seems that the hidden hand of Destiny governs her; so that here again she is with her remorseful thoughts, and then her prayers, and then again with the sweet illusion: May you come my lover, may you come to your beloved! and in so saying, a fatal flaw [arises]! Behold the two friends in front of the temple. Decio, leaving behind his companion, searches for Emilia at the altar, and in her seat; he searches for her around the temple, but she returns from the other side of the temple: they meet in the middle: what a surprise for her, she who withdraws shuddering! The aroused young man holds on to her by the hem of her veil, she begs him [to release her], but in vain... She tries to take shelter, as in a trusted harbour, at [the shrine to] the goddess, but she falters on the [steps of the] altar, vainly she tries to screen herself; [but] Decio climbs with great strides. She tires him out uselessly by running around the marble [altar]: the audacious one (Decio) grabs her, pulls her down from the stairs, as if to distance her from the sacred asylum; Emilia with acts of victorious resistance protects herself, and finally escapes. She returns to the foot of the statue of Vesta, and faints there. At this the lad is dismayed, and not knowing what else to do he cries at the girl's side; he raises her from the ground in his arms, kissing her then on the hand (these two actions form a couple of groups from the model of sublime sculpture)...⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò," 205-206. "Nel discender di nuovo dai gradini dell' ara ov' ha orato, arrestasi ad un pensier che la raffigura l'immagine dell' amante; la vede cogli occhi della fantasia; pur vuol discacciarla, ma le care sembianze ancor le son presenti; dall' altra parte voce celeste, quasi baleno sul capo, par che le rischiar la vista sui doveri suoi; volge lo sguardo al suolo, e prega tuttavia. Ogni cosa invano; ecco, mira da un lato il suo Decio: è desso! quale lo contemplò nell'arena dolcemente fiero in

From Falcone's reconstruction:

When Decius appears on the left, and is the first to see the beloved Emilia, she turns, terrified, and raises her arms in stunned surprise. With an arm forward and palm downward, and then by raising and lowering the arm, Decius appeals to her to be calm. In the strength of his ardor, Decius advances toward her, unable to hide his emotion, rounding his arms as though to embrace her, with both palms facing each other. He inclines his head, as though to receive a kiss. She shrinks back, with gestures that speak of both terror and shame. The latter is expressed by timidly inclining the head to one side, glancing earthward, and placing her fingers over her lips. She turns to flee, in a pose with one leg bent, the other stretched out behind, one arm raised, the other lowered with the palm downward, pointing into the distance. Contrast is afforded by her shy gaze, turned backward as though fearing to be caught by someone or something in the very act of flight.⁴²¹

Falcone's approach consists of identifying appropriate locations in the music for "firm" gestures, such as strong beats of a bar or changes in texture and dynamic. She also takes great care to recreate various facial expressions, as these were quite important to the mimic expression.

volto e maestoso della persona, e come accolse da lei le lodi, e come le sorrise, e come le spiegò la sua passione. Ah, non regge più a tal vista! apre le braccia, va per abbracciarlo; ma in quel punto diresti che invece una furia trovasi contro il petto; rivolgesi inorridita e contrafatta: corre respinta a ritroso (quest'atto e questa conversione per la Pallerini d' evidenza sublime): sembra che la mano occulta del Destino la governi; sicchè eccola di nuovo ai rimorsi, poi alle preci, poi ancora alla sua dolce illusione: Venga il mio amante, venga alla sua diletta! e in così dire, fatal contratempo! ecco i due amici infondo al tempio. Decio, lasciato indietro il compagno, cerca Emilia all' ara, e nella sua sedia; la cerca d' intorno; ma ella riede dall' altra parte al delubro: s'incontrano nel mezzo: oh sorpresa per lei, che recede raccapricciata! L' acceso giovine la trattien pel lembo del velo; ella il prega, ma inutilmente. Ripara, come in fido porto, alla Dea, ma non è sicura sugli altari; inutilmente se ne fa schermo; Decio vi sale a gran passi. Lo stanca essa indarno, girando attorno al marmo: l' audace afferrala; giù la tira dagli scaglioni, quasi per allontanarla dal sacro asilo; Emilia con atti di vittoriosa resistenza si schermisce, e alfin gli sfugge. Ritorna a' piè di Vesta, e quivi sviene. A ciò sgomentasi il garzone, nè sapendo che farsi le piange allato; 'a solleva da terra per le braccia, baciandole intanto una mano (queste due azioni formavano un paio di gruppi da modello di sublime scultura):..."

⁴²¹ Falcone, "The Italian Style and the Period," 333-4.

Ritorni's description portrays Emilia as a victim even more than does the libretto, as she constantly seeks to avoid giving in to the determined Decio, seeking shelter and praying to the Goddess as well as begging him to leave her alone. (In Spontini's opera *Giulia*—the Vestal Virgin—willingly opens the door to the temple, inviting Licinius—her lover—in.) The end result in the ballet is that Emilia faints, as the remainder of Rossini's overture disappears, and Decio rescues her accompanied by a sweetly innocent *Andante* in C major attributed to Beethoven.

But the sacred fire is extinguished. Here there is special music appearing only in the manuscript score (or else missing from the cembalo score). This sparsely orchestrated *Andante* begins in a harmonically ambiguous manner, with string tremolos and a viola melody supported by the bass. It never really establishes a key in its brief twelve measures, cadencing on a B-major chord that ends up the dominant of the next number. This special number may have illustrated the shock and mystery of the darkness within the temple and the theatre at this point. See Example 52, below.

The action of this particular moment is captured in Figure 10, below, which depicts Sanquirico's set: Emilia is laying unconscious at center stage while Decio and Claudio are fleeing at the right and the crowd of vestal virgins enters at the left.⁴²² The

⁴²² Alessandro Sanquirico and Giuseppe Castellini, "Tempio di Vesta; col simulacro della dea, dinanzi alla quale arde il fuoco sacro. Questa scena fu eseguita pel ballo tragico, *La vestale*, inventato, e posto sulle scene dell'I. R. Teatro alla Scala dal Sig. Salvatore Viganò. Nella primavera dell'anno 1818." Engraving, 33 x 39.5 cm. Milano: Antonio Bossi Editore, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (part of digital gallery ID: 1515821) 1818. (Used with permission)

inscription reads (translated): Temple of Vesta; with a statue of the goddess, before which burns the sacred fire.

Example 52: *La Vestale* Act III, Andante, “Si spegna il fuoco sacro”

Si Spegna il fuoco sacro

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system includes staves for Violini (Violins), Viola, Flauto (Flute), Clarinetto (Clarinet), Fagotti (Oboe), Violoncello (Violoncello), and Bassi (Bassoon). The second system continues the orchestration with additional staves for Flauto (Flute), Clarinetto (Clarinet), Fagotti (Oboe), Violoncello (Violoncello), and Bassi (Bassoon). The tempo marking "Andante" is positioned at the beginning of the first system. The score concludes with the instruction "Volto presto" at the end of the final staff.

Figure 10: Tempio di Vesta; col simulacro della dea, dinanzi alla quale arde il fuoco sacro



The climactic end to the act when Decio and Claudio are discovered is depicted through the incessant drive of an *Allegro con forza* by Spontini. It is drawn from the same dramatic location in his opera, as Giulia (the Vestal Virgin) is condemned and her garments are stripped. In the opera, the chorus and pontife (pontiff) sing “De son front que la honte accable, Détachons / Détachez ces bandeaux, ces voiles imposteurs, Et

livrons / livrez sa tête coupable, Aux mains sanglantes des licteurs,”⁴²³ a condemnation and demand that she be stripped of her sacred garments and handed over to the lictors. It is not as much the harmonies as the texture and repetition that give this number its agitation. Repeated horn calls ring through like warning bells over endless triplets in the strings.

It is not clear from either of the musical scores where in this number certain actions occur, as the texture and forward drive remain throughout. This is an excellent example of music providing a background for the action, rather than actively participating in every gesture. The association with the opera may have helped, though it had not yet appeared in Milan. The only mismatch in the use of this music is that in Spontini’s opera the onlookers to the Vestale’s sentencing are an angry mob that are almost gleefully calling for her punishment, along with the Pontifice. The music certainly reflects this mob-mentality excitement, when one hears the original chorus. Yet, in Viganò’s ballet, the scene is tragic and this particular choice of music may be less well-matched to the tragic scene. Ritorni and others were still quite affected, which was certainly a result of the strong performances by all the actors and the lack of a damning chorus. In the ballet, the young novice vestal virgins betray the fact that a man was in the temple, and the High Priestess, though horrified, tries to cover for Emilia. Meanwhile

⁴²³ See the French libretto supplied in PDF by “Opera Today” from “Operntexte von Monteverdi bis Strauss,” http://www.operatoday.com/content/2007/08/spontini_la_ves_1.php, Accessed March, 2010. This appears to be provided from another digital resource: Hafki, Thomas. *Operntexte von Monteverdi bis Strauss originalsprachige Libretti mit deutschen Übersetzungen*. Vol. 57, Digitale Bibliothek. Berlin: Directmedia, 2002. The identifying numbers on the PDF, like plate numbers, are 20.378-20.436.

Decio and Claudio escape during the confusion, and the High Priest arrives to learn of all that has transpired. Ritorni writes that “all finally part with expressive disorder and rapid opposing movements to the sound of restless, urgent music.”⁴²⁴ This shows that indeed the music was a significant part of the total effect in this scene and that Ritorni’s perception of the number was similar to how it would be perceived today.

Act IV: Emilia Condemned to Death

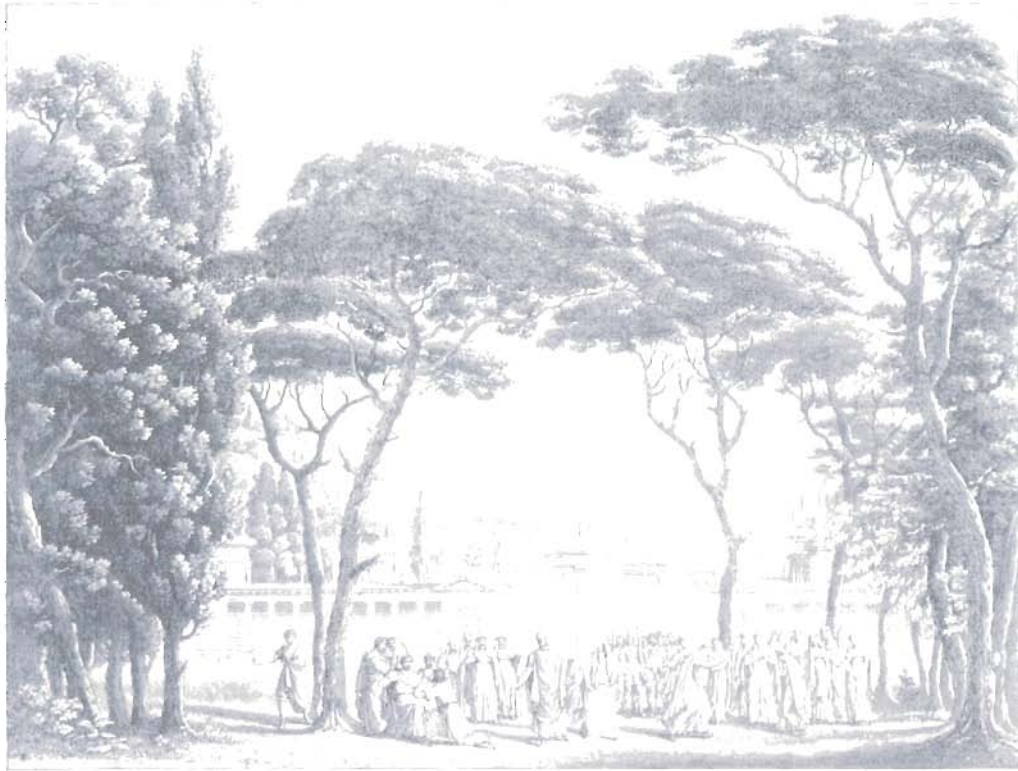
The setting of this act is a sacred grove adjacent to the college of priests. In Figure 11 below, Claudio appears to plead on behalf of Emilia, presumably to his father, while a guard holds Emilia back from Claudio and the vestal virgins look on.⁴²⁵

In order to show the continued use of opera excerpts from Rossini and Spontini, I shall highlight the number in the fourth act where, after examination by the tribunal, which was accompanied by quite turbulent music by Spontini, Emilia is sentenced to death. Again, as in much of the ballet, the music of Rossini is used for the more intensely emotional moments, often involving Emilia. This number is the last and longest of the

⁴²⁴ Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò,” 208. “...tutti alfine partono con espressivo disordine e rapidi contrapposti muovimenti al suon d’agitata, incalzante musica.”

⁴²⁵ Alessandro Sanquirico and Carolina Lose inc. “Basio [sic; should be “Bosco”] sacro contiguo collegio de Flamini, ed al tempio di Vesta. Questa scena fu eseguita pel ballo tragico, La Vestale, composto dal Sigr. Salvatore Viganò, e messo sulle scene dell’I. R. Teatro alla Scala. La primavera dell’anno 1818. A Sanquirico inv. e dip. Carolina Lose inc.” Aquatint engraving, 33.2 x 40.6 cm. Milano: Antonio Bossi Editore, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (part of digital gallery ID: 1515823), 1818. (Used with permission)

Figure 11: Basio [sic; should be “Bosco”] sacro contiguo collegio de Flamini, ed al tempio di Vesta



act. It is the third part of the aforementioned terzetto in Act I, scene nine, of Rossini's *La gazza ladra*, “Non so quel che farei!” This may create a link between the initial falling-in-love scene between Decio and Emilia and its tragic result (for the many who knew Rossini's opera). By this point in the terzetto from *La gazza ladra*, confusion has set in, and confusion is appropriate for this point in the ballet, also.

In the ballet adaptation of Rossini's number, a galloping dactylic rhythm is set up from the start and charges throughout the opening section and whenever the theme

returns. The clarinets have a straightforward melody in F major, in regular phrases, which is later joined by the flutes. Though in a major key, this theme and texture project a crazed affect due to the repeated patterns of the melodic line and the continuous pulsing dactyls, which all hint at the unstoppable or inevitable nature of Emilia's fate. This unassuming opening grows more exciting, as it abruptly modulates to D-flat major for a *fortissimo* homophonic tutti, rendered in sustained long note values that progress through darker harmonies (B-flat minor, F minor) before arriving back at a prolonged C dominant, the harmony from which the section departed, and the return of the opening theme. In this dominant transition the flute melody ushers in the theme. Twice more, the main theme is interrupted by more turbulent modulating harmonies, before the number closes with extended iterations of tonic and dominant. The overall formal structure of this number is: **A B A' C A' C - closing**, and the melodic and harmonic content are the same in both sources.

Missing from the piano reduction is the sense of urgency that the orchestration, dactylic rhythms and specific texture can provide (the dactyls could have been put into the piano reduction, but were not). Also, audiences surely associated with the confusion of the correlating scene in *La gazza ladra* where the theft has left everyone in disarray. The stage action in *La Vestale*, as given in great detail by Ritorni, gives us an idea of how this music actually accompanied the fateful scene just after the High Priest announces the fatal sentence:

...tearing from her the sacred stoles, [the High Priest] throws a mourning veil over her head, while the sacred bells of the temple are striking mournfully, so that a *coup de théâtre* of tragic horror is evoked. Decio who was at the feet of

his father to enlist him in favor of Emilia, turns, sees her in that situation, and rises to meet her with open arms. Metello [the High Priest] commands that they be divided and complains to Murena. Then the lovers are disengaged, on one side the girl [held] by the Ministers and the Pope stretching her eyes and hands with all that she has toward her lover, on the other Decio [held] by his father, in whose arms he struggles with the fury of passion, fighting with him, and escapes at last, and with a jump leaping outside of the barrier of seats, he vanishes into the background of the scene (stage), towards whom all those present also portray a variety of overtly melancholy poses. In this resplendent act of choreographic work and tragic effects, the action grows in importance and complexity, because, added to the situation of the judgment of the Vestale is the voluntary unveiling of the eminent accomplice that is Decio, since a chief magistrate [Decio's father] becomes an interested party, while he is sitting as an indifferent [disinterested] judge, and finds himself in one of those sublime cases of other Roman heroes who are obligated to judge and condemn their own children.⁴²⁶

While it is uncertain exactly where the actions above and described in the libretto fit with the music, we again have a culminating musical number that encapsulates the final actions of the act, which, as Ritorni describes, have only increased in intensity. The use of a musical structure with internal repeats also provides ample time for the procession of officials and the creation of the picturesque effects described by Ritorni.

⁴²⁶ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò," 209. "Qui l'incauto Decio irrompe disperatamente dal suo nascondiglio; la donzella, a inaspettata vista con involontario movimento corre a lui, nè, tornata in sè, è più a tempo d' infingersene, chè già il severo Giudice, strappatele di doss le sacre stole, le getta sul capo una gramaglia, scoccando intanto dal tempio lugubrementemente il sacro tintinnabulo, onde nasce colpo di scena pieno d'un tragico terrore. Decio ch' era ai piedi del padre per impegnarlo in pro d'Emilia, volgesi, la vede in quella situazione, e le si alza incontro a braccia aperte. Metello comanda che sian divisi, e ne fa lagnanze con Murena. Vengon di staccati gl' amanti, quindi dai Ministri e dal Pontefice la donzella tendente tuttavia cogli occhi e colle mani al suo fedele, quindi Decio dal padre, fralle cui braccia si divincola col furor della passione, lottando secolui, e gli sfugge alfine, e d' un salto balzando fuor dal recinto de' sedili, si dilegua verso il fondo dello scenario, al quale pur si ritraggono in diversi atteggiamenti mestissimi tutti gli astanti. In quest' atto ricchissimo di coreografico lavoro e di tragici affetti, l'azione è in crescere d'importanza e complicazione, perchè alla situazion del giudizio della Vestale s'aggiunge il volontario di scuoprirsi d' un sì illustre complice qual è Decio, ilperchè ne divien parte interessata un supremo magistrato, mentre sedeva giudice indifferente, e ritrovasi in un di que' sublimi casi d' altri eroi romani, obbligati a giudicar e condannare i propri figli."

Act V: The Live Burial of the Vestale and the Death of her Lover, Decio

This act is described in the greatest detail by period observers, so well that one can easily imagine the effect of the slowly disappearing Vestale into her grave until just a single hand is showing. Ritorni especially appreciated the stark contrast between this scene and the first scene of the ballet, writing that “The majestic appearance of this scenario is like the first [scene of the ballet], but in the opposite genre.”⁴²⁷ Lady Morgan writes of the opening scene:

The funeral scene opens with a procession of the consuls, patricians, and people of Rome, the military, lictors, and the priestesses of the temple, accompanied by a sad and solemn music, in march to the *Campus Sceleratus*, where the Vestal’s tomb is already dug.⁴²⁸

Ritorni also mentions the music of the opening scene:

Already a deadly convoy approaches to the sound of faint music, broken from time to time by the tremendous bells of the temple. A very slow march opens with many soldiers.⁴²⁹

The consul, guards, lictors, priests, priestesses, and novices arrive, and then:

Here are the Vestal Virgins, who at the front, with the same falling cadence of the cantilena, say the usual prayer, accompanied by the novices, who find themselves precisely at the back of the theatre [moving] in the contrary direction of the opposing part of the semicircle upon which they go around the curve of the procession: quite an agreeable scene! of which the two corners in the back extremities of the scene, left vacant by that [procession] are filled with wonders, that is with spectators in various compassionate acts,

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 211. “Maestoso di questo scenario è l’aspetto come del primo, ma in opposto genere.”

⁴²⁸ Lady Morgan, “Italy,” 100.

⁴²⁹ Ritorni, “Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò,” 211. “Già appressa il convoglio ferale al suoni di musica flebile, rotta a quando a quando dal tremendo tintinnambulo del tempio. Apron la marcia lentissima nonpochi soldati.”

and successive views and groups, which are in fact derived from within complex historical paintings.⁴³⁰

The musical opening to the scene is a stormy D-minor number by Spontini with the full orchestra and a brief middle section featuring the winds with a circle of fifths melodic pattern. The cadence in C sets up the next number, a *Marcia Funebre*, also by Spontini, in F minor. This, marked *Lento*, is for the procession of those involved in the burial. It is from the analogous location in Spontini's opera, the "Choer et Marche funebre." The chorus sings "Périsset la vestale impie, Objet de la haine des dieux, Que son trépas expie, Son forfait odieux!" (Perish the impious vestal, object of the gods' hatred, that her death atones, her abominable crime!)⁴³¹ Halting string tremolos marked *pianissimo* paint an eerie picture, liberally sprinkled with rests, while the dotted and double-dotted rhythms of the violin line that follows help portray the anguish of the scene (this was an instrumental section without singing in the opera, anyway). The first real melody begins in measure 27 with the trumpets and horns (this is where the chorus enters again) mournfully still in F minor, with only a hint of respite from the brief appearance of A-flat major in measure 35. Otherwise the tremolo figure returns as an ostinato, and the piece ends as tragically as

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 211-212. "Ecco le Vestali, che sul davanti, al ricader della cantilena nella stessa desinenza, fan la solita preghiera, accompagnata dalle Novizie, che trovansi appunto infondo al teatro in contraria direzione nell'opposta parte del semicerchio su cui aggirarsi la curva processione: ben inteso quadro! del quale i due angoli da quella lasciati vacui nelle estremità anteriori dello scenario, sono riempiti da maraviglie, cioè da spettatori in compassionevoli atti variati, e successivi scorci e gruppi, quali appunto veggonsi nelle complicate istoriche dipinture."

⁴³¹ See footnote 423.

started, with a brass fanfare on octave C's bracketing the closing material, which is separated from the body of the march by a dramatic fermata.⁴³²

Example 53: *La Vestale* Act V, No. 2 Lento, "Marcia funebre," by Spontini

SPONTINI. (strings - timpani)

2. Lento *p*

4

7 *sf*

11

15

⁴³² Just this closing bit is cut from the piano reduction, in which the fanfare leads into the next number.

During all of this tragic and eerie music is when Pallerini appears, and she was so striking that both Ritorni and Morgan commented on it. Ritorni wrote:

But the Vestale has already appeared, carried on a type of bed in the guise of a coffin, to which she is bound, funereal because of the black mourning veil on her head, and more for that innate physiognomy [facial expressions] of Pallerini, so apt to inspire with her shining and almost deathlike face the idea of mortal desolation. Deposited in the middle, where the grave is dug, and set loose and made to rise, she is revived from that stupor, and with horror she contemplates entry into her sepulcher. The priest meanwhile makes a prayer to appease the gods [who are], through her, so irritated with Rome, and thus, announces to her that it is time to descend into the tomb, and already sounds from the temple give warning of this.⁴³³

The warning sounds from the temple are the brass fanfares at the end of the number.

Emilia is likely untied and released during the next number, composed by Weigl. This is a brief modulatory piece, beginning sweetly in E-flat major with clarinets and other wind solos, but tinged with flat-sixth passing notes interjected by the flutes. The modulation ends the number unstably on a G dominant. It is elided to the next number (composed by Carafa), in a more cheerful C major, though tinged still with flat 6ths. Here Emilia takes leave of her companions and the oboe and flute solos accompany her, their music growing more and more ornate. The cadence at the end of this is avoided, leading directly and deceptively to A-flat major, as if her goodbyes are abruptly cut off. This is

⁴³³ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò," 212. "Ma apparisce già la Vestale, portat su una specia di letto a guisa di bara, ov' è legata, lugubre per la nera gramaglia del capo, e più per quella innata fisionomia della Pallerini, così atta ad ispirare con glauca faccia e quasi incadaverita, l'idea di mortale desolazione. Deposta nel mezzo, ov'è cavata la fossa, e slegata, e fatta alzare, rinvien essa da quell' instupidimento, e con orro contempla entro il suo sepolcro. Il Sacerdote intanto fa un preghiera a placar i Numi da lei contro Roma irritati, quindi le anuncia esser tempo a dover discendere laggiù, e darne già avviso il suon dal tempio."

indeed what happens and the sweetness of the music matches Ritorni's description of the scene:

She kneels, asks the heavens for forgiveness; she rises, goes to the priestess, and she apologizes to her while prostrate on the ground. But the good mother lifts her, and takes her into her arms weeping bitterly. Emilia then gives her final embraces, one by one, to her companions, gives kisses to the young girls, as a sign that she pardons their innocent offense. The composition of this scene was picturesque and dramatic at the same time, because of the contrasting groups and poses, so that in the occurrence of the breathless embraces, one moment was admired among the others in which, while embracing she brushed lips behind another with clever quickness [taking] a fleeting kiss.⁴³⁴ But the High Priest hurries her along, since he hears an unknown rumble from afar.⁴³⁵

The number by Lichtenthal that follows is for the torturously slow burial of Emilia, annotated in both scores (see Example 54).⁴³⁶ This astounding Largo contains

⁴³⁴ This translation takes *libare* as a metaphor for brushing lips lightly, or a sort of tasting a kiss. This could also translate more literally, however, in this particular context, since Emilia is a sacrificial victim: "in the embrace of one, she took libations [sprinkled with wine or spirits, as part of a ritual], while with clever quickness behind another [she took] a fleeting kiss." Part of the definition of 'libare' is: "...*versare, bagnare e quindi assaggiare leggermente, gustare a fior di labbra, pregustare*...In un origine significò Versare, Spandere in onore di una divinità qualche stilla di vino o d' altro liquore sull' altare o sulla vittima nei sacrifici, sulla mensa nei banchetti, dopo di averlo leggermente assaggiato; e indi assunse quello che perdura di Assaggiare, Bere." See: "libare" in *Dizionario Etimologico Online*, (Copyright 2004-2008 Francesco Bonomi - Vocabolario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana) <http://www.etimo.it/?pag=hom>, accessed March 2010.

⁴³⁵ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò," 212. "Ella s' inginocchia, chiede perdono al Cielo; alzasi; va alla Sacerdotessa, e le si scusa prostrata a terra. Ma la buona Madre la rialza, la serra fralle braccia piangendo dirottamente. Emilia poscia da gli ultimi abbracciamenti ad una ad una alle compagne, a baci alle fanciulle, in segno di perdonar l' innocente offesa. La composizione del quadro era e pittoresca e drammatica ad un tempo, pe' contrappost gruppi e atteggiamenti, perchè nella vicenda degli affannosi amplessi ammiravasi fra gl' altri un momento nel quale, in abbracciar una, libava intanto con ingegnoso scorciamento a tergo dall' altra uno sfuggievole bacio. Ma l' Arciflamme l' affretta, chè ode di lontano non so qual fratuono."

⁴³⁶ The accidentals found in parentheses (m. 21 and 22) in this case are taken from the manuscript full score.

many unexpected harmonic shifts, which must reflect the psychological agony of the action. It begins on A-flat major and the strings and winds trade triplet motives that march along. In the fifth measure the harmony begins to shift, moving through enharmonic modulations, with one of the most striking occurring in the eighth through tenth measures where a C-flat minor harmony moves to an F-sharp dominant 7th, A dominant 7th, C augmented, which reverses to culminate on B-octaves followed by C major in measure 11 (see harmonic progression below). The final four measures of the number feature a bass motive that sinks by half steps in each iteration and likely accompanied Emilia's slowly disappearing form, described so well by those who wrote about it.

Example 54a: *La Vestale*, Act V, No. 5, Largo, “La Seppelliscono” (The burial [of Emilia]) by Lichenthal

La Seppelliscono

LICHTENTHAL.

S. **Largo**

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 4. The second system contains measures 5 through 8. The key signature changes from A-flat major to C-flat minor in measure 8. The score is marked 'Largo' and includes dynamic markings 'f', 'p', and 'sf' at the end.

6

f p sf f p sf f p sf

cres.

11

17

19

fp sf fp sf

21

fp sf fp sf

Example 54b: harmonic reduction of m. 7-22, with the downbeat of next piece

Here, Lady Morgan's commentary is both descriptive and political. While not a native Italian involved in the struggles for national unification and independence from foreign rule, she felt that within *La Vestale* was encoded an analogue to the Italian struggles against power. As she describes the Vestale being led to her grave, after bidding farewell to her companions, she writes (*italics hers*):

The high priest seizes and drags her amidst general supplications to the tomb. He is inaccessible to pity: he has *his system to support*; a martyr must confirm it, and even the consul pleads in vain. It is in vain too, that she springs from his grasp; he again forces her to the tomb. She struggles to the last, but she is already half-buried; her head is still above the earth; —it is so no longer: her upstretched arms only appear, one hand is still visible, and then the ponderous stone is rolled above the chasm, and all is over! This seems a fiction; yet such things have been, such things *may be*; and Italy forced back to her dark ages of ignorance and bigotry, by those who now arm

against her kindling illumination, may yet present “*more woeful pageants in the scene*” of real life, than that which now only calls forth her scenic powers.⁴³⁷

Morgan equates the Vestale’s suppression with that of Italy—one wonders how much of the Milanese audience might have also seen analogies to contemporary politics in this ballet. Surely Morgan’s sensitivity and ideas sprang from the whole of her Italian travels and experiences.

As if the death of Emilia were not enough, Decio has gathered a group of soldiers and they attack with the hope of rescuing his lover. The sinking motives of Lichtenthal’s music are interrupted by Decio’s entrance, accompanied by blaring trumpets and horns. The Allegro impetuoso, borrowed from Act III of Spontini’s opera *La Vestale*, is indeed an impetuous number in D minor pitting strings against oboes, bassoons and ’cellos. This soon shifts into entirely different music, now by Carafa, marked in the manuscript “un poco più lento.” This surprisingly sweet F-major theme in the violins is accompanied by the sustained chords in the rest of the orchestra but does not get far before being halted by a fermata over a F-sharp half-diminished chord. Next is a new theme in G major, with flutes and clarinets over string accompaniment, which also ends in an abrupt halt (this time on a D7). These sections of music (divided by the halts) are likely where Decio tries to reason with the High Priest, as they consist of softer, pleading music that is less harsh than almost all the rest of the music that finishes the act. Urgent A-minor music follows, hovering on the dominant with repeated syncopated motives in the winds, as Decio attempts to attack the High Priest, only to be struck down by a guard. After the last

⁴³⁷ Lady Morgan, “Italy,” 101. Italics are from the original.

fermata, the closing measures depict his agony with rising scales in the strings and diminished chords by the whole orchestra which swirl to the final definitive cadence in A minor as Decio drags himself to die over Emilia's tomb and his father, the consul Murena, watches in horror. Ritorni describes the action in the scene quite well:

Decio meanwhile, with his only and final strength, drags himself in the contortions of death towards the tombstone, and even struggles to hold onto it, and his life suddenly failing him, falls immobile upon it. But, in a final display, Murena appears atop the wall, and runs, but alas too late! to restrain his son, and seeing him perish, he is also dealt a cruel blow, and falls out of his mind amidst the general scene of sheer terror.⁴³⁸

The music of the entire last act is vivid with tragedy, the harmonies and orchestral textures all geared to express the action and move the audience. Ritorni, citing the first, third and fifth acts, repeatedly asserts that the mute action is absolutely clear and there is no need for it to be accompanied by a book at the theatre, or to have any prior knowledge of the plot.

In the third act the soliloquy is better rendered with actions than with words, which in that case take the place of thoughts only because of the conventions of spoken drama, just as in the pantomime the gestures by convention depict words.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ Ritorni, "Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Viganò," 214. "Decio intanto colle sole ed ultime sue forze strascinasi fra contorsioni di morte verso la lapide, e pur giunge a stento ad afferrarla, e mancandogli ad un tempo la vita, vi giace immobile. Ma, nuovo ultimo spettacolo, sull' alto delle mura apparisce Murena, che corre, ah! tardi! a trattener il figlio, e vistol perire, egli pure all' atroce colpo ristà, poi cade colassuso fuor di sè, fra quadro generale di stupido terrore."

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 216. "Nell' atto terzo il soliloquio è meglio renduto con atti, che con parole, le quali in tal caso solo per convenzione tengon luogo di pensieri nel dramma parlante, come nel pantomimico i gesti per convenzione significano parole."

The music is a great part of this success, as it speaks directly “to the heart,” (to use Ritorni’s words from the opening of this chapter).

Lady Morgan was also deeply impressed with the capacity of the mute action to move the spectator, writing:

At the end of the *Vestale*, one is tempted to ask by what lever one’s feelings have been so profoundly moved; what poetry, what eloquence, have wound up emotion to such painful excess. It seems incredible that such an effect has been produced, without one word being uttered, one shriek heard and that the impression is due to the perfection of attitude and gesticulation. The inimitable Pallerini, the heroine of the *Vestale*, and the prima Ballarina of the *corps-du-ballet* [sic], is unquestionably one of the finest actresses [sic] in Europe.⁴⁴⁰

Further commentary and criticism about this ballet can be found the *Almanacco* from the following year for La Scala.⁴⁴¹ The anonymous writer, who quotes poetry and literature frequently in the multilingual account, appreciates the symmetry of the ballet as Ritorni did, writing:

The first act, the third and the fifth of the *Vestal* are three masterpieces, which the author himself, who created them, assuredly will never be able to exceed nor imitate. The fight, the chariot race, the religious ceremony, [and] the triumph are the work of a daring mind. The monologue of the third act, and the dialogue demonstrate how far Viganò was able to bring his art, and how he was then well complemented by Pallerini and Molinari...⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ Lady Morgan, “Italy,” 101.

⁴⁴¹ [*Almanacco 1821*] “*Almanacco per l’anno 1818-1819*,” anno 1, (Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1820, 1821).

⁴⁴² *Ibid*, 53. “Il primo atto, il terzo ed il quinto della *Vestale* sono trei Capi d’opera, che l’autore stesso che gli immaginò, al certo non saprà più nè superarli nè imitarli. La lotta, la corsa delle bighe, la cerimonia religioa, il trionfo sono l’opera di un ardita mente. Il monologo del terz’atto, ed il dialogo fanno conoscere fino a qual punto Viganò seppe portare l’arte sua, e com’egli poi fosse dalla Pallerini e da Molinari bene assecondato.”

This reviewer describes how, when the fire was extinguished, “every fiber of the hearts” of spectators “trembled,” and when Emilia is sentenced by the high priest, “one could say, ‘Pity overcame me and I was almost lost’.” He quotes Boileau in description of the moment when Vestale is allowed to say goodbye to her companions, writing “...Pour nous divertit nous arracha des larmes.” [To entertain us, it drew tears from us.]⁴⁴³

Restaging *La Vestale* and other *La Vestale* Dramas on Italian Stages

Viganò’s *La Vestale* played at La Scala in the spring season of 1818 and featured the dancer Nicola Molinari as Decio, Giuseppe Villa as Claudio, and Antonia Pallerini as Emilia. Alessandro Sanquirico (1777-1849) was the scene designer and much evidence of his sets has been passed down to us, as shown in Figures 9, 10 and 11.⁴⁴⁴ In the scene designs we can see examples of the poses and gestures that may have been performed and more importantly, the physical layout of the stage within which the action took place, so vividly described by Ritorni and others. One can sense that the movement was meaningful and purposeful, that gestures and poses were well-planned and accomplished both communicative and aesthetic goals—they spoke to the viewer and were pleasing to look at.

Ritorni wrote in defense of the “ancient historical themes” of the plot, asserting their relevance and power to move the audience. It appears that Ritorni’s assessment was

⁴⁴³ Ibid. 53-55. The last citation is likely drawn from French poet and critic Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711).

⁴⁴⁴ Eight images are held at the New York Public Library, many of which are engravings that are a part of the digital gallery.

accurate, in that the story appeared not infrequently on Italian stages following Viganò's ballet. In the early 1820s Spontini's opera *La Vestale* came to La Scala after enjoying limited popularity in a few other Italian centers, with the exception of Naples, where it saw its Italian premier and was well-received. Then, an 1828 restaging of *La Vestale* (the ballet) for carnevale season at La Fenice (Venice) was given by Salvatore Viganò's brother: "ballo tragico by Salvatore Viganò," "posto in scena da suo fratello Giulio." For this performance Decio was danced by Effizio (Effisio) Catte, a mime held in high regard throughout Italy, while Emilia was performed by Luigia Demartini, and Eduarde Viganò performed the role of Claudio. The manuscript full score used for this study, which bears the date February 1828 on the last page, may well be linked to this performance (as noted above).⁴⁴⁵ Giulio continued to stage the ballet in the 1830s.

La Vestale continued into the mid-century as both an opera and ballet. In the spring of 1831, a new *La Vestale* opera (melodramma serio in due atti) with music by Pacini, was performed at the Teatro in via della Pergola of Firenze, with a happy ending like that in the Spontini opera.⁴⁴⁶ It was accompanied by the ballet "I Bacchanali Aboliti" by Gioja, which was performed after the first act. At the same time, the choreographer Giuseppe Villa staged *La Vestale* as a ballet in 1829, 1831, and 1834. Finally, another opera to the story by Mercadante appeared in 1840, and ended up his second most

⁴⁴⁵ Nicolò Mirabella et al., *La vestale; ballo tragico, Musica de piu rinomati e celebri autori, Tradotta, e strumentata da Nicolò Mirabella*: [n.d., n.p.]. (NYPL)

⁴⁴⁶ Berlioz apparently saw Pacini's *La Vestale* while in Italy and heartily disapproved, according to his *Memoirs*, chapter 35.

successful opera with well over one hundred productions during that period. Unlike Spontini's and Pacini's versions, Mercadante's ends in tragedy.

While it is certainly not *because* of Viganò that this plot had such popularity, it is fair to say that his success aided in the advancement of this particular plot for use in Italy's theatres, since his *La Vestale* was performed before Spontini's opera and was successful in many Italian cities. As with many ballets and operas, if the plot was appealing to audiences, it was liberally recycled between the two genres. Thus it is important to see Viganò's *La Vestale* not only as his unique rendition, a coreodramma in a style which, according to many, could not be copied after him, but as part of a larger continuum of productions, with each influencing the next (after all Spontini's *La Vestale* had influenced Viganò, despite the fact that it had not yet been performed in Italy). *La Vestale* stands as an example of how Viganò's influence may have been felt beyond ballet and long after his death in 1821, and can be used to argue that not all of Viganò's art died with him.

It is also important to recognize the power of the performers in the ballet's successes (or lack thereof) as is demonstrated by the frequent praise for especially Pallerini in period commentary cited thus far. *La Vestale* was not always a hit though. Giuseppe Villa's 1829 production at the Teatro Nuovo in Padova was deemed mediocre with only the ballerina Lauretta Sichera avoiding audience disapproval.⁴⁴⁷ An 1834 Naples production (also by Villa) with Antonia Pallerini revisiting the role after over a decade, was lukewarmly received, mainly because Pallerini was seen as too old to play

⁴⁴⁷ Bruno Brunelli, *I teatri di Padova dalle origini alla fine del secolo XIX*, (Padova: A. Draghi, 1921) 403; he cites "Il Censore universale dei teatri, 48, 17 giugno 1829.

the vestal virgin, despite being an exemplary mime.⁴⁴⁸ While the purpose here is not to examine all of the theatrical versions of *La Vestale* for the influence of Viganò after his death, or to delve heavily into the long-range reception of the coreodramma, it will suffice to say that there were many versions, both in ballet and opera, that followed. *La Vestale* is a prime example of the intertwined nature of ballet and opera plots in nineteenth century Italy, a subject that in itself merits much further study. In any case, the Vestale's story struck a chord in Italian audiences that was both emotionally cathartic and socially appealing, as well as political.

Conclusions

The match between contents and musical details of this particular published keyboard score and the manuscript full score is a promising sign that the lengthy keyboard scores of complete ballets, at least those published by Ricordi during the first few decades of the century, can give one an accurate idea of musical content with which to match the drama and choreography. (Refer to Table 16 for details.) The present lack of manuscript scores with matching published score prevents any conclusive investigation into this matter. Other ballets I have examined that correlate well include *Niobe* (or *La Niobe*, Gioia, Carlini, Gallenberg et al. La Scala 1816, San Carlo 1822) and *Sesostri* (Taglioni, Carlini et al., San Carlo 1823, La Scala 1824). In both cases the selected pieces match the manuscript score extremely well in musical content.⁴⁴⁹ There are certainly

⁴⁴⁸ *Almanacco de' reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo dell'annata teatrale 1834*, (Napoli: Flautina, 1835), 115-116. (HTC and NYPL)

⁴⁴⁹ The manuscript scores for both are held at the NYPL: *La Niobe; gran ballo in sei atti*.

many disadvantages to not having the manuscript orchestral score, but it is helpful to know that the matches that do exist between published and manuscript sources shows that the keyboard reductions are, so far, reliable representatives of the actual music for a ballet. *La Vestale* is but one case study.

What does comparison tell us about the nature of keyboard reductions? The process of reducing a full score for cembalo or piano was often carried out by an amateur musician, and the quality of reductions studied for this dissertation varies. In *La Vestale*, the least successful reductions are of textures with sustained orchestral chords, where often the reducer resorts to some type of filler accompaniment, thus changing the texture and rhythmic feel of the number quite drastically. Examples of this can be found in the theme beginning in measure 27 of Act V, No. 6 (where Decio arrives at Emilia's grave and pleads with the High Priest), or in much of Act IV, No. 7, where the absence of the dactylic rhythm produced by the orchestra lessens the relentless inevitability of the piece (this could have been a better-conceived reduction).

On the other hand, it is surprising how faithful the reduction is, in most cases, to the manuscript score. Many important elements were included, such as countermelodies and passing instrumental interjections, and these are kept, for the most part, in the range

*Musica di diversi autori. Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets; Reel 2, no. 2: [n.p.], [n.d.]; Carlini, Luigi. Sesostris; ballo in cinque atti. Musica del sigr. Luigi Carlini, Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets,; Reel 4: [n.p.], [n.d.]. The piano reductions of various pieces from both ballets are housed at the HTC: Robert Graf von Gallenberg and Gaetano Gioja, *Raccolta di varj ed applauditi pezzi di musica scelti dal gran ballo La Niobe*, (Milano: Gio. Ricordi, 1816); Luigi Carlini and Giuseppe Galluzzo (arr.), *Sesostris: gran ballo istorico*, (Napoli: Girard, 1823); and, Luigi Carlini, Michele Carafa, and Giuseppe Galuzzo (arr.), *Pas de trois: eseguito dal sigr. Hullin e le sigre. Vacque-Mulin e Sichea aggiunto nel ballo Sesostris*, (Napoli: Girard, 1823).*

of the instruments that play them. Of course, the orchestration brings the music to life, and much of what makes the music “good” is in the orchestration. For example, the sounds of flutes and clarinets trading over string tremolos can transfer poorly to a piano score, which looks to be filled with monotonous left-hand undulations and a seemingly non-descript right-hand melody. The most common discrepancies between keyboard score and manuscript are small details, such as missing accidentals, which are likely due to sloppiness on the part of the reducer or the editor. In the case of *La Vestale*, the manuscript full score did not exhibit such faults, which leads me to believe that the many errors I found in the keyboard reductions included in this dissertation were indeed errors, rather than intentional.

The music for *La Vestale* comes from various sources—some of it is borrowed from contemporary opera and some of it is original, but there are consistent traits in the musical content and instrumentation whether the music is borrowed or not. Weighty, harmonically or melodically complex music usually accompany scenes with intense psychological content or action, while music that is relatively straightforward and clear, or of a more general mood, works well for dances, processions, and less intense dramatic movements. Music for mime and dancing are usually clearly distinct as such, and the music for dancing is often set apart by its strong rhythmic propulsion and syntactic regularity (as demonstrated in Chapter V). In terms of scoring, the orchestration for the dialogue and action scenes involving fewer characters (such as the third act) is more intimate while that used for large celebrations and especially dancing is quite full, with more brass and percussion, and may have included an onstage band.

When there is a mix of action, mime and dance, within a scene, such as is the case for the “Ballabile delle Vestali” in the opening, the music is somewhere between the realms of dance music and the more unpredictable action music. This is where operatic choices, such as excerpts by Rossini play an important role for this ballet. One cannot help but notice that Rossini is the choice for heavier moments, such as the innamoramento (falling in love) of Emilia and Decio in the opening and any scenes involving the struggles of the protagonist. In *La Vestale*, Rossini’s music seems to be reserved for such occasions, with just the musical choice already acting as a signifier of dramatic import (e.g. Rossini signifies intense drama involving the main characters). Furthermore, the borrowed music in *La Vestale* comes from only two Rossini operas and one Spontini opera (as far as has been identified), and in each case the choice is made with awareness of the number’s dramatic import within the opera. Clearly, Viganò was highly selective and well-versed in the opera repertoire of his time. Certainly, audiences recognized the tunes from the popular Rossini and Spontini operas, though in the case of *La Vestale*, the Spontini numbers may have been less familiar.

Almost every act consists of a string of numbers that are connected in performance with little or no pause between them. The pieces may be extremely short, and all the more so when there is no dancing. Dance numbers or action sequences involving processions or mass movement, which offer some respite from the forward motion of the plot, tended to be longer with more internal repeats and definite closure at the end (often in the form of extended final cadences). The last three acts are fashioned in the manner of continuous sequence of short numbers that rarely resolve definitively.

While the composers changed often between numbers, unity was achieved by the lack of pausing, while variety came through the pastiche method of scoring for the work. The smoothing out of the musical contents, always in accordance with the plot, was completed by the arranger, who was purportedly Viganò himself in many cases.

The large amount of mime and picturesque choreography in this production as compared to what we now think of as ballet (classical steps in the French style) is indeed remarkable. Yet, Viganò's coreodrammas are not an altogether foreign and lost genre, but an important ancestor to the Romantic ballet, a ballet that has been reenvisioned through recent scholarship as containing much more mime and as far more varied, especially in Italy, than the *ballets-blancs* for which it is known. Falcone even sees important links between the mimed poses of *La Vestale* and later ballets such as *Giselle*.⁴⁵⁰ Ritorni mentions only two occurrences of "academic" dancing, and there were likely only a few truly danced numbers, clustered in the first two acts. This raises greater questions as to the very definition of ballet, which in the case of Viganò, required superb mute acting as much as technical skill in dancing.

Frequently in the period descriptions we read of mass movement, poses and tableaux. Part of the reason why the moving or living tableaux worked so well for Viganò was that his subjects were often historical or mythological and this aesthetic approach was completely in line with the subject matter. In *La Vestale* the use of classical sculpture and painting not only delighted the eye, but added one more authentic element to the

⁴⁵⁰ Referring to the pose of Emilia when she wants to flee from Decio, Falcone writes, "This is one of the most intense moments of the whole work, for in it "mute dialogue" is transfigured into dance with results that we shall again encounter in certain poses of Romantic ballet, and particularly in *Giselle*." Falcone, "The Italian Style and the Period," 334.

ancient Roman setting, which the scenery and costume had already created. Yet, Italian ballet held on to its allegorical characters long after mythological subjects had become less fashionable and evidence of tableaux-like formations exists into the mid-century. Italian ballet also contained far more mime than is easy to imagine at present, and did so for much of the nineteenth century. This surely owes something to Viganò's integration of mime and dance and dramatically rich plots.

Finally, regarding of Viganò scholarship, while scholars may bemoan the loss of choreographic information concerning the coreodrammas, the musical scores are full of useful information about where action and mime took place and we know that mime was highly tuned to music. Dance historians and performers alike could venture further to re-imagine the choreography of the coreodramma with the information gained through ballet score study (as Falcone has shown in her recreation of a portion of Act III), especially when the imagery and period descriptions are as rich with detail as they are for *La Vestale*. Thus, this study should serve as an entrée into other realms of scholarship, for there is much new work to be done, and musical sources to consult beyond and in addition to Ritorni, Lady Morgan, Stendhal, libretti, reviews, images, art, sculpture and the work of the handful of current day scholars who study Viganò.

CHAPTER VII

BIANCHI E NEGRI—FROM HARRIET BEECHER STOWE TO THE
ITALIAN STAGE

Based on Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the ballet *Bianchi e negri*, with music by Paolo Giorza (additions by Marco Aurelio Marliani, Cesare Dominicetti, and Signor Olivieri) and choreography by Giuseppe Rota, was premiered at La Scala in 1853, and performed at several other Italian theatres over the following two decades, including La Fenice, Venice (1857). This ballet, based on Stowe's scathing critique of American slavery, does not fit the passé image of the romantic ballet and its tulle-bedecked fairies and sylphs. This imagery, which is inaccurate also for the French ballet during the mid-nineteenth century, is far too limiting for Romantic ballet in general, as Marian Smith and several other music and dance scholars have already shown. Italian ballet only further disproves these past views of the Romantic ballet and *Bianchi e negri* is further evidence of the multiplicity of ballet in the nineteenth century.

Bianchi e negri is actually typical for Italian ballet of the mid-century, exemplifying the structural, musical, narrative, and socio-cultural elements that were common to Italian ballets of the period. The subject matter and plot of Stowe's widely successful book was quickly reformed to fit the demands of Italian ballet as a genre, riding the wave of the novel's international success. The ballet offers an opportunity to

study not only the transmission to Italy of this famous work of literature, but the process of working a novel into a ballet.⁴⁵¹ Adding to its interest is that the theme of a struggle for freedom and the triumph of humanity tapped into Risorgimento fervor.

Uncle Tom's Cabin in Italy

Stowe's novel, published serially in the United States beginning in 1851, was published as a book 1852, and made available the same year (in autumn of 1852) in Italian translation. It became the best-selling novel in the world during the nineteenth century, and was translated into most major languages. Italian reception was positive and, as the historian Frederick Jackson pointed out in 1958, it "moved others to emulate the efforts of Mrs. Stowe."⁴⁵² He cites an 1854 play by Giovanni Sabbatini that reflects Stowe's tone and the topic of inhumanity and familial separation in a story set in Piedmont.

While Stowe's translated novel, *La Cappana dello Zio Tomaso* (1852),⁴⁵³ was immediately popular for readers in Italy, it appeared at a time of not only political, but

⁴⁵¹ Literature was the media through which Romanticism became manifest in Italian theatre, for the novel was one of the foremost vehicles for Romantic ideas and much Italian theatre was adapted from novels and other Romantic literature (such as Goethe's *Faust*).

⁴⁵² Frederick H. Jackson, "An Italian Uncle Tom's Cabin," in *Italica*, 35:1 (March, 1958), 38-42.

⁴⁵³ The novel was published in multiple editions in Italy, as was Stowe's follow-up, *La Chiave della capanna dello zio Tomaso contenente i fatti e i documenti originali sopra cui è fondato il romanzo colle note giustificative di Enrichetta Beecher Stowe*, 2 vol. (Milano: 1853). The novel first appeared in Milan in 1852 (Harriet Beecher Stowe, *La capanna dello zio Tomaso; o, La Schiavità*, (Milano: Borroni e Scotti, 1852.) and then under the same title was published in four installments in the series 'Florilegio romantico' by the same publisher, before appearing as *La capanna dello zio Tommaso: ossia, La vita dei negri in America*, translated by B. Bermanni,

also religious controversy. The mid-nineteenth century saw shifts in the tolerance of Protestantism by the Catholic majority, both for better and for worse, and in Rome, *La Cappana dello Zio Tomaso* was banned by the censor.⁴⁵⁴ “Several dramatic versions of the story and at least one ballet” are cited in Joseph Rossi’s study of religious reception of Uncle Tom’s Cabin in Italy. Many of these appeared in 1853-54 theatrical seasons. Rossi also cites a review stating that Verdi’s *Il Trovatore* and *La cappana del zio Tomaso* were the most popular productions in Naples during that season.⁴⁵⁵ Religious and political debates spurred by Stowe’s novel did not harm its popularity in the 1850s and Rossi points out that soon after its appearance in Italy, freedom of worship for non-Catholics was granted to all of Italy.⁴⁵⁶ Thus, it seems that the novel was timely in its Italian appearance. While *La Capanna dello Zio Tomaso* certainly caused in religious and political stir, its dramatic siblings brought the story to life and by doing so also tapped into these larger cultural transitions. As we will see in relation to the ballet, these were not always subtle.

(Milano e Lodi: Presso la tipografia di Claudio Wilmont e Figli, 1853).

⁴⁵⁴ Cited in Rossi, *L’Opinione*, June 13, 1853. For an assessment of the Protestant and Catholic reception of Uncle Tom’s Cabin. Joseph Rossi, “Uncle Tom’s Cabin and Protestantism in Italy,” in *American Quarterly*, 11:3 (Autumn, 1959) 416-424.

⁴⁵⁵ Rossi, “Uncle Tom’s Cabin and Protestantism,” 418.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 423. Rossi covers various debates, for example, it was not simply a matter of Catholicism versus Protestantism, but also a debate on the value of the Quaker faith. (The Quakers play an important role in protecting the escaped Eliza, her son, and later her husband, and are portrayed idyllically in Stowe’s account.)

Overview of the Sources (Music and Libretti)

The main musical source for this ballet is the piano score, published by F. Lucca in Milano in 1857.⁴⁵⁷ While Paolo Giorza is the main composer, a few of the numbers are written by others: Marco Aurelio Marliani, Cesare Dominicetti and Niccola Olivieri each contribute one piece. As with most published piano reductions, the individual numbers could have been sold separately, evidenced by the individual page numbering of each piece. For example, a score at the Casa della Musica-Teatro Regio in Parma consists of only the “Introduzione e walzer: gran festa da ballo in casa del console inglese.” While the musical source material is found in only a few locations (so far), libretti for this ballet exist from performances at nearly all the major Italian cities. Additionally, choreographers restaged the work after Rota, and at least two similar but distinct versions of the plot were utilized in the over twenty-year span of productions. (See table 17 below.) Of the two versions of scenario (discussed below), the libretto for the ballet’s premiere at La Scala on November 10, 1853, is the first (Type 1).

⁴⁵⁷ Paolo Giorza, *Bianchi e negri; azione coreografica di G. Rota. Musica di Paolo Giorza ed altri autori*, (Milano: F. Lucca, [1853?]); (held at NYPL) and, Paolo Giorza, *Bianchi e negri: azione coreografica*, (Milano: Francesco Lucca, 1857). (held at HTC) Though catalogued differently, these scores are the same.

Table 17: Some extant Libretti for *Bianchi e negri*

Title ^a	Choreographer	City	Theatre	Season	Publisher	Year	Type
<i>Bianchi e negri: azione mimica allegorica</i>	Rota	Milano	La Scala	Autunno 1853	Pirola, Luigi di Giacomo	[1853]	?1
▶ <i>Bianchi e negri: azione storico-allegorica in tre parti e sette scene (HTC)^b</i>	Rota	Venezia	La Fenice	Carnevale 1856/7	Teresa Gattei	1857	1
<i>Giorgio il negro: ballo allegorico fantastico in tre parti e sei scene (NYPL)^c</i>	Rota	Roma	Teatro Apollo	Carnevale 1858, 1859	G. Olivieri	1858	2
<i>Bianchi e negri : azione mimico-storica-allegorica in tre parti e sei scene</i>	Rota	Torino	Teatro Regio	Carnevale 1857-58	Savojardo, Tip. Teatrale di B.	1858	?2
▶ <i>La capanna di Tom: azione storica-allegorica in tre quadri e sette scene (HTC and NYPL)^d</i>	Pratesi / Rota	Bologna	Teatro Comunale	Autunno, 1858	Tip. delle Belle Arti	[1858]	1
<i>Giorgio il negro: ballo allegorico fantastico</i>	Rota	Trieste			Weis		2
<i>Bianchi e negri: Azione Storico-Allegorica</i>	Rota	Trieste			Weis	1858	1
<i>Bianchi e negri: azione storica allegorica in tre parti e sei scene</i>	Reali after Rota	Cremona	Teatro della Concordia	Carnevale 1859-60	Eredi Manini	[1860]	?1
<i>Bianchi e negri: azione storica allegorica in tre parti e sette scene</i>	Bini after Rota	Firenze	Teatro della Pergola		Fioretti	1860	1
<i>Bianchi e negri: azione storica allegorica in tre parti e sei scene</i>	Bini after Rota	Torino	Teatro Carignano	Autunno 1861	V. Bona	1861	?
<i>Bianchi e negri: azione storico-allegorica in sei quadri</i>	Rota	Napoli	San Carlo	Autunno 1862	Cosmopolita	1862	2
▶ <i>I bianchi ed i negri: azione</i>	Pratesi, Rota,	Milano	La Scala	Autunno 1863	Pirola	[1863]	1

Table 17 continued

<i>storica-allegorica in tre quadri e sette scene</i> (NYPL) ^e	Costa, Pallerini*						
I bianchi e i negri : <i>ballo allegorico fantastico in due parti e sei scene</i>	Bini after Rota	Palermo	Teatro Bellini	1870-71 (anno teatrale)	Lao	1871	2
▶ Bianchi e negri : <i>ballo allegorico-fantastico in due parti e sei scene</i> (HTC and NYPL) ^f	Bini after Rota	Torino	Teatro Regio	Quaresima 1875	Giudici e Strada	1875	2

^a This table is in a condensed form. Only one libretto per city-year-publisher is listed if a majority of the information matches and it can be reasonably assumed that multiple sources are identical but recorded differently in various library catalogues. For example, the * mark in the choreographer bank for the La Scala 1863 version is because each of three records listed the choreographers differently, but this was the only marked difference between the three sources. The HTC and NYPL libretti for this ballet span twenty-two years and five cities. I have transcribed and studied four libretti for study with the score and with Stowe's novel (marked with the ▶).

^b Giuseppe Rota, Paolo Giorza, and Bruno Brunelli, *Bianchi e negri: azione storico-allegorica in tre parti e sette scene*, (Venezia: Teresa Gattei, 1857). (Held at HTC).

^c Giuseppe Rota, *Giorgio il negro; ballo allegorico fantastico in tre parti e sei scene di Giuseppe Rota da rappresentarsi al Teatro di Apollo nel carnevale 1858 in 1859, Cia Fornaroli Collection*, (Roma: G. Olivieri, [1858?]). (Held at NYPL)

^d Giuseppe Rota, Ferdinando Pratesi, and Paolo Giorza, *La capanna di Tom: azione storica-allegorica in tre quadri e sette scene*, (Bologna: Belle Arti, 1858). (Held at HTC) AND Giuseppe Rota, *La capanna di Tom; azione storica-allegorica in tre quadri e sette scene del coreografo Giuseppe Rota da rappresentarsi nel gran Teatro Comunale di Bologna, l'autunno 1858, Posto in iscena e diretto dal coreografo Ferdinando Pratesi, Cia Fornaroli Collection*, (Bologna: Tip. delle Belle Arti, [1858]). (Held at NYPL).

^e Giuseppe Rota, *I bianchi ed i negri; azione storica-allegorica in tre quadri e sette scene del coreografo Giuseppe Rota, riprodotta dal coreografo Ferdinando Pratesi nel regio Teatro della Scala nell'autunno 1863, Cia Fornaroli Collection*, (Milano: Luigi di G. Pirola, [1863]). (Held at NYPL)

^f Giuseppe Rota, Giuseppe Bini, and Paolo Giorza, *Bianchi e negri: ballo allegorico-fantastico in due parti e sei scene, John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection*, (Torino: Giudici e Strada, 1875). (Held at HTC.) OR: Giuseppe Rota, *Bianchi e negri; ballo allegorico-fantastico in due parti e sei scene di Giuseppe Rota, riprodotto da Giuseppe Bini, al Teatro Regio di Torino nella quaresima 1875... Cia Fornaroli Collection*, (Torino: Giudici e Strada., [1875]). (Held at NYPL)

Despite differences in scenarios, the music appears to remain relatively stable for the life span of this ballet,⁴⁵⁸ though scenarios, choreographers, titles, dancers and performances changed. This process of recycling and adapting the plot, which was the norm for successful Italian ballets, was in use with Stowe's novel beyond ballet, for other dramatic adaptations in Italy and elsewhere. In America, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was quickly made into a musical play with plantation songs and Stephen Foster songs. As Thomas Riis writes,

...the theatrical and musical elements added to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* directly on the heels of its original publication in March 1852 were indices of its importance; insofar as the dramatization of the novel opened it to a new nonliterate audience, its impact was intensified a hundredfold at least.⁴⁵⁹

The Narrative: Summary, Comparison, and Italian Ballet Plot Stereotypes

Stowe's novel encompasses a wide range of characters and places. Numbering over 600 pages and forty-four chapters in two volumes, the complexity of the narrative was difficult to match in any theatrical version, yet the story was fitting for stage drama and Stowe's descriptive language seems to call for it. The story was so compelling that the theater was a popular means of its transmission in both the United States and Italy.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁸ While ballet music could be altered from production to production, there is no evidence that a completely different score exists for separate and/or later productions. Furthermore, no manuscript scores have yet surfaced for this ballet.

⁴⁵⁹ George L. Aiken, George C. Howard, Thomas Laurence Riis, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's cabin: (1852)*. Vol. 5 Nineteenth-century American Musical Theater, (New York: Garland, 1994), xiii. See also: Thomas L. Riis, "The Music and Musicians in Nineteenth-century Productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." *American Music* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 268-86.

⁴⁶⁰ There were certainly stage productions outside of America, including Great Britain, and Germany, and Stowe made three European tours and was well-received in Europe. In addition to the two scholars who write about the Italian *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Grace Maclean has

The Italian ballet versions retain the strong anti-slavery and Christian themes, but compress the novel into a narrative that can be transmitted over the course of two or three acts and several scenes, with a smaller number of characters. This narrative is quite different from Stowe's novel when it comes to the protagonists themselves. (This is the main difference between the two versions of the Italian scenarios as well—see Table 18.) Table 18 below lists the main cast in each version of the scenario and their possible equivalents in Stowe's novel. Also listed are some of the well-known dancers who performed certain roles, in italics. The order in which roles are listed in the libretti is widely varying, and the roles have been listed in the table in order to line up the two versions of the scenario for easy comparison with Stowe's novel and with one another. It

written about German reception of the novel, which included stage productions. See: Grace Edith Maclean, "*Uncle Tom's cabin*" in *Germany*, Vol. 10, *Americana Germanica; New series; Publications of the University of Pennsylvania*, (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1910), Chapter V. There were many stage productions in the United States in the 1850s and beyond, which were in the form of, or closely related to, minstrel shows, vaudeville and silent film. Among the first were C.W. Taylor's dramatization at Purdy's National Theatre in New York (1852, months before the release of the novel) and George L. Aikin's version which played on September 27, 1852, at the Troy Museum in Troy, New York. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on stage has been studied by several theatre historians, including Thomas Riis, John Frick and Debra Rosenthal. See for example, Thomas L. Riis, "The Music and Musicians in Nineteenth-century Productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," *American Music* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 268-86; George L. Aiken, George C. Howard, Thomas Laurence Riis, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin: (1852)*. Vol. 5 *Nineteenth-century American Musical Theater*, (New York: Garland, 1994); Debra J. Rosenthal, *Harriet Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's cabin': a sourcebook*, *Routledge guides to literature; Routledge literary sourcebooks*, (London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2004). Frick's 2007 essay, published on-line as "Uncle Tom's Cabin on the Antebellum Stage," <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/interpret/exhibits/frick/frick.html> (Accessed May, 2010), derives from a presentation at the June 2007 Uncle Tom's Cabin in the Web of Culture conference, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, and presented by the Harriet Beecher Stowe Center (Hartford, CT) and the Uncle Tom's Cabin & American Culture Project at the University of Virginia. Portions of the essay were previously published in *Theatre Symposium* 15 (2007).

is obvious even from the cast lists that the two versions of the ballet must be different (discussed in detail below)—yet, the music likely remained the same.⁴⁶¹

Despite differences in character roles and plot details, the basic structure of the plot in both versions is parallel. Both begin with an allegorical scene in which Nature creates two races, black and white, which are supposed to live in harmony. The white enslaves the black but Nature restores brotherly love. Then, the action scenes of both versions proceed with the conflict of the slave characters being persecuted, plotting escape, fleeing and being discovered. Both versions feature a *lieto fine*, where the slaves are freed, with allegorical characters joining the cast in a final celebration.

There are also marked differences between the two versions. Most notably, certain elements are actually added to the narrative so that it is in keeping with the Italian ballet plot archetypes of the time (this is discussed more fully later under “Plot Manipulations”). In Figure 12, below, is a short summation of the plot’s trajectory in each new scene. The official breakdown in the scenarios is some combination of “tre quadri” or “tre parti” and “sei / sette scene” (three acts / parts, and six or seven scenes). The first act/part is the allegorical opening scene, the second part is the body of the ballet containing the scenes, and the third part is the final allegorical scene (These parts are indicated by the Roman numerals below, while the scenes are indicated by numbers).

⁴⁶¹ There are, in fact, slight variations between many of the libretti studied, as is to be expected, for each production was an off-shoot of another. At the same time, the roles and plot contents within the scenarios I studied easily fit into one of the two types and it remains to be seen if further distinct versions exist beyond the two I have identified.

This sequence is true of both versions of the libretto even when the details of arrangement differ.

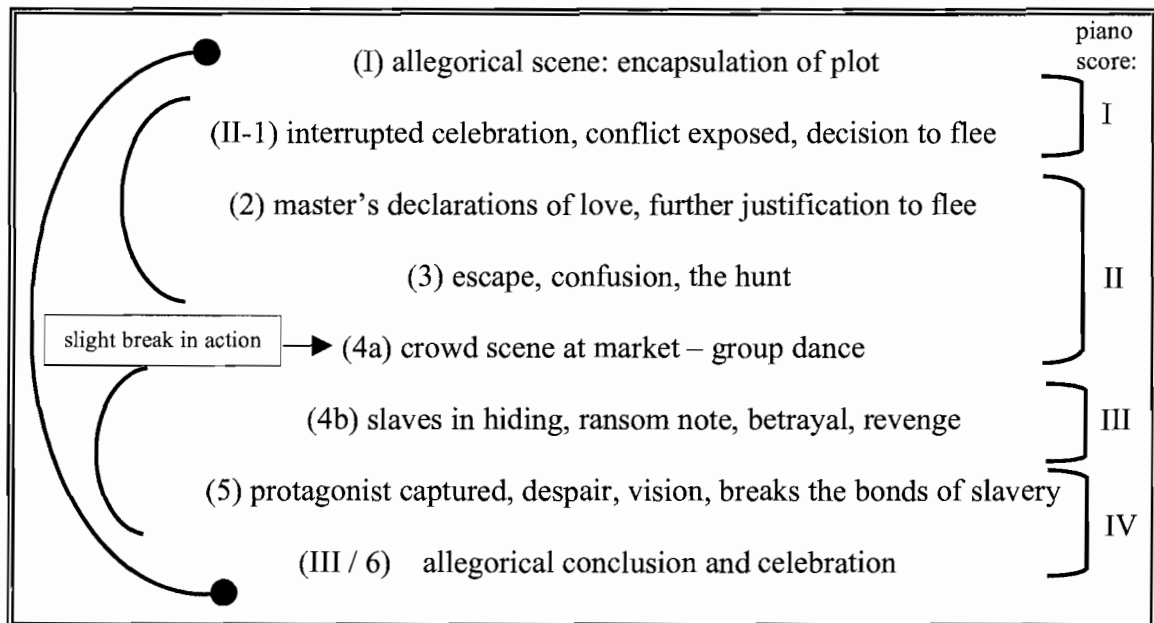
Table 18: The Main Roles and their Equivalents in Stowe's Novel

Cast of Type 1	Stowe equivalents	Cast of Type 2	Stowe equivalents
Angelina daughter of Legrey (Legree) (<i>Sophia Fuoco</i>) listed as "Il Genio di Humanità" personified in the Bologna libretto	? Evangeline (daughter of second benevolent owner of Tom, St. Claire) or Emily Shelby (wife of first benevolent owner of Tom)	Enrichietta / Enrichetta (Caterina Beretta)	<i>she seems to be the equivalent of the "Genio di humanità"</i>
Un Cacciatore di Schiavi	(Slave catchers – Tom Loker/Marks)	Locker / Loher banditore	Loker (slave catcher)
Un Banditore	(Auctioneer)		
Sambo soprastante	Sambo (Legree's overseer)	Sambo soprastante (overseer)	Sambo (Legree's overseer)
Gorden merciaiuolo (sometimes included)	?	Gorden merciaiuolo (merchant)	?
Cristie trafficante di negri	(<i>slave trafficker</i>)	Un Trafficante di Negri	(<i>slave trafficker</i>)
Henry loro di Sab e Dellay	Harry son of Eliza and Tom	Giorgetto loro di Sab (female role)	? Harry (Eliza's child)
Sab marito di Dellay, negro (<i>Ferdinando Pratesi</i>)	?	Sab negro	? George Harris
Amerigo loro di Tom Mary loro di Tom Dellay loro di Tom	Mericky, Pete and Mose ? children of Tom and Chloe Eliza? George's wife	Dellay sua di Sab (wife)	? Eliza (George's wife)
Cloe sua moglie di Tom	Aunt Chloe (Tom's wife)	Cloe madre di Sab	Aunt Cloe wife of Tom
Tom vecchio negro, schiavo	Uncle Tom	Tom	Uncle Tom
Giorgio schiavo, meticcio (<i>Giuseppe Rota, Luigi Danesi, Giuseppe Bini</i>)	(slave of mixed race) George Harris (by name only - the characters are quite different)	**Giorgio (found only in the Treiste production)	**George Harris
Legrey ricco piantatore (<i>Ferdinando Pratesi</i>)	Simon Legree cruel plantation owner in Louisiana	Legrey piantatore (<i>Luigi Danesi</i>)	Simon Legree cruel plantation owner in Louisiana
Tompson console inglese	(<i>no equivalent</i>)		
La Natura allegorie			
Il Genio dell'Humanità allegorie (<i>Catterina Beretta</i>)			

It should be noted that the piano score exhibits a slightly different conception of the overall structure, rather than being identical to one or another scenario, and aligns at various points with both versions of the scenario. (These correlations are identified in the discussion of each scene.) First, in the score the ballet is split into four acts (only three are identified in the table of contents, but examination of the score reveals four), a strategy of organization that never appears in any of the libretti I examined. The second act begins later and ends earlier (by one scene) than the second part or quadro of the scenarios. The third act is comprised of one long scene, “scena quarta” (scene four) in the libretti, and the fourth act is comprised of the final two scenes of the ballet. (Again, see Figure 12 below.) Second, the musical numbers that form the mid-ballet market scene indicate that it was extensive enough to be a self-standing unit, and this unit actually ends the second act—right at the midpoint of the ballet. This is followed by a dramatic climax to begin act III. This seems to be an attempt at making the ballet into a four-part work. The fourth scene is split into two, likely to make the market day group dances the culmination of the second act.

Figure 12 offers a synopsis of the scene sequence in the score and the libretti. Viewed as a succession of scenes, the ballet breaks into two main sections of action, with a large crowd scene of group dances in the middle and allegorical-celebrational scenes as book ends. The curved lines highlight these structural elements. They show a sort of internal symmetry that is hinted at in all the methods of structuring (in both libretti and the piano score) and draw attention to the mid-ballet ballabile as a diversion.

Figure 12: Structure of *Bianchi e negri*



Plot Manipulations

Quadro Secondo / Parte Seconda, Scena Prima, Ricca Cala (Luxurious Room) *Celebratory Scene Interrupted*

In the opening scene, a celebratory party is interrupted. In Version 1 the party is at Thompson's, the English Consul from Washington, while in Version 2 it is a celebration of the name-day of Enrichetta. Both Enrichetta and Thompson are forces for good, opposed to slavery. In the first version Giorgio interrupts the party, fleeing from his master, but is bought and freed by the Consul, only to vow to stay and liberate all the other slaves. (He ends up being the lead protagonist in this version). In Version 2, Sab interrupts the party, begs for protection for his wife who does not want to submit to the

ardent declarations of love by their master. Enrichetta promises that protection. The opening scene in Version 1 is more extensive, as Giorgio, left alone, has a vision where Humanity offers him guidance with a book: “Il Codice della Verità” (Codex of Truth). The need for escape set out in the opening scene is analogous to the opening chapters of Stowe’s book. Where the ballet scenarios vary from Stowe is with the continued role of allegory through Giorgio’s vision in Version 1, and in the master’s “declarations of love” in Version 2 (non-existent in Stowe). Not only does scenario Version 1 depart from Stowe’s novel, it secularizes the plot through the allegory of “Humanity” and the use of the “Codex of Truth” rather than the bible. While Version 1 is still religious, as we will see, the bible plays a more central role in Version 2 (as it does especially with Tom in Stowe’s novel).

How does the piano score line up with the scenarios and with Stowe? It is apparent from the interlinear directions that the music is aligned with Version 1 of the libretto, at least in the opening numbers. The directions in the opening Allegro read: “Uno Schiavo fuggitivo viene a chiedere protezione, egli è inseguito dei padrone; allora preso da compassione il Console Inglese compera lo schiavo lasciandolo però libero.” [“A fugitive slave comes to ask protection, he is being pursued by his master; then, taken with compassion, the English Consul buys the slave leaving him, however, free (setting him free).”]

Scena Seconda: Capanna (Cabin), the Master's Declarations of Love and Further Reason to Flee

The differences between the two versions are subtly marked in the second scene, but both pursue a plotline that is more typical of Italian ballet than of Stowe's novel at this early stage: the pursuit of a helpless female by a male authority figure. The scene takes place in a cabin on Legrey's plantation. Our newly freed Giorgio of Version 1 sets out to instruct and emancipate all of the slaves on Legrey's massive plantation (this is what Tom—the true protagonist of Stowe's novel—wants to do late in the book). Then the slave woman, Dellay, makes her entrance, fleeing the advances of Legrey, the plantation owner. (This conflates Dellay with a later character, Cassy, from the book.) (In Version 2, Dellay is also pursued by Legrey.) Throughout this scene Legrey attempts to isolate Dellay: "...a fine d'isolare Dellay dalla famiglia, onde più facilmente piegarla alle sue voglie" [... with the goal of isolating Dellay from [her] family, so that [he can] more easily bend her to his will]. Later he remains only with the "pretty slave," and renews his "impassioned declarations of love," which she refuses with dignified repulsion, guided by the principles of honesty and love for her husband:

...Legrey, che rimasto solo colla bella schiava rinnova ad essa le sue proteste d'amore, ma Dellay che adora il marito, ed è memore dei principii d'onestà, ai quali fu educata dal Padre, non risponde che dignitose ripulse.

In the piano score the action is nearly identical:

Il padrone viene a vedere gli schiavi ed ordina agli uomini di sortire volendo parlare con la bella creola cioè la moglie di Giorgio

Rimasto solo con lei di cui è invaghite le dichiara il suo ardente amore, ma non volgono preghiere e minacce a smuovere la virtù della schiava.

The master comes to see the slaves and orders all the men to leave, wanting to talk with the beautiful Creole woman, that is, the wife of Giorgio.

Having been left alone with her, [the woman] with whom he is enamored, he declares to her his ardent love, but his begging and threats are not effective in moving [compromising] the virtue of the slave.

This scene shows quite well how the complex narrative and number of characters in Stowe's novel are condensed for the ballet, though differently for each version. The primary difference between the two is the protagonist who acts to protect Dellay and her husband Sab: the good Angelina, Legrey's wife, in Version 1, versus Enrichetta, a good Christian (and presumably white) woman in Version 2.⁴⁶² Thus, in Version 1, Stowe's Mrs. Shelby, the good wife of Mr. Shelby transformed into the good wife of Legrey, a much more evil plantation owner than Mr. Shelby. This conflation works to condense the plot retaining the most dramatic forces of good and evil that are present in Stowe's novel, and accentuating the injustice by adding Legrey's sexual advances on Dellay. Furthermore, while Stowe's Simon Legree is already portrayed as evil, there is need for an overarchingly good character that is more proactive than Stowe's Uncle Tom, who is more of a martyr. Thus enters Giorgio / Sab as the male lead who dramatically breaks the bonds of slavery in the ballet (vividly described in the libretti). This conflation is necessary because Stowe's characters are so complex that they must be boiled down into

⁴⁶² In one libretto source Enrichetta is conflated with the allegorical figure 'Humanity', while in Bologna's production entitled *La Capanna di Tom* Angelina is the personification of the same figure. It is possible that the name Enrichetta is derived from the Italian version of Harriet, thus this figure could be linked to the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

singular, stock characters in order to avoid confusion. This also allows the story to conform to the narrative forms common to Italian ballets.⁴⁶³

Much license was taken in Italian libretti, which were migrations from all sorts of literary works and subjects. In the first part of the century libretti even took on an archetypal form, according to Claudia Celi, regardless of setting, time, mood: "A loves and is loved by B – C obstructs A in his/her project of love, having in mind for A an alternate destiny – D longs for A or aspires to A's possession, but nothing corresponds/works out [for D]." Celi provides many examples.⁴⁶⁴ Legrey is a combination of C and D both. He tries to tear Dellay from her husband as well as possess her, and he certainly has alternate plans for her. While Stowe's George Harris and Eliza (his wife) and their son correspond to the ballet's Sab, Dellay and Henry, there is no explicit "love interest" between the master and Eliza in the novel. In fact the only "love interest" (read: pursuit of sex by an authority figure against the will of the woman under his command) in Stowe's novel are quite different than in the ballets. This, then, is purely a narrative addition that renders the ballet in keeping with Italian ballet plot archetypes. Thus, by the end of scene two, an evil master has decided to separate the family, a force of good has promised them protection, and the injustice and necessity to flee have been clearly outlined.

⁴⁶³ This ballet is one of the examples cited in Selma Jeanne Cohen's study on plot archetypes in Italian ballet libretti from 1766-1865 in the New York Public Library. Cohen found Italian ballet plots to be overwhelmingly homogenous with specific sub-genres / archetypes. This plot archetype is that of the triumph of virtue over adversity. See: Cohen, "Virtue (almost) Triumphant," 297-301, especially page 299.

⁴⁶⁴ Celi, "L'epoca del coreodramma (1800-1830)," 91.

Scena Terza: Piantagione (Plantation) the Escape, Confusion, and Hunt

In Version 1, the plans for escape are only consolidated and enacted throughout the complex action in this scene, while in Version 2 the escape has already taken place two-fold (first Sab, then his wife and son) and a hunt begins.

Version 1: Legrey is angered by finding Sab's "book of instruction" and continues to pursue his plan of isolating Dellay from her family. He makes a deal with Christie, the slave trafficker, to sell Tom. Sab tries to prevent Legrey's sexual advances and Giorgio refuses Legrey's order to beat Sab and is banished from the plantation. Angelina tries to mend the situation and Giorgio recognizes the "Genio di Humanità" in her smile. Dellay discovers the plan to split up her beloved family and informs all present. Sab proposes escape, which is accepted by all except Tom. The scene ends with Legrey discovering the escaped slaves.

Version 2: In this version, the scene opens with the slaves enjoying a brief moment of joy with the good Enrichetta when they are interrupted by the brutal overseer who forces them to withdraw to their huts. Sab has already escaped and Legrey orders a hunt. In the confusion Dellay also escapes with her son.

Scena Quarta: Mercato (Market): a) Crowd Scene at Market – Group Dances; b) Slaves in Hiding, Ransom Note, Betrayal, Revenge

The fourth scene, which occurs mid-ballet, splits into two parts. It begins with the all-important crowd scene (a), which is really a diversion from the action. This is not apparent in the libretti but is evidenced in the score by three self-contained numbers (interlinear directions and sudden mimetic shifts in the music are noticeably absent here).

This section of music is unified by an ABA' format and stands alone within the larger scene (for detailed discussion of the music see the section on "The music" below):

- (A) No. 6: Scena mimica, Atto II, "Gran mercato in una delle principali città d'America" Allegro moderato (Grand market in one of the principal cities of America) score pp. 29-30
- (B) No. 7: Ballabile: Allegretto moderato assai, score pp. 31-36
- (A') No. 8: Scena mimica "Il mercato ha fine poichè si fa notte" (The market has finished as night falls) score p. 37

The two versions then generally realign, together with the piano score, in the moment where the shopkeeper, who has been hiding the fugitives, betrays the slaves for a ransom. But, vengeance is had when he is then shot by Sab / Giorgio and falls with the ill-earned ransom in his hands (or throws it at his feet):

Version 1:

In the fray Giorgio flees with the rest of the family. The merchant leaps after their steps but Sab unloads a shot from his pistol, and [the merchant] dies clutching in his hands the price of betrayal.

Nella mischia Giorgio fugge col resto della famiglia. Il Mercijuolo si slancia sui loro passi, ma un colpo di pistola scaricatogli da Sab lo atterra, e spira stringendo nelle mani il prezzo del tradimento.

Version 2:

Sab is forced to surrender to his attackers, only after, however, he is vindicated by mortally wounding the traitor as a rebuke for his infamy, and he comes to know that the justice of heaven has touched him: taking then the money purse that he [the merchant] had earned for that betrayal, he [Sab] throws it at his [the traitor's] feet, and abandons him.

...Sab è costretto di arrendersi ai suoi assalitori, dopo però di essersi vendicato col ferire mortalmente il traditore che rimproverla la sua infamia, e gli fa conoscere che la giustizia del cielo lo ha colpito: prendendo poi la borsa dei danari ch'egli aveva guadagnato per tale tradimento la getta a' suoi piedi, e lo abbandona.

Piano score:

Having received the price of his infamy, the auctioneer with some followers enters the house to arrest the slaves, [but] Giorgio knows all in the drawing,

and, although a prisoner, he manages to take a pistol and shoot the traitor, who falls dead into the gold that he had earned so vilely.

Ricevuto il prezzo della sua infamia il banditore con alcuni seguaci entra nella casa ad arrestare gli schiavi, Giorgio nel sortire conosce tutto, e benchè prigioniero trova il destro di tirare un colpo di pistola sul traditore che spira in sull'oro che si vilmente ha guadagnato.

Note that the piano score names Giorgio as the gunman, while the two versions of the libretto concur that it was Sab. This discrepancy suggests lapse of time between the creation of the piano score and the production in general, and shows again that the piano score is relatively self-standing, rather than tied to a specific libretto or production.

Scena Quinta: Magazzino (Warehouse)

In the penultimate scene of the ballet that follows, Sab is thrown into a slave warehouse. In the first version of the libretto, Giorgio attempts to rescue him and rekindle his faith in God. Sab believes again when he hears that his family has indeed escaped and he then has a divine vision:

Giorgio exhorts him to turn confidently towards Heaven, and a divine ray darts into Sab's soul while a moving melody descends in his heart. Music, Poetry and Dance inspire him to the knowledge of beauty, and unite in harmony to refine him; in that solemn moment of rapture, the sleeping companions awaken and all together they raise up prayers of thanksgiving to Heaven ...

Giorgio lo esorta a volgersi confidente al Cielo; e un raggio divino guizza nell' animo di Sab, mentre una commovente melodia scende nel suo cuore. – La Musica, la Poesia e la Danza lo ispirano alla conoscenza del bello, e si uniscono concordi ad ingentilirlo; in quel momento solenne di rapimento sveglia i compagni addormentati, e tutti uniti alzano al Cielo preghiera di ringraziamento ...

In Version 2, it is Enrichetta who is Sab's savior and the bible is the direct medium through which his faith is regained. Then he experiences a rapture, in this version accompanied by an actual song:

A moving melody softens his heart. Music, poetry and dance unite in order to shake and stir him all the more and to give him energy. A voice that sings is heard:

Oh wash away the tears
In the name of the Lord
It is the only law of love
Law of Freedom

Arise: shattered ones, here is the bond
May you be brothers in God
And the devout and clement heavens
Will liberate you.

Una melodia commovente raddolcisce il suo cuore. La musica, la poesia e la danza per vieppiù scuoterlo e dargli energia si uniscono. Odesi una voce che canta:

Oh si tergete il pianto
In nome del Signore
È legge sol d'amore
Legge di liberta

Sorgete: è il nodo infranti,
Siate fratelli in Dio
E il ciel clemente e pio
Redenti vi farà

This is notable because an American song with phrases such as “dry the tears,” “tears are wiped,” appears in an 1853 “Pictures and Stories” edition of Stowe's book.⁴⁶⁵ Is it

⁴⁶⁵ A digital reproduction of the music and words by Manuel Emilio and John B. Whittier is available from the University of Virginia E-texts: Harriet Beecher Stowe and University of Virginia, *Uncle Tom's Cabin or Life among the Lowly*, Charlottesville: Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library, (accessed December 2008); Available from

possible this richly illustrated version of Uncle Tom's Cabin had influence over the ballet? Perhaps even, the instant theatrical adaptation of the novel in America, complete with music, had an influence?

What follows in both versions is that Legrey interrupts the scene, ordering that Sab go with him. Sab refuses and overcomes his bonds. A signal is given. In Version 1 Sab continues by explaining the book of truth to the others, while in Version 2 Enrichetta is present and all gather around her. The scene then transforms into the final allegory.

Version 1:

Sab refuses to follow this supposed master, and seeing himself threatened, tears the whip [from his hands] and breaks it; the signal is given. Sab explains the Book of Truth, around which all draw close with a pact of faith and obedience, the place is transformed into a representation of an Allegorical Scene:... [next scene]

Sab rifiuta di seguire questo preteso padrone, e vedendosi minacciato, gli strappa lo scudiscio e lo spezza; il segnale è dato. Sab spiega il Libro della Verità, intorno al quale tutti si stringono con un patto di fede e di obbedienza; il luogo si trasmuta in una Scena Allegorica rappresentate:... [next scene]

Version 2:

He refuses these [demands] and seeing himself threatened, he tears the whip [from his hands] and breaks it. Legrey fights in vain against this man and succumbs. The signal is given. The prediction of Enrichetta is about to be carried out; all of the slaves gather around her so that they exalt with much enthusiasm, while she disappears in the middle to the wonderment of all. - The scene is covered in fog.

Questi rifiuta e vedendosi minacciato gli strappa di mano lo scudiscio e lo spezza[.] Legrey lotta invano contro quell'uomo e soccombe. Il segnale è dato. La predizione di Enrichetta sta per effettuarsi; tutti gli schiavi si riuniscono intorno a lei, che esaltano con molto entusiasmo, mentre essa sparisce in mezzo alla meraviglia comune, - La scena si cuopre nubi.

The differences between these two climactic scenes reinforce the main differences between the two versions—the presence in Version 2 of Enrichetta as the force for good, while variously Giorgio, Angelina, and even Sab play a part in the destined liberation of slaves in the first version.

The Final Scene: Allegorical Conclusion and Celebration

In Version 1 this scene is commonly labeled “Quadro terzo / scena unica / Il Tempio della Verità.” In Version 2, it is “Scena ultima / Il Tempio del Progresso – Quadro allegorico.” The Temple of Truth is exchanged for the Temple of Progress. Otherwise the conclusion is in keeping with the main thrust of the plot.

Version 1:

The two races, for so many centuries divided, are brought together in a fraternal way by the Genius of Humanity.⁴⁶⁶

Le due razze, da tanti secoli divise, vengono strette in modo fraterno dal Genio dell’Umanità.

Version 2:

The fog thins out, and one sees Sab, his family and all of the blacks who, having put down their chains in front of Enrichetta, all free, all equal, take part in the festivity and merry dances. The end.

Diradasi la nube, si scorgono Sab, la sua famiglia e tutti i Negri che deposte le loro catene dinanzi ad Enrichetta, tutti liberi, tutti eguali, prendono parte alla festa ed a liete danze. Fine.

The piano score offers yet another variant in its interlinear directions: “Il tempio del progresso, colle belle Arti in figure alegoriche, Bianchi e Negri d’ogni sesso intrecciano

⁴⁶⁶ In the libretto from the Milan production (1863) this is followed by an illustration of trees and a wall with the inscription ‘FIN’ and a waterfall going over it.

una danza.” [The temple of progress with the fine Arts represented in allegorical figures, Whites and Blacks of every gender interweave in a dance.] This demonstrates yet again the malleable nature of the story and the relative autonomy of the piano score as its own particular product, not specifically reliant on one version of the ballet’s libretto, but rather, an additional sibling in the family of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* theatrical productions and their artifacts.

The Music: Overview of the Score

While the interlinear directions of the piano score match slightly better with libretto Version 1, it is also apparent by the organization of the piano score that it is, in structure and content, varied from both libretti. The distribution of acts, for example, does not match the common distribution in the libretti. Indeed, there are places where it is difficult to line up the piano score with any libretto with exactness. Finally, while it is still unclear what amount of the music for the original production ended up in piano scores (if not all of it), this score represents a complete version of the ballet from start to finish, which the consumer may have purchased piece by piece or as a whole.

The thirteen numbers of the score (shown in Table 19 below) break down into many smaller units, with frequent double bars, many interlinear stage directions, and numerous changes in tempo, meter, key, texture and affect. Nine of these numbers bear the title “scena mimica” and most are followed by a descriptive title that is not part of the interlinear directions (see left column of table). The ballet concludes with the necessary Gallop that ended a majority of Italian ballets from the period. This score is heavily annotated (compared to other ballet-piano scores). Note that there are only two sections

of music that stand out as prolonged dance sequences without interlinear directions popping up along with the musical changes: the “Introduzione and Walzer” in No. 2 (which is the grand ball at the house of the English Consul) and Nos. 6-8, (the market day sequence with the Ballabile). English translations are given in the musical discussion that follows the table. Within the table, elements from each column line up horizontally so that one can read left to right: the tempo, followed by the interlinear directions, followed by the number of pages. The correlations with the published scenarios in terms of quadro and scena are listed in the middle column and underlined.

Table 19: *Bianchi e negri* Distribution of Dance Numbers and Interlinear Directions in the Piano Score

Number, title, <i>tempo</i> markings	<u>General alignment with libretti in terms of quadri / scena interlinear directions (in quotations), Note: translations given in text, below</u>	Author, pages
No. 1, (Atto I) Il Caos, Preludio e Introduzione <i>Andante – Allegro</i> <i>Andante Sostenuto</i> <i>Cantabile</i>	<u>Quadro primo</u> “Gli elementi si dividono” “Sorgendo dall Terra due piccoli fanciulli uno bianco e l’altro nero, il bianco per un frutto atterra il nero e lo sottopone all sua servitù; dopo simile allegoria torna l’oscurità ed ha principio il ballo”	Giorza 2-3 4-5
No. 2 Introduzione e Walzer, Gran Festa da Ballo in Casa del Console Inglese <i>Allegro</i> WALZER-CODA No. 3 Scena Mimica, Lo Schiavo Fugitivo <i>Allegro-Meno mosso-Più Mosso</i>	<u>Quadro/Parte secondo/a. Scena prima</u> “Uno Schiavo fuggitivo viene a chiedere protezione, egli è inseguito dei padrone; allora preso da compassione il Console Inglese compera lo schiavo lasciandolo però libero.” “Lo schiavo redento si propone tentare la liberazione de tutti gli schiavi”	Giorza 6 7-14 Giorza 15 16-17

Table 20 continued

<p>No. 4 (Atto II) Scena mimica, La Capanna di Giorgio <i>Allegro agitato</i> <i>Andante</i></p> <p><i>Più mosso</i></p> <p><i>Allegro</i> <i>Andante sostenuto</i></p>	<p><u>Scena seconda</u></p> <p>“Gli schiavi Giorgio con sua moglie e lo Zio Tom entrano ritornando dai lavori; essi studioano qualche libro gelosamente custodito per proibizione dei loro padrone.”</p> <p>“Il padrone viene a vedere gli schiavi ed ordina agli uomini di sortire volendo parlare con la bella creola cioè la moglie di Giorgio”</p> <p>“Rimasto solo con lei di cui è invaghite le dichiara il suo ardente amore, ma non volgono preghiere e minacce a smuovere la virtù della schiava.”</p>	<p>Marliani</p> <p>18 18-19</p> <p>20</p> <p>20 21-22</p>
<p>No. 5 Scena mimica, tra Giorgio e Sua Moglie <i>Allegro</i></p> <p><i>Lento—Allegro—Meno</i> <i>Allegro</i></p>	<p><u>Scena Terza</u></p> <p>“Partito il padrone deluso, Giorgio entrando trova la moglie che piangendo tutto gli racconta”</p> <p>“Indignato all’estremo Giorgio propone di fuggire lui, la moglie, il bambino e Tom, quest ultimo si oppone e resta”</p> <p>“La fuga però è scoperta e si fa correre sulla tracie dei fuggitivi” (switch to <i>Allegro</i>) “trombe d’avviso”</p>	<p>Domenicetti</p> <p>23</p> <p>24</p> <p>24-25-26 27 27-28</p>
<p>No. 6 (Atto II): Scena mimica <i>Allegro Moderato</i></p> <p>No. 7: Ballabile <i>Allegretto moderato assai</i></p> <p>No. 8: Scena mimica <i>Allegretto</i></p> <p>No. 9 (Atto III): Scena mimica, Gli Schiavi Fuggitivi <i>Allegro Agitato</i> <i>Allegro maestoso</i></p> <p><i>Andante</i></p> <p><i>Moderato quasi Allegro</i></p> <p><i>Mosso-Agitato</i></p> <p><i>Meno</i></p>	<p><u>Scena quarta</u></p> <p>“Gran mercato in una delle principali città d’America”</p> <p>“Il mercato ha fine poichè si fa notte”</p> <p>“Gli schiavi fuggitivi vengono a cercar ricovero ad un venditore d’acquavite, loro amico ch ebbe salve la vita da Giorgio.” ... “Corni degli inseguitori”</p> <p>“Un banditore affissa una mancia di 600 dollari a chi consegnasse tre schiavi fuggitivi della possession Legrey.”</p> <p>“Il venditore d’acquavite ha nascosto i fuggiaschi, e sortendo sulla piazza domanda cosa sia quel’avviso non sapendo leggere, lo stesso banditore glielo spiega, allora in lui nasce l’avidità dell’oro e non pensando più al salvatore di sua vita si fa delatore.”</p> <p>“Ricevuto il prezzo della sua infamia il banditore con alcuni seguaci entra nella casa ad arrestare gli schiavi, Giorgio nel sortire conosce tutto, e benchè prigioniero trova il destro di tirare un colpo di pistola sul traditore che spira in sull’oro che si vilmente ha guadagnato.”</p>	<p>Giorza</p> <p>29-30 Giorza 31-36</p> <p>Giorza 37 Giorza</p> <p>38-39 40-41</p> <p>41-42</p> <p>43-44</p> <p>44-45</p> <p>45-46</p>

Table 20 continued

No. 10 (Atto IV): Scena Mimica <i>Allegro</i>	<u>Scena quinta</u> “Gran fabbricato ove stanno le mercanzie ed ove dormono gli schiavi. Quivi è tratto Giorgio ricaduto ancora sotto il deposta suo padrone.”.... “Tutti s’addormentano”	Giorza 47-48
<i>Andante espressivo – come un lamento</i>	“Giorgio solo veglia pensando alla maniera di liberare lui è tutti is suoi compagni di sventura. Però anch’esso s’addormenta e ha una visione.”	48 49
<i>Moderato—Lento</i> No 11: Scena mimica, Danzante-Allegorica, <i>Larghetto</i>	“Giorgio sogna di trovarsi libero frai suoi cari, mentre stà ai piedi della Simbolica figura <i>La Religione</i> che gli addita un libro nel quale sta scritto esser tutti uomini uguali.”	50 Giorza 51-54
No 12. Scena mimica- allegorica, La fuga degli schiavi <i>Allegro</i>		Giorza 55-59
No. 13 Galopp <i>Presto—Galopp—Coda</i>	<u>Quadro terzo: scena unica / Scena ultima</u> “Il tempio del progresso, colle belle Arti in figure alegoriche, Bianchi e Negri d’ogni sesso intrecciano una danza.”	Olivieri 60-63

Opening Music

The opening of this ballet, “Il Caos, Preludio e Introduzione,” sets a serious tone with a gloomy contrapuntal elaboration in C minor in a stately duple meter. Following a big dominant preparation on diminished tremolos, the Allegro breaks forth in swirling figures, tremolos in both hands, and chromatic lines that simulate the “dividing elements” of this allegorical scene. Snippets of melody poke out from this texture as:

Rising from Earth are two small children one white and the other black. In contest over a fruit the white child knocks down the black one [and] subjects him to his servitude; after such an allegory the darkness returns and the dance (ballet) begins.

As already mentioned, the grand ball in the house of the English consul features some of the most typical dance music to be found in the nineteenth century: a grand waltz. This is a multisectional waltz, featuring a move to the VI in the middle and “textural” and

inflected contrasts (it cycles through related flat keys). A schematic breakdown is possible for this number: **ABA'** || **C** || **DE** || **FG** – **coda** (the coda is similar to A). There are internal repeats in the D and G sections, further extending this scene. It is highly danceable, with regular phrases, a cheerful waltzing “boom-chuck-chuck” left-hand accompaniment, highly effective syncopation in the right hand and time for entrances and exits. There are no interlinear directions.

The scene is not difficult to imagine as it was a staged rendition of what was a normal occurrence for nineteenth-century audiences who attended balls and danced waltzes. Thus, while there is no interrupted ball in Stowe’s novel, this type of scene was commonplace for the Italian stage.

Interrupted Ball

The following mimed scene (No. 3) begins with the directions, “A fleeing slave comes to ask protection, he is pursued by his master, now taken with compassion, the English Consul buys the slave, but leaves (sets) him free.” The abrupt shift in the action is illustrated by the move from E-flat cadence of the waltz to trumpeting octaves on A—a jarring tritone away. For several measures there is a big build-up on A as the dominant, which gathers tension and is continued in a second, small lyrical section that leads finally to its the D major goal. The opening tremolos and scalar melody bring in the scene—against this musical backdrop it is easy to imagine a dancer running into the midst of the celebration and the music illustrates that this dancer is being chased. Next, the pleading melody marked “con espressione” with a tempo “meno mosso” illustrates the pleading of

the fleeing slave. This quickly strays chromatically into an ascending progression that well illustrates the revelation of being freed before the score settles, finally, into a joyful A-major dance for several measures. This is only darkened by chromatic inflection and further trumpeting octaves as the slave (Giorgio) resolves to stay and liberate all of the slaves (“The liberated slave proposes to liberate all the slaves”). This firm resolve is illustrated by the repeated V-I alternation at the cadence point.

This first mimed scene exemplifies the type of music that is most unique to the ballet genre: mime music. The six or so passages in this scene may be described as follows:

1. introductory – tense, hurried, chase music (mm.1-9)
2. more stable but still unresolved (dominant pedal), pleading, *con espressione*, *meno mosso* (mm.10-16)
3. *più mosso*, transitional, developmental, rising cycles through many harmonies, hopeful, preparatory for some happy outcome (mm. 17-24)
4. *a tempo*, optimistic and stable melody, though with a distinct lack of root position and affirmation of key, and closing with a dark tinge (phrygian melodic inflection) and abrupt harmony shifts (mm. 25-36ish)
4. trumpeting octaves (m. 37) in a distant harmonic territory mark a shift, then a strong melody with undulating accompaniment (mm. 38-43)
5. closing material, strong, confirming the key and the resolve, repeated V-I alternation for emphasis (mm. 44-54)

Note how swiftly changes occur in the music outlined above. All of these changes were sure indicators of shifts in the action. Much as realistic daily action proceeds at a quick pace, the music, helping bridge the gap between gestural and spoken communication, keeps pace.

Studying the Illegal Book and an Unsavory Love Declaration

No. 4, a new mimed scene, contrasts musically with the previous as ideas are followed and developed for longer periods. In fact the structure of this scene could be seen as two large parts. It takes place in Uncle Tom's Cabin as "The slaves, Giorgio with his wife, and Uncle Tom enter returning from work; they study a few books that were jealously protected because of the prohibition of their master." This is the first part. Following an introduction of agitated grace notes and scales the dancers settle down to an Andante in waltz time with a gentle melody and emphatic chromatic notes over pulsing chordal bass. As this prolonged section draws to a close, it shifts into duple to prepare for the rude interruption of peace and the transition to the second part: "The master comes to see the slaves and orders the men to leave, wanting to talk with the beautiful Creole, that is, Giorgio's wife." This could not be more clearly illustrated, with tremolos and pounding octaves, harsh diminished harmonies and alarming pedal tones that pierce the texture. As "the beautiful Creole" is left alone with the slave master the tempo shifts again to Andante sostenuto in 12/8 and the single melodic line fades to quiet.

The second part clearly begins as "Having been left alone with her, [the woman] with whom he is enamored, he declares to her his ardent love, but his begging and threats are not effective in moving the virtue of the slave." As shown in Example 55 below,⁴⁶⁷ a haunting melody over the chordal accompaniment is developed much like an aria, but with twinges of alarm due to the chromatic inflections (repeated flat 6th's) in the melody.

⁴⁶⁷ Paolo Giorza, Giuseppe Rota, Marco Aurelio Marliani, Cesare Dominiceti, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Niccola Olivieri, *Bianchi e negri: azione coreografica [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), (Milano: Francesco Lucca, 1857), 20-22. (HTC) All subsequent examples in this chapter are transcribed from this source.

It grows more and more emphatic to conclude with soft tremolos. Taken out of context the piece would serve as a nice short nocturne or song on the piano. Yet, we know from the libretto that this is not truly a pleasant situation. The music here, which is beautiful and well-constructed, is seduction music and offers the male authority figure's point of view: he, after all, loves her ardently. It is haunting and ironic, as we imagine this scene in which the female slave repeatedly refuses the slave master's advances, which are accompanied by a soft and loving adagio. This music fits the "love" archetype described with numerous examples in Chapter V.

Example 55: *Bianchi e negri* Andante sostenuto section of No. 4

Andante sostenuto

Rimasto solo con lei di cui è invaghite le dichiara il suo ardente amore, ma non volgono preghiere e minacce a smuovere la virtù della schiava

8

Musical notation for measures 8 and 9. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth-note chords.

10

Musical notation for measures 10 and 11. The right hand continues the melodic development with slurs and ties, and the left hand maintains the accompaniment pattern.

12

Musical notation for measures 12 and 13. The right hand shows a more active melodic line with frequent sixteenth notes, and the left hand accompaniment becomes more complex with some triplets.

14

Musical notation for measures 14 and 15. Measure 14 features a dense texture with many sixteenth notes in both hands. Measure 15 shows a shift in the right hand's melody.

16

Musical notation for measures 16 and 17. The right hand has a long, flowing melodic phrase with a slur, while the left hand accompaniment remains steady.

18

Musical notation for measures 18 and 19. The right hand continues with a melodic line, and the left hand accompaniment concludes the passage.

20

Musical score for measures 20-21. The piece is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. Measure 20 features a complex texture with sixteenth-note runs in the right hand and chords in the left. Measure 21 continues with similar textures, including a descending sixteenth-note line in the right hand.

22

calando

Musical score for measures 22-23. Measure 22 begins with a *calando* marking. The right hand has a melodic line with slurs, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment. Measure 23 continues the melodic development in the right hand.

23

Musical score for measures 24-25. Measure 24 features a descending sixteenth-note line in the right hand, marked with a '7' (finger number). The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 25 continues the descending line in the right hand.

24

Musical score for measures 26-27. Measure 26 features a descending sixteenth-note line in the right hand, marked with a '7'. The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 27 continues the descending line in the right hand.

26

Musical score for measures 28-29. Measure 28 features a descending sixteenth-note line in the right hand, marked with a '7'. The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 29 continues the descending line in the right hand.

28

Musical score for measures 30-31. Measure 30 features a descending sixteenth-note line in the right hand, marked with a '7'. The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment. Measure 31 continues the descending line in the right hand.

This music, while strongly mimetic, is less associated with the string of various actions and is more illustrative of emotion. The two parts of the number contain extended passages of music where the characters could easily dance, not just mime. In fact, the aria-like music in the second part, as already discussed, brings up strong imagery of a *passe deux*, which could have been staged in this scene and mixed in with the mime. This music is a mixture, a hybrid between music for pure dancing (the ball music of No. 2) and music for pure mime (the interruption of the ball of No. 3).

The next scene, encapsulated in musical No. 5, takes us through a great many musical changes. As in No. 3, these are less predictable, occurring at odd intervals. The overall push of the drama is of conflict. First, “The disappointed master having departed, Giorgio entering, finds his wife who, crying, recounts all to him.”⁴⁶⁸ An F-major fanfare opens the scene, followed by pulsing chords and chromatic rumblings that soon settle into an emphatic B-flat major theme with a gentle arpeggiated bass. At the close of this we read, “Indignant to the extreme, Giorgio proposes to escape with his wife and child and Tom, who opposes this and stays.” This leads into a halting Lento, a heart-wrenching aria in G minor akin to something found in late Beethoven or Schubert.⁴⁶⁹ This soon leads into a prolonged stormy Allegro. This is agitated, with frequent *fortissimo* markings and tremolos, simmering down after eighteen measures with a section marked “Meno.” The G-minor mood prevails. Here, the music soon stops, mid-sentence, followed by a short

⁴⁶⁸ This is yet another indication of Giorgio, rather than Sab, as Dellay’s husband, a major difference between the score and a majority of extant libretti.

⁴⁶⁹ The sorrowful arias in Beethoven’s piano sonata, opus 110, or the middle movements of the last Schubert sonatas, D. 959 and 960 have pianistic textures, harmonic progressions, the broken sobbing melodies, and general pathos that are quite similar.

recitative partitioned off by fermatas. This is certainly indicative of some important stage action—possibly the woeful goodbyes before the slaves flee?

There is never a finish to this stormy G minor as we shift into eight measures of tinkling pianissimo in G major for the following: “The escape however is discovered and they [the slave catchers] are made to pursue the footsteps of the fugitives.” A new Allegro section in 6/8 contains the direction “trombe d’avviso” as “warning trumpets” blare over unsettling tremolos which erupt into a galloping chase in E-minor. The 6/8 meter gives this a hurried lilt with anxiously pulsing chords that eventually simmer and fade to an E-minor cadence. The drama of this unhappy scene ends with a bleak atmosphere. See Example 56 below.

Example 56: *Bianchi e negri*, excerpt from No. 5, Meno—Allegro

Meno

The musical score consists of three systems of piano accompaniment. The first system is marked 'Meno' and shows the initial measures. The second system starts at measure 4 and continues the piece. The third system starts at measure 8 and includes dynamic markings 'cres.' and 'ff'. The score is written in G minor and 6/8 time.

11

14

p *lento* *mf* *a Tempo*

18

cres. *sf*

22

calando

24

p

27

La fuga però è scoperta e si fa correre sulle tracce dei fuggitivi.

32

trombe d'avviso
ALLEGRO

36

p *cres.*

43

47

Grand Market

Numbers 6-8 form an ABA' unit during which we have an extended section of specifically dance-like music (No. 7). This is prefaced and closed by mimed scenes, that serve to open and close the market, marked respectively annotated, "Grand market in one of the principal cities of America" and "The market ends as night falls." These bookends

consist of a cheerful and moderately paced march in B-flat with many trills and ornamental triplets pervading the texture.

The music for the Ballabile, No. 7, has its own introduction and internal repeats. The regularity and flow of the phrases, especially in terms of rhythm, calls to mind groups of dancers performing unison footwork, with each textural change highlighting a new group. Key changes, relative to the overarching E-flat major, also provide new interest. Triplet flourishes and chords begin a march that moves the dancing forward with cheerful feel. It is nearly patriotic sounding with a stately accompaniment, a move to the high registers of the piano for the melody, and a pompous chordal final cadence. (No. 8 then brings back the music from No. 6 to close down the market).

Escaped Slaves in Hiding

No. 9, a mimed scene, is entitled “The escaped slaves” and reads: “The escaped slaves go to search for shelter from a brandy vendor, their friend whose life Giorgio had once saved.” Solemn E-flat major chords sustain at the opening followed by quiet syncopated interplay between the registers (left hand and right hand in the piano reduction). After many measures of this steady chugging, a chorale leads into “Horns of the search party,” a quick G-major fanfare. The two continue in alternation and combination, likely indicating alternating groups of dancers.

A new Allegro maestoso section in C major, marked *fortissimmo*, introduces a change in activity when, “An auctioneer affixes a ransom of 600 dollars [to be awarded] to [he] who finds the three escaped slaves in the possession of Legrey.” This bouncy but

awkward music seems like filler until the strange gestures punctuated by silence that appear beginning in measure 13 of the section, which may be related to more specific libretto actions that are not included in the interlinear directions. This is one of the few locations in the piano score that seems to lack description. Libretto Version 1 contains this information:

Some black people sell Gordon items at triple the value furnished by their masters for a little “acquavita” (brandy). Giorgio, knowing of the escape of Tom’s family, is on their trail. He asks the shopkeeper (Gordon) about it again. The mysterious behavior of that man awakens some suspicion in Sab. Before long it is dawn, and the square is filled with travelers and merchants (dealers) that make the slaves for auction dance as if to mock them.

The halting gestures could be the exchanges and the dancing could explain the un-labeled and self-contained Andante waltz that intercedes before the next direction: “The brandy vendor hid[es] the fugitives, and [then], going out to the public square, asks what the warning is about (not knowing how to read). The auctioneer himself explains it to him, and so, a lust for gold is born within him. No longer thinking of the person who saved his life [Giorgio], he becomes an informer [traitor].” A C-major theme with a sustained melody is his initial music. It is unsettled, not cadencing definitively and meandering harmonically for many measures before it repeats in variation. This unsettled feel reflects the conflict within Gordon and leads, through a short closing and transition, to a provocative Agitato in G minor that erupts into descending octave unisons that certainly bespeak the doom of this Gordon and the betrayed slaves. (The piano reduction is particularly exciting here, as both hands contain octave lines in counterpoint, again with

the feel of Beethoven and Schubert at the intense moments of their sonata developments.) This G-minor turmoil winds its way to a dramatic close.

Throughout the ballet it is easy to imagine the orchestration (though no orchestral score has surfaced at present): low strings for the swirling scales in the left hand at the close, violins on the passionate betrayal theme, full orchestra with trombones on the descending octaves of doom. This music has to be full and intense, as it accompanies one of the most climactic moments in the action: “Having received the price of his infamy, the auctioneer with some followers enters the house to arrest the slaves, [but] Giorgio [fatefully] knows all, and, although a prisoner, he manages to take a pistol and shoot the traitor, who falls dead into the gold that he had earned so vilely.”⁴⁷⁰ The music is perfectly suited to all of this, not simply filling in the background, but neither illustrating every single move. It heightens the drama so that the audience feels as the characters do. This, rather than a mixture of mime and dance music, is a mixture of mime and mood music. At times there are specific correlations, but at other times, the action on stage is clear enough that it does not require the aid of specific music. The general doom-and-gloom music fits perfectly.

Epiphany in the Warehouse

The penultimate mimed scene, musical No. 10, takes place in a “Large warehouse where there is merchandise and where the slaves sleep. Here we see Giorgio fallen back

⁴⁷⁰ This interlinear direction varies from the libretto Version 1, in which Giorgio has followed the escapees, knows that they are betrayed, but Sab shoots the traitor, who falls dead dramatically clutching at his prize, while Giorgio wisks away the others and Sab is captured.

under the ownership of his master.” The new texture is quite distinct with a chugging treble chordal accompaniment and a forceful bass melody as the opening theme, played in alteration with right-hand commentary. This soon quiets into a held diminished chord with low flourishes and a measure of silence marked “VUOTA” (empty) as “Everyone falls asleep” to a transition of peaceful closing music.

“Giorgio alone is awake thinking about how to liberate himself and all of his companions from misfortune. But he also falls asleep and has a vision.” A lamenting A-minor aria-like piece marked *Andante espressivo*, “con duolo” (in the treble) and “come un lamento” (in the bass), accompanies this vision. The mood improves as there is a switch to major and an unexpected transition to B-flat major to close. This music, while seeming to begin his vision, only prefaces it, as the following number (No. 11) contains the actual description and the entrance of the star ballerina. This is not only labeled as a mimed scene, but also a danced allegory. The otherworldly nature is immediately apparent in the arpeggiated flourishes that strongly suggest a harp, and chords followed by fermatas that open the scene. Here is likely where our prima ballerina, dancing an allegorical role, enters into his vision. “Giorgio dreams that he has found himself free amongst his loved ones, while he stands at the feet of the symbolic figure of *Religion* who points to a book in which it is written that all men are equal.” A rolling 12/8 meter with an ornate melody in F major accompanies what must have been either an elaborate solo or *pas de deux* for our main dancer(s). Lasting just over three pages of the piano score, this also qualifies as purely dance music, which is probably why the clarifying

label “Danzante allegorica” was applied to the title. The opening to this music is in Example 57 below.

Indeed, both scenarios mention music as part of the vision, as a “moving melody softens his [Sab’s] heart,” and “Music, Poetry and Dance inspire him to the knowledge of beauty, and unite in harmony to refine him; in this solemn moment of rapture the sleeping companions awaken and all together raise up prayers of thanksgiving to Heaven...”

Version 2 of the libretto actually includes a song with lyrics (cited above), though there is no indication of this in the musical score.

Example 57: *Bianchi e negri* No. 11 Larghetto, “Scena mimica danzante-allegorica” (m.1-17)

The image displays a musical score for a piano introduction. The title is "N.º 11. Larghetto". The score is written in 12/8 time. It begins with a piano introduction marked "mf" (mezzo-forte) and "acc" (accents). The right hand features a rising melodic line, while the left hand provides a bass line. The score includes dynamic markings such as "mf" and "p" (piano), and articulation like "acc". The score is divided into measures, with a bar line indicating the end of the first measure.

6

Musical notation for measures 6 and 7. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 6 features a half note G4 in the treble and a half note G2 in the bass. Measure 7 contains a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5 in the treble, with a quarter note G2, a quarter note F2, a quarter note E2, and a quarter note D2 in the bass.

8

Musical notation for measures 8 and 9. Measure 8 has a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5 in the treble, with a quarter note G2, a quarter note F2, a quarter note E2, and a quarter note D2 in the bass. Measure 9 features a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5 in the treble, with a quarter note G2, a quarter note F2, a quarter note E2, and a quarter note D2 in the bass.

10

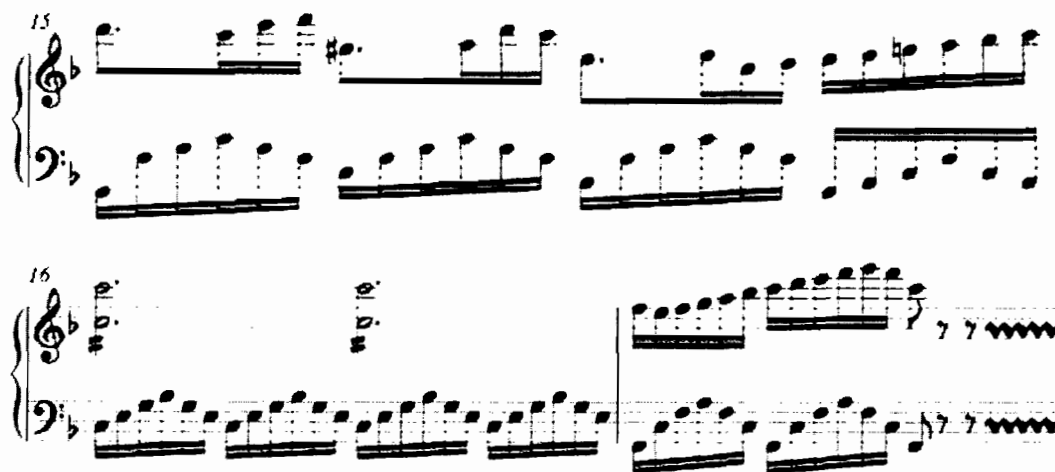
Musical notation for measures 10 and 11. Measure 10 has a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5 in the treble, with a quarter note G2, a quarter note F2, a quarter note E2, and a quarter note D2 in the bass. Measure 11 features a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5 in the treble, with a quarter note G2, a quarter note F2, a quarter note E2, and a quarter note D2 in the bass.

12

Musical notation for measures 12 and 13. Measure 12 has a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5 in the treble, with a quarter note G2, a quarter note F2, a quarter note E2, and a quarter note D2 in the bass. Measure 13 features a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5 in the treble, with a quarter note G2, a quarter note F2, a quarter note E2, and a quarter note D2 in the bass.

14

Musical notation for measure 14. The system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. Measure 14 features a half note G4 in the treble and a half note G2 in the bass.



One of the most intense pieces of music is No. 12, a “mimed-allegorical” scene, entitled “The flight of the slaves.” This is a bombastic chordal march that shifts between G minor, B-flat major, and prevalent diminished harmonies, bringing on an affect that alternates between ominous strife and jubilation. While the phrases are mostly regular and periodic, this music still indicates that it accompanies a mime scene with its strange and intense shifts of mood. One imagines large groups or blocks of dancers in conflict during this escape. There is some musical organization in the use of repeated motivic material and textures, but the overall push is toward the climax and final triumph of B-flat major with abundant tremolos and fanfares. Likely, this is where Giorza inserted the French national anthem that so riled up the Milanese audience (discussed below).⁴⁷¹ It

⁴⁷¹ This according to Walter Toscanini’s notes in front of the libretti in his collection, which I verified with the sources he cites. This ballet was of great interest to him, and I have been able to verify almost all of his notes, not only on *Bianchi e negri*, but throughout his collection and Cia Fornaroli’s (his wife’s) collection at the New York Public Library. For more information

certainly seems to be the only likely spot, and correlates with the descriptions. The music is perfectly suited to such an insertion.

Examples 58a-e: *Bianchi e negri*, No. 12 Allegro, Scena mimica-allegorica, “la fuga degli schiavi” (Mimed allegorical scene, the flight of the slaves) opening (m. 1-12) and excerpts (m. 13-28, ominous music, 45-68 transition, 87-101 conflict, ominous music, 140-end, triumphant music)

58a: opening (m. 1-12)

N.º 12.
Allegro

on Toscanini and the collections, see: Patrizia Veroli, "Walter Toscanini, Bibliophile and Collector, and the Cia Fornaroli Collection of the New York Public Library," *Dance Chronicle - Studies in Dance and the Related Arts* 28, no. 3 (2005): 323-62.

58b: (m. 13-28) ominous music

Musical score for 58b: (m. 13-28) ominous music. The score is in 3/4 time and features a dark, ominous atmosphere. It consists of two systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system starts at measure 12 and ends at measure 20. The second system starts at measure 21 and ends at measure 28. The music is characterized by dense, blocky chords and a slow, creeping melodic line in the right hand, often with a 7th fret barre indicated by a '7' above the notes. The bass line provides a steady, rhythmic accompaniment with similar blocky chords.

58c: (m. 45-68) transitions

Musical score for 58c: (m. 45-68) transitions. The score is in 3/4 time and features a transition from a dark, ominous atmosphere to a more open, melodic one. It consists of three systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system starts at measure 45 and ends at measure 52. The second system starts at measure 53 and ends at measure 60. The third system starts at measure 61 and ends at measure 68. The music is characterized by dense, blocky chords and a slow, creeping melodic line in the right hand, often with a 7th fret barre indicated by a '7' above the notes. The bass line provides a steady, rhythmic accompaniment with similar blocky chords. A dynamic marking of *f* (forte) is present in the first system. The score concludes with a final chord in the right hand and a sustained note in the left hand.

Musical score for measures 65-70. The piece is in a minor key, indicated by two flats in the key signature. Measure 65 begins with a treble clef and a bass clef. The right hand features a melodic line with a long slur over measures 65 and 66, and a wavy line at the end of measure 70. The left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and single notes.

58d: (m. 87-101) conflict-ominous music

Musical score for measures 87-93. The key signature remains two flats. Measure 87 starts with a wavy line in the treble clef. The right hand has a complex melodic line with many slurs and ties. The left hand features a rhythmic pattern of chords with a '7' marking, suggesting a seventh chord. A 'Gua' marking is present above measure 93.

Musical score for measures 94-97. Measure 94 is marked with a circled '8' and a '7' marking. The right hand has a melodic line with a long slur. The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and a '7' marking.

Musical score for measures 98-101. Measure 98 is marked with a circled '8'. The right hand has a melodic line with a long slur. The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and a '7' marking. The piece ends with a wavy line in the treble clef at the end of measure 101.

58e: (m. 140-end) triumphant

Musical score for measures 141-145. The system begins with a measure number '141' and a '9^{va}' marking above the staff. The music is written in a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The right hand features a complex, rhythmic melody with many beamed notes, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of quarter notes.

Musical score for measures 146-153. The system begins with a measure number '146'. The right hand plays a series of chords and intervals, while the left hand continues with a rhythmic accompaniment. The music is written in a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef.

Musical score for measures 154-161. The system begins with a measure number '154'. The right hand features a melodic line with some grace notes, and the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The music is written in a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef.

Musical score for measures 162-168. The system begins with a measure number '162'. The right hand plays a series of chords and intervals, and the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The music is written in a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef.

Musical score for measures 169-175. The system begins with a measure number '169'. The right hand plays a series of chords and intervals, and the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The music is written in a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef.

The final Galopp, No. 13, by “meastro” Olivieri is a pure dance number with a fanfare introduction marked Presto with the inscription, “The temple of progress with the fine Arts represented in allegorical figures, Whites and Blacks of every gender interweave in a dance.” The shift from the ominous B-flat major into the sunny world of D-major is pronounced and as the ballet began with a dance familiar to the ballroom, it ends with the ever-popular Gallop. This sectional number is stereotypical in every way, with its steady left-hand “boom-chuck” patterning and a predictable right-hand melodic thrust that begs for a standard sequence of danced steps. The perfect modern description of this music is “merry-go-round” music—it is bouncy, cheerful and fun. The description of “interweaving” dancers fits in with this imagery as the stage filled with jubilant celebration. The coda recaps the opening softly as presumably the curtain fell and audience applauded. While the libretto says little about the action in the final two danced numbers, the music says it all: “And they all lived happily ever after!”

Risorgimento Politics and Reception

It appears that the ballet’s success grew after its La Scala premier. In the chronology for Il Teatro Carlo Felice (in Genova), *Bianchi e negri* is listed as playing for 35 evenings in the spring of 1856 "con progressivo incontro" (it played longer than most) and in 1857 it stayed on the bill during Carnevale for 15 nights with “gran successo” this time.⁴⁷² Reception to the ballet was tinged with politics. The ballet was “damned with faint praise by the conservative *Gazzetta Ufficiale di Milano* (November 11, 1853),” for

⁴⁷² Ambrogio Brocca, *Il Teatro Carlo Felice. Cronistoria dal 7 aprile 1828 al 27 febbraio 1898*, (Genova: Stab. tip. lit. ditta A. Montorfano, 1898), 70.

its La Scala performance, but “was extolled by the militant liberal paper *L’Opinione* (January 5, 1858) when presented at the Teatro Regio of Turin.”⁴⁷³ This seems to indicate the political responses of the ballet’s reception. After all, the ballet premiered at a particularly turbulent time as uprisings in 1848 in Palermo and revolution in Milan were accompanied by constitutions and republics claimed and granted, and with internal invasions (of Lombardy, especially). This turmoil was followed in the early 1850s by Austrian forces taking Florence and Venice. The events from this period consolidated territorial controls over large areas of Italy, which was not far from claiming itself a Kingdom in 1861.

Walter Toscanini recorded notes in his copy of the libretto for the second La Scala production (1863) that refer to the political undertones of this ballet and that it was banned. He writes:

Gia rappresentato alla Scala la prima volta il 10 Novembre 1853 con prima ballerina AUGUSTA MAYWOOD: esito buono, ma solo li rappresenta [indecipherable,] perche sospeso per ordine della polizia austriaca.

Nel momento che gli schiavi si ribellano il Rota aveva voluto che il Giorza mettesse nella partitura quattro battute della “Marsigliese.” Il pubblico della Scala scattó in un grande applauso, ma il ballo fu sospeso.

Already performed at La Scala for the first time on November 10, 1853, with prima ballerina August Maywood: good result, but only presented there [indecipherable, probably a number of performances] because it was suspended due to an Austrian police ordinance.

⁴⁷³ Rossi, “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” 418. See Rossi’s footnote 11 for a list of reviews of Stowe’s novel in Italy. Rossi cites *Gazetta Ufficiale di Milano* (Milano): “Bianchi e negri — Azione mimica-allegorica di Giuseppe Rota,” November 11, 1853, and *L’Opinione* (Turino), “Bianchi e negri, ballo mimico storico-allegorico di Giuseppe Rota,” January 5, 1858.

During the moment that the slaves rebel, Rota had wanted Giorza to put in the score four bars of the “Marseillaise.” The public at La Scala burst into a great applause, but the ballet was suspended.

Here Toscanini, citing an article from the January 1, 1877 issue of *Illustrazione Italiana* by Leone Fortis (Fortis), written under his pseudonym “Doctor Veritas,” provides evidence that the banning of the ballet was related to its revolutionary nature:

[For the scene of chaos, the stage was full], [It] took all the wings from the stage, filled the immense space with a curtain — with layers of different colors— in the back [of the stage], a dim, vague light, which was used to make palpable the vast and nebulous shadows of the scene. — The effect was immense.

But that ballet had another effect At a certain point the black slaves tore off their collars [shackles] and raised them in an act of threat against their tormentors — in that moment one heard quivering in the orchestra four bars of the Marseillaise. — It was Rota who had wanted these. The action combined with the music produced the effect of lightning The audience jumped to their feet – there was an insurrection of applause. - We were in the twilight before ‘59. — The success was such that the police forbade the ballet for some time.

Tolse al palco scenico tutte le quinte — riempi quell'immenso spazio di velo — a strati di tinte diverse — in fondo una luce vaga, incerta che serviva a rendere palpabili quelle tenebre immense, e nebulose della scena. — L'effetto fu immenso.

Ma quel ballo aveva un altro effetto.... Ad un certo punto gli schiavi neri si strappavano i collari e li sollevavano in atto di minaccia verso i loro aguzzini — in quel momento si sentiva fremere nell'orchestra quattro battute della Marsigliese. — Era Rota che le aveva volute. L'azione combinata con la musica produsse l'effeto di un fulmine. Il pubblico scattò in piedi — fa una insurrezione di applausi. — Eravamo ai crepuscoli forieri del 59. — Il successo fu tale che la polizia proibì il ballo per qualche tempo.⁴⁷⁴

If it is true that Rota put four bars of the “Marseillaise” (the French national anthem, born out of the French revolution) whose revolutionary ties did not escape the audience, this

⁴⁷⁴ Fortis, Leon "Doctor Veritas," "Conversazione," *L'Illustrazione italiana*, no. 2 (1877): 22-23.

certainly would not have pleased the Austrian police. Related to this usage of a borrowed national anthem with revolutionary ties, and in the same period, was Verdi's efforts at writing a secular hymn, the *Inno delle Nazioni* of 1862 meant to represent the nation of Italy. This hymn included the French and English national anthems with Michele Novaro's "Fratelli d'Italia" (which would later become Italy's national anthem).⁴⁷⁵

Conclusions

While *Bianchi e negri* (1853) was composed over thirty years after *La Vestale*, certain traits are common to both ballets. Each contains an intensely dramatic plot that is derived from literary origins and adapted for the stage. While one is a tragedy and one is a "triumph of virtue," (to use Cohen's phrase⁴⁷⁶) both fit into the most prevalent plot archetypes. Both contain a large amount of mime, and dancing is justified by the plot in some way or another. In *Bianchi e negri* several dancing numbers are part of the fabric of the plot: the opening celebrations, the seduction (possibly a *pas de deux*), the slaves dancing in the market place, and the celebration of a happy ending. The differences in approach to music, namely that *La Vestale's* score is a pastiche and *Bianchi e negri's* is entirely original, are much less apparent in the sound of the mimed scenes than in the overall approach and the music for the dance numbers. The musical numbers for the danced portions of *La Vestale* are stylistically conservative while in *Bianchi e negri* they reflect current trends to incorporate ballroom dances. The musical features that dominate

⁴⁷⁵ See: Giuseppe Verdi, *Hymns - Inni* Edited by Roberta Montemorra Marvin, *The works of Giuseppe Verdi. Series IV, Hymns*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: Milano, 2007.

⁴⁷⁶ See: Cohen, "Virtue (almost) Triumphant."

mid-century ballet are all present in *Bianchi e negri*, including the use of originally composed music by (mostly) one composer and the use of the ever-popular waltz and galop for the danced portions. Yet, both ballets feature musical scores that are carefully and expressively fit to the dramatic action, with balanced dramatic action complemented by a balance in types of music (from the mime-dance continuum, see page 475).

How does *Bianchi e negri* compare to other mid-century ballets? Certainly there were examples of ballets that contained much more dancing, it seems, such as the ballo-fantastico *Gretchen* (Danesi, Bernardi et al., 1855) whose plot bears striking similarities to the famous romantic ballet *La Sylphide*. Yet the plots of these ballets were still full of dramatic action, even if there were many more excuses to dance. For example, the *Fausto* (1852) ballet by Antonio Cortesi with music by Luigi Maria Viviani is musically similar to *Bianchi e negri*, with plenty of highly illustrative mime and action music throughout. *Skakspeare* [sic], *ovvero il sogno d'una notte d'estate* (Casati, Giorza, 1855) is another example. Complex plots, such as that found in Pallerini's *Ariella* (music also by Paolo Giorza, 1862) were still quite common, and these plots required an abundance of mime and action music.

Perhaps the only atypical aspect of *Bianchi e negri* is that the actual plot (not its overall themes or structure) was drawn from such a recent literary work and one written by an American author. (While drawing from literary works, and especially novels, was quite common, the works adapted had often been available for several years or more and came from better known European authors.) *Bianchi e negri* is a fine example of the process of adapting plots from literature into Italian ballets, and the adaptation of such a

complex and unique plot as Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* provides us with an excellent case study of that process.

In all other aspects *Bianchi e negri* fits the Italian ballet prototype with its overarching theme of triumph over adversity, virtue, the use of allegorical figures, the large amount of mime combined with popular dances in stylized form. Despite the specificity of its plot, Italian audiences did not tire of the ballet quickly, and *Bianchi e negri* was restaged several times from the mid-1850s to the 1870s (though it only had a few other theatrical siblings in Italy.) In fact, its period of popularity coincides with the final stages of the Risorgimento. Indeed, *Bianchi e negri's* not-so-subtle political overtones illustrate how ballet played a role in the cultural currents of the Risorgimento, an aspect of Italian ballet that scholars agree upon but which has not yet been thoroughly studied.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁷ Studies do exist, such as Ornella Di Tondo's work on Roman censorship and Alberto Rizzuti's examination of Viganò's *Giovanna di Arco*. See: Di Tondo, "La censura sui balli teatrali nella Roma dell'Ottocento," and, Rizzuti, "Vigano's 'Giovanna d'Arco' and Manzoni's 'March 1821'" 186-201.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Ballet Music as a Genre

Ballet music, as is shown by this study and several others before it, is a genre, deserving of its own branch of study much as opera has enjoyed. It goes without saying that there are a great many differences between ballet as an art and other theatrical musical presentations. Yet, especially for Italian ballet between 1800 and 1870, ballet was truly autonomous, only sharing the stage with operas, rather than depending upon them for its very existence. The parallels with opera should not be disregarded. As Marian Smith and Selma Jeanne Cohen, amongst many others, have already pointed out, while opera has a balance between recitative and aria, forward dramatic motion and stasis, constantly negotiated throughout the nineteenth century, ballet has dance and mime, also a balance between stasis and action.⁴⁷⁸ This study begins to show what the music was like for these portions of Italian ballet. Furthermore, both opera and ballet underwent transformations where the boundaries between the two types of dramatic music were blurred, usually with efforts to maintain forward motion during times that were traditionally static (such as an aria or ballabile). In terms of Italian ballet, Salvatore Viganò was the pioneer in this regard (though some saw the lack of pure dancing in his

⁴⁷⁸ See: Smith, "Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle," and, Cohen, "Virtue (almost) triumphant," 297-301. See also: Arkin and Smith, "National Dance and the Romantic Ballet," 29.

ballets as a fault). I show in my studies of *La Vestale* and *Bianchi e negri* how the danced drama was carried out musically throughout an entire ballet during two very different decades of the period 1800-1870. While the choreography to these ballets remains a mystery, by studying the music and plot we can reenvision the music and action together and observe the structure and flow of scenes.

Ballet Music Genre Characteristics and Traits in Italian Ballet Scores

While the similarities with operatic music (both contemporary and pre-dating the period 1800-1870) are intriguing and deserve further scholarly attention, music for theatrical ballets has its own rules. While in both genres the music is aligned with the intended actions, emotions or mood, ballet music must go further at times and actually speak for the performers, as it is the only aural vehicle accompanying the gesture. The music helps make that gesture legible. Even more basic are the rules of pure dance music, which were discussed in treatises just predating the nineteenth century.⁴⁷⁹ Particularly because of these features, the study of ballet music is not only important for the music historian but also to the dance historian. The traits outlined below are key to the basic choreographic elements of a ballet, should one wish to reconstruct actual movements (as Francesca Falcone has done⁴⁸⁰).

⁴⁷⁹ See for example: Giovenale Sacchi, *Della divisione del tempo nella musica, nel ballo e nella poesia* (1770), in *Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis*, n. 45. (Bologna: Forni, 1969).

⁴⁸⁰ See Falcone's description of her reconstruction of the "agitating meeting of the lovers" in Act III of *La Vestale* in: Francesca Falcone, "The Italian Style and the Period," *Dance Chronicle* 29, no. 3 (2006): 317 - 340.

Specific musical elements had a great effect on the dance and it appears that these were controlled as much as possible by the choreographer. First of these was the duple versus triple subdivision, which dictates the types of steps that may be used with the music. For example, steps such as the *balancé* (similar to a waltz step) or a *pas de bourée* really only fit well in a meter with triple division. We need only to look at the differences between the popular ballroom dances from the mid-century such as the waltz versus the galop, to imagine the importance of metric sub-division on the choreography. Speed or tempo of the dance were also extremely important, and tempo fluctuations were used for dramatic effect even within purely danced numbers. The most typical of these was the tempo increase at the end of a number, especially a galop. Underlying all of the music that was most purely for dancing was a great regularity in tempo but also in rhythm, on the micro and macro level. A specific rhythm, such as the dactylic or the mazurka rhythm would pervade the texture in one- to two-measure bits. Over the large scale these bits would form rhythmic (and harmonic) phrases and periods of four, eight and sixteen bars of music that are clearly marked. These three elements rule over the pure dance music in ballets, yet they play an opposite role in the most obvious music for mime.

In music for action or mime a steady rhythm is often usurped, as shifts in meter abound. The rhythmic propulsion is weak, though not non-existent, as this would be very difficult to “count to” and mimes, especially those during Viganò’s period, must be able to count in order to line up with the music (it is well-established that Viganò’s mime was a danced mime). This was especially true of group mime. Yet in the realm of mime music it is the musical gesture that plays the biggest role, and this involves melody to a

somewhat greater degree than dance music. Truly, the descriptors for these musical types operate on a continuum where in the middle we see such constructs as a mimed *pas de deux* where the qualities of dance music prevail, but the performers had mimetic gestures that lined up with flowing music. Or, within a purely mimed scene, danceable music accompanies non-danced motion (here I refer to a strict definition of dance as in the technical, French or academic style).

Also specific to music for dancing, and I believe a particularly notable genre trait, is the buoyancy often found in the music, accomplished through grace notes and ornaments that give the music a lifted quality, particularly in upbeat numbers. This quality is present in nearly all of the musical examples for dance discussed in Chapter V (and many more). Finally, there are other specific elements that may occur in a dance number that lend it a dramatic quality. While the buoyancy is usually in celebratory music, dotted rhythms or rolled pickup beats lend a solemnity to a slow tempo and are especially found in funereal marches or a “*marcia lugubre*.” National dances such as the polonaise, mazurka and tarantella have their own rhythmic identifiers as well. The following diagram (Table 20) illustrates the most marked differences between dance and mime music, yet it should be emphasized again that these are not polar opposites; there is a great deal of blurring, especially when the music merely accompanies onstage action (not dancing) but does not illustrate it. Thus, some music in Italian ballets does not fall strictly into one or another category.

Table 20: Dance and Mime Music: a Continuum

Dance and mime music: a continuum		
Pure dance ruled by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tempo and metric division • rhythmic propulsion • phrasing regularity and repetition • special features such as buoyancy, particular musical elements associated with national dance (such as polka or mazurka rhythms) • extended closing themes and definite cadences • a coda featuring an increase in tempo 	Features that apply to both <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • musical features appropriate to mood, setting or character: “topics” (e.g. swirling motives for witches and devils, slow and minor for tragedy) • solo instruments used for more intimate scenes, full orchestra for crowds 	Pure action / mime ruled by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gesture • frequent tempo shifts • irregular phrase lengths • shifting meter • melody more important (than rhythm) • texture, key shifts (often abrupt) • lack of definitive cadence and closure between mime numbers

Italian Pas de deux, 1800-1870

A sub-category of dance music and of both the romantic and classical ballet that deserves special attention is the *pas de deux*. First of all, this number was a mainstay in Italian ballets of all types throughout the period 1800-1870. Why else employ a couple of dancers called “prima ballerina assoluta / di rango francese” who otherwise played no part in the dramatic roles until later in the century? (There were a few exceptions.) Furthermore, the *pas de deux* underwent transitions throughout the period which resulted partly in the predictable formats of the classical *gran pas de deux* with which we are familiar from Tchaikovsky’s ballets.⁴⁸¹ While much more work needs to be done on this particular sub-genre of ballet and ballet music, including Italian practice’s influence on

⁴⁸¹ See: Roland John Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets: Swan lake, Sleeping beauty, Nutcracker*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press: New York), 1985.

and the cross-fertilization with Russian, French, Danish and English ballet of the same period and later, some important observations regarding the *pas de deux* can be seen in musical scores studied for this survey.⁴⁸²

At the beginning of the century, numbers such as those by Gallenberg show that the *pas de deux* was dynamic in expression, but generally fit the format of multi-sectional number with the movement from slow to fast. The recurring expressive marking was usually *dolce* and the prevailing texture aria-like. Luigi Carlini's ballets showed similar arrangements, while others were a less sectional danced number. The scoring of *pas de deux* often featured solo instruments, perhaps illustrating both the intimacy of the dance and highlighting the virtuosity of the dancers by representing them with a virtuosic solo instrumental line. By the mid-century, those labeled "grand *pas de deux*" (in comparison to those not labeled as "grand") had more distinct sections and were longer, but were otherwise similar in structure. Also, through examination of the Giuseppe Giacchino *pas de deux* we see what may be some of the first Italian evidence of distinctly separated internal variations for the dancers within a *pas de deux*. Though this practice may have already been established in choreography (especially in ballabile), this is the first evidence of it within the *pas de deux* in the manuscript scores I studied. Furthermore, the fact that the variations were missing from the examples seems to indicate that they were

⁴⁸² It remains to be shown when the *pas de deux* as a sub-genre (as I propose) became firmly established in Italian ballet practice. While *pas de deux* exist in the scores throughout the period 1800-1870, it is possible that many dances for the two primi ballerini were not labeled as such or occurred within the more general term and performance of ballabili. In some ways the distinction I attempt by only studying those pieces entitled *pas de deux* or *passo a due* could be overly strict.

inserted, composed separately, freestanding or some mixture of these three. (This element is in definite need of further study.) The scoring throughout the period continues to favor solo instruments during the *pas de deux*. Again, the musical scores to existing *pas de deux* are great tools for dance historians interested in mapping the structure of this sub-genre, and when accompanied by information in choreographer's notes and notebooks (as in Hammond's study⁴⁸³), could yield detailed results and reconstructions of the dances.

The Importance of Mime in Italian Ballet Musical Scores

Finally, while the particulars of mime and dance music support the distinction of ballet music as a genre, it is more broadly important to emphasize how much mime was part of Italian ballet throughout the period. My research of the musical sources and their accompanying libretti supports the arguments long made by scholars including Giannandrea Poesio and Marian Smith for refiguring contemporary popular beliefs about mime, especially in the Romantic so-called "ballets blancs." More broadly, I show that mime was a dominant feature of Italian ballet throughout the period, and that the music for mimed and action portions of ballets was distinct.

Italian Ballet and Ballet Music: Social and Historical Importance

The Italian ballet context was distinct from that researched in other locales (such as Marian Smith's Paris Opéra, Wiley's St. Petersburg, Jürgensen's and Aschengreen's Copenhagen, Guest's Paris and England, and Day's Brussels). This is evident in the music as well as the expectations and reception of Italian audiences, visible in the libretti,

⁴⁸³ Hammond, "Windows into Romantic Ballet" I and II, 1997, 1998.

almanacs, journals and related ephemera, which have been better studied than the music. Examination of the musical sources reinforces a number of features of Italian ballet already mentioned in recent scholarship. First, the fact that Italian ballet was self-standing is supported by the realm of separate composers, publications of piano reductions and shifts in orchestra personnel. Second, the music shows evidence that ballet was much more mime-oriented than in other countries, and was non-stop in its flow of scenes, dancing and plot.

The ballet's alternation with opera acts reveals a very different type of entertainment than a fully unified music drama per evening, as music by multiple composers was heard at a typical night in a large Italian theatre. The variety and tension between the two theatrical forms was paramount, and relates to performance practice and reception in ways that have yet to be fully understood. For example, if the opera was a flop, at least the already popular ballet would continue to sell tickets and vice versa. This is not to imply that Italian practice was simply a marketing strategy, since it was firmly ingrained in the public taste. Period commentary directly addresses the success (or lack thereof) of ballets versus operas they played with, and the performance of two separate works was seen as positive, regardless of the individual artistic merits of each on its own. Yet, the exact nature of ballet and opera consumption in the nineteenth century is a story still being unearthed and told anew, especially in recent musicological studies.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸⁴ An excellent example is Mary Ann Smart's 2004 book *Mimomania* (University of California Press).

While a few scholars have already emphasized the importance of ballet to Italian opera theatre as whole, this study provides further evidence that it took much time for Italians to downsize the two requisite ballets per opera (at major theatres) to one or even none in the later years of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸⁵ Powerful and affective works were still mounted between 1850-1870 by choreographers such as Giuseppe Rota and Antonio Pallerini. The following assessment of ballet upon Rota's death shows, in fact, similar laments and nostalgia over the loss of a great choreographer as were recorded for Salvatore Viganò in 1821.

Dopo di Rota . . . non ci furono che imitatori—o tentativi di creazioni.—
Adesso . . . il ballo lo fa il vestiarista—il pittore,—l'attrezzista—
l'illuminatore,—l'apparecchiatore della luce elettrica—tutti, tranne il
coreografo.

After Rota . . . there were nothing but imitators—or attempts at creation.—
Now . . . the dance is made by the costume designer—the painter,—the
toolmaker—the lighting designer,—the electrician—all but the
choreographer.⁴⁸⁶

Furthermore, it took some time for French grand opera with its internal ballets to catch on in Italy. Quite simply Italians preferred their ballet as a separate entity, despite mid-

⁴⁸⁵ This applies to the larger theatres discussed in this study, for smaller theatres did not always present opera and ballet together (at least for every season), due to financial constraints, ownership and impresari. This does not go against my point, for if the theatre gained financial stability (often through ownership changes) it would emulate the larger theatres in the practice of showing ballets and operas together. An example is the Teatro Tordinona in Rome, which became the Apollo in 1795. In the 1820s there was a shift from programs of singular works (including burletta, farces, plays, and other varieties) to opera and ballet together. In the later 1820s ballets then played regularly with operas during carnevale. See: Alberto Cametti, *Il Teatro di Tordinona poi di Apolla*, 2 vols, *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di S. Cecilia*, (Tivoli: A. Chicca, 1938).

⁴⁸⁶ "Doctor Veritas," *Illustrazione Italiana*, 1877, no 2.

century arguments about the proportion of dance versus mime, opera versus ballet, and how to fund both entertainments.

Historiography

In an earlier discussion of piano reductions, I posited that the practice of publishing complete ballets in keyboard reduction with interlinear stage directions indicates the importance of ballet and ballet music to the nineteenth-century Italian public, musical consumer, and theatre-goer “that is generally not a part of current widespread views of Italian socio-musical theatre culture.” Traditionally, opera has been the main focus of musicological research for Italian musical-theatrical entertainment during the nineteenth century. It is easy to see why, as opera has retained its value through the formation of a repertory and continued performance tradition. Yet, when we go to see a present day production of Italian opera, from Rossini to Donizetti and Verdi, we see only that opera, which we quietly sit through without socializing, eating, drinking (or gambling) except for possibly during a brief intermission. This has further skewed historiography. While ballet was an equally important part of every night at the theatre until at least the mid-century, Italian ballets and their music did not enjoy the same canonization or longevity as the Rossini, Donizetti, and Verdi operas with which they were paired, and thus their existence had been altogether forgotten. (It should be noted that in the period, composers of ballet music were often seen as second rate to opera composers.) This has helped contribute to the notion that ballet music is not worthy of study, since the music does not compare to the masterworks of Italian opera. While the

canons of Italian opera from the period may remain, this does not rule out the social or historic importance of studying ballet music. We may not record, perform or even appreciate Italian ballet music aesthetically on the same level as we do Italian opera, but we should form an accurate idea of the musical history of Italian opera and ballet theatre in the nineteenth century and recognize the role of ballet music in that history.

When studying music history, examining nineteenth-century ballet in Italy is important for another related reason: it shared with, was influenced by and had influence upon opera. This makes the cultural-historical study of Italian opera less complete without proper acknowledgement of ballet and has already begun to be addressed by those such as Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell. While ballet choreographers and theatre impresarios employed different composers than those writing for opera (a majority of the time), there was great cross-fertilization of plots and musical ideas. This is especially true when, in the beginning of the century, ballet scores were a pastiche of operatic selections and other music. Moreover, throughout the period 1800-1870, many plots were derived from literature and freely traded among the two genres, which inspired one another. In terms of ballet's socio-cultural importance and relationship with opera, much more work needs to be done.

Conclusions and Further Research

Sources

First, what I have begun here as a thorough accounting of the available musical sources for Italian ballet housed in two extensive United States collections, I hope to

continue in the format of an online database, continuously updated, searchable and with the ability to be manipulated and sorted for research and reference purposes. The next step is to include Italian sources through research at Italian libraries and collections. This database could become one of the most valuable tools for Italian ballet research as it gathers information in a centralized location and accessible format.

Style

The second major accomplishment in this study is the initial style survey of what the music for Italian ballets was like during the nineteenth century. This includes the general outline of stylistic trends, discussion of distinguishing traits for mime and dance music, musical forms that affect dance (such as the *pas de deux*), musical approaches to plot, and specific choreo-musical topics that recur in this body of music. Further musical-analytical research could certainly be done with specific dances such as the *pas de deux*. Related to an exploration of musical structure is the collaborative act of composing ballet scores. Here, further study of the working relationships between choreographer, composer, arranger and reducer would be highly beneficial (and is not thoroughly explored in this dissertation). As more manuscript conductor scores and *foglietti* surface, we will also gain a better understanding of the process of ballet production and how the music was manipulated between the autograph score and the stage, as well as between various restagings.

Piano Reductions, Full Scores, and Orchestration

The complete ballet scores in piano reduction certainly served a purpose beyond purely musical enjoyment. The mime music makes little sense without the plot and the visual action, and while the dance music is quite pleasing, it can become too regular in phrasing and structure without the synergy of the visual spectacle of dancing, costume and scenes. Unfortunately, orchestration—the saving grace of many a ballet score (and what many admire in Tchaikovsky)—is lost for much of the musical material, leaving the keyboard as the sole transmitter of sounds. In this regard, many of the reducers were not of the caliber of those who, for example, transcribed operas and symphonies for pianistic enjoyment or exhibition of virtuosity. However, the full scores examined in this dissertation do reveal an attention to color changes in both repeated sections and between numbers that should not be underemphasized just because we lack a large volume of full orchestral scores. Orchestration, like the choreography, may have sparkled, mesmerizing audiences in ways we only have glimpses of. Nineteenth-century consumers of these piano reductions must have wanted a way to access the ballet in their homes, and while much is left to the imagination in these sources, they were continually published throughout the entire period 1800-1870 and beyond, indicating a demand.

Film Music and Transcription

Ballet music can profitably be compared to many other types of music, including comparison with eighteenth- and nineteenth century opera, melodrama in Europe and North America, musical theatre, and so forth. Certain features of Italian ballet music

would make for an intriguing study on the influence of ballet music on early film music. In fact, I have found that Italian ballet music exhibits many qualities that are similar to film music: the use of diegetic and non-diegetic music, music that sets mood but remains in the background, music that intensifies and clarifies emotional content, and music that actually illustrates actions (mickey-mousing).⁴⁸⁷

Furthermore, while film scores are often adapted into soundtracks or piano arrangements, ballet music was also arranged and published for public enjoyment. Music from later in the nineteenth century (most notably by Tchaikovsky) was adapted into concert works such as suites. In contrast, it appears that some Italian ballets, especially from early in the nineteenth century, went to the press with little intrusion except for that involved in the actual reduction. These scores, though simplified for the amateur pianist, contained nearly note-for-note transcriptions of much of the music for the ballet and were accompanied by transcriptions of plot details from libretti. These artifacts of ballet music (whether complete or in the form of selected pieces) should be included in the study of nineteenth-century keyboard transcriptions.

Complete Ballet Case Studies

The in-depth studies of *La Vestale* and *Bianchi e negri* show the possibilities involved in studying individual works from a musical standpoint, including investigations of the structuring of plot, comparison of various scores and materials, the interplay

⁴⁸⁷ Inger Damsholt, "Choreomusical discourse: the relationship between dance and music."

between mime and dance, and the use of choreo-musical conventions. However, these ballets (and any ballet) can be the starting point for many kinds of interdisciplinary studies, including studies that involve scenography, costume, reception, politics, literature, and art. Furthermore, since ballets were often based on literature, research on dramatic adaptation (such as in *Bianchi e negri*) also has great potential. Beyond the recognition of opera excerpts in pastiche scores, the dramatic and musical intertextuality between ballet and opera begs much further research. As Falcone has already done with Act III of *La Vestale*, in-depth study of all related artifacts of a ballet, including its music, can lead to reconstructions, and I hope that the musical materials presented in this study encourage such endeavors.⁴⁸⁸

Context

Though I have given an overview in Chapter IV of the context of ballet music that roughly parallels those given by Hansell and Celi, the account in this study is approached largely from the viewpoint of the musical sources, libretti and primary sources, which continues the work of Celi and Hansell, beginning to fill in the major musical gaps in the historical picture of Italian theatrical ballet for the period. Much more needs to be done with individual contexts as they relate to ballet music, individual composer-choreographer relationships (such as Pallerini with Giorza and/or dall'Argine) and the contexts of specific theatres, as well as the transmission of music and ballets around the peninsula. A more thorough mapping of the transitions in musical style could also be

⁴⁸⁸ See: Falcone, "The Italian Style and the Period."

sought after, since there are distinct differences in musical style, especially with the dance music, between Viganò's or Gioia's ballets and those from the mid-century. (The current obstacle is the dearth of sources from the 1830s during which this transition likely took place.) Finally, as more is learned about Italian ballets, an in-depth comparison to French, Russian, English and Danish ballet (as well as other locales) will be possible. The apparently more marked differences in French school between classical pas, character dance and mime, emphasis on frozen tableaux, and more clear differentiation between old noble style and new romantic style are areas worth investigating in the Italian school.⁴⁸⁹

Politics

Lady Morgan wrote the following about Italy at the beginning of the second decade of the nineteenth century:

The Church and the Theatre are two of the principal engines with which the little governments of Italy have sustained their power. After the Duomo, there is no shrine in Milan so attended, no edifice so prized, as the THEATRE OF THE SCALA.⁴⁹⁰

The political nature of ballets within the Risorgimento is a topic with compelling potential, especially with the distinct possibility that ballets contained covert political elements due to the minimal use of texts (beyond the libretto), which were more easily subject to censorship, and the use of double-entendre (such as the use of the national anthem when the slaves are freed in *Bianchi e negri*). (Di Tondo's study of Roman

⁴⁸⁹ These characteristics of French ballet are covered in Arkin and Smith, "National Dance and the Romantic Ballet."

⁴⁹⁰ Lady Morgan, "Italy," 94.

censorship is a valuable example of study in this area.) Lady Morgan's impressions (many of which are included in Chapters IV and VI) hint at political undertones in ballets on several occasions. There are several accounts of ballerinas participating in Risorgimento politics through their costume choices, such as Fanny Cerrito who wore a tri-colored veil symbolic of unification in an 1848 performance at La Fenice.⁴⁹¹ While most scholars at present agree that politics were an important part of Italian ballet's reception, more detailed study of just this topic is still needed.

* * *

To conclude, it is my hope that the information gained by a thorough study of Italian ballet music during the nineteenth century will add to the growing body of dance-music research and lead ultimately to the recognition of this music as distinct and important as a genre, within its historical context, as well as an important tool for dance historians to understand the dramatic and danced structure of ballets, all the while giving us a more complete and colorful view of theatrical life in Italy during the nineteenth century.

⁴⁹¹ Josè Sasportes et al., *Gran teatro La Fenice*, (Köln: Evergreen Taschen, 1999), 289.

APPENDIX A
A DATABASE OF ITALIAN BALLET MUSIC SOURCES IN
COLLECTIONS AT THE NYPL AND HTC (PRINT VERSION)

Introductory Notes and Explanation of Appendices A and B

The two main collections of scores for appendix A are from the John and Ruth Ward Italian Ballet Collection, part of the Harvard Theatre Collection, (HTC) and those held at the New York Library for the Performing Arts Research Collections, (NYPL) primarily in the Music Division. The dates of the materials span 1800-1870, with the exception that I included some materials from beyond this period at the end simply because I was curious and I examined some of them – they are separated by the row titled “Supplement from the New York Public Library and elsewhere”. The printed version of this database is sorted first by the column “date for sorting,” (at the far right) followed by title of the ballet (alphabetical) in column two. Column one in Appendix A indicates whether I studied the source as part of my research. This column is deleted in Appendix B. The abbreviations are as follows: ‘MS’ indicates manuscript, ‘pf’ indicates keyboard, since the actual instrument varies from cembalo to piano throughout the period, ‘SD’ indicates the presence of interlinear stage directions, and ‘SC’ indicates that a scenario may also be consulted in one of the collections. The inclusion of the scenario information is incomplete, and one of the future improvements to the database is a separate column

indicating the presence and location of scenarios for all of the ballets listed. Lack of libretto is usually not a problem, assuming the ballet was performed.

I include the column “date for sorting” to provide some researcher control over the organization of sources. For example, if I have found better information in an almanac or chronology about the date of a ballet’s premier, then that date goes into the column. As another example, if a ballet was published by two companies over two subsequent years I apply the premier date or first published date as the “date for sorting” so that all the sources for a particular ballet will appear next to one another in the database. I have not done this for distinct performances of Pallerini ballets where whole sets of materials originate for different performances. I have applied this logic to the sources for *La Vestale* though it is likely that the manuscript source is later than all of the piano reductions. I do this for two reasons, first because the manuscript was *likely* used for a restaging of Viganò’s original ballet, and second, because I know for a fact that these sources correlate extremely well. Thus, I have made every attempt to show multiple sources for the same ballet in groups, except when this is not a logical approach (such as performances separated by too many years, or where similarities of sources is in question, such as multiple ballets of the same title but by different choreographers). This means also that alphabetic order may be disrupted for the purposes of showing two ballets that are the same but with differing titles (such as *Tutti Coreografi* with *Un Ballo Nuovo*, or *Folgore* with *L’Anello Infernale*) next to one another. Finally, in my personal version of the database (in Microsoft Excel) there are many notes and comments about such aspects as bindings, premieres, cross-references, and general oddities, as well as a column

including the call numbers for each item. These are not included in Appendix A (but *are* included in Appendix B, under the heading “source”) for logistical reasons and because call numbers (and much additional information) are easily obtained through the online catalogues for Harvard and the New York Public Library, which should be used in conjunction with this database. In fact I have deferred to these sources for most information. For example, since the Harvard Theatre Collection cataloguer(s) were confident enough to list the premier date and location for *Giovanna d’Arco* (1821), I include this in the columns “premier venue” and “premier date”⁴⁹² but since that information is not included in the New York Public Library’s catalogue, I have left it blank unless I had an accurate chronology or other source with which to complete the column. An improvement I intend to make is to completely fill in this column with premier information whenever I am certain, a process already begun by Ward and Levy for the catalogue of the collection at Harvard. The filling in of this column will also make the Italian music sources database, at the moment separated into appendix B, more manageable and accurate in its chronological appearance. I have made an effort to seek libretti and almanac references for the Italian sources, in order to provide a more accurate “sort date.” Before taking this step, most of the sources were simply listed as ‘1800’, since they were known to originate at some point in the nineteenth century. It will be immediately obvious that the information provided in Italian catalogues is widely variable, and that sometimes very little information is available about even the location of

⁴⁹² This is likely due to the work of Morris S. Levy and John Ward in publishing a print version of the Ward collection. See: Levy and Ward, “Italian ballet, 1637-1977: a catalogue.”

a source. The same approach has been used in the sorting of appendix B as was used for appendix A. (A final caveat: it is likely that both my databases and the library catalogues and other sources used to generate them do contain errors that have surely gone undetected thus far—this is only human nature.)

Appendix A: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections (print version)

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	"Grand pas de deux"		Robert Gallenberg			MS full score, AU		1800	HTC		35	1800
X	"Grand pas de trois concertant"		Robert Gallenberg			MS full score, AU		1800	HTC	2 petites flûtes obligées	57	1800
X	"Pas de deux fantasie"		Robert Gallenberg			MS full score, AU		1800	HTC		44	1800
X	"Pas de deux"		Robert Gallenberg			MS full score, AU		1800	HTC		39	1800
X	"Pas de deux"		Robert Gallenberg			MS full score, AU		1800	HTC		47	1800
X	"Pas de deux"		Robert Gallenberg			MS full score, AU		1800	HTC	triangle, gran cassa, cymbals, glockenspiel	35	1800
	"Pas de quatre"		Robert Gallenberg			MS full score, AU		1800	HTC		33	1800
	(unnamed ballet) "Pezzo musicale..."					MS score		1800	HTC	v, va, bs, BC	9	1800
	<i>Ballo (N.N.)</i>	unknown	unknown			MS full score, SD		1800	HTC	31 mvmts.	224	1800
X	<i>Cesare in Egitto</i>	unknown	unknown. Pavesi is given credit in 1818 scenario			scribal Ms - but "stmapato", pf rid., SD, SC*		1800	HTC	pf	68	1800
X	IMPORT?: <i>Il figlio del mistero</i> ; ballo in quattro atti	P. Hus	Robert Graf von Gallenberg			MS score on microfilm			NYPL, Boston U	?	1 score	1800
X	<i>La barba bleu; musica in 5 atti</i>		Robert Graf von Gallenberg			MS score			NYPL, Boston U	?	1 score	1800

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Les Amours de Flore et de Zephire: ballet anacreontique en deux actes</i>	Pierre Bressol Chevalier	Giuseppe Sarti	St. Petersburg?	1800	MS full score, SD, SC		1800	HTC		312	1800
X	<i>Othello "Pas de deux from..."</i>	Louis Henry	Robert Gallenberg, Louis Henry	San Carlo	1808	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1821	HTC	pf, "Ridotto...dilettante sig. Giuseppe Galluzzo"	10	1808
X	<i>La Morte de Cleopatra "Pas de deux from..."</i>	Louis Henry	Robert Gallenberg, Louis Henry	San Carlo	1809	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1821	HTC	pf, "Ridotto...dilettante sig. Giuseppe Galluzzo"	10	1809
	<i>La Vendetta d'Ulisse "Gran Quartetto"</i>	Lorenzo Panzieri	?	Teatro della Pergola, Florence	1809, autunno	MS pf score, SC		1809	HTC	pf, rid. Ottavio Valdambrini	17	1809
	<i>Libussa e Drahomira (pezzi)</i>	Antonio Landini		Teatro nuovo, Padua	1810	scribal MS score		1810	HTC	v,va, ob, cl, bs,h, B	19	1810
X	<i>Amleto "Pas de deux du grand ballet Hamlet"</i>	Louis Henry	Robert Gallenberg	Teatro del Fondo, Naples	1812, primavera	MS pf score		1812	HTC	pf, fl, arranged par Mr. Hadrava	19	1812
X	<i>Talismano (Aladino), "Pas de deux from..." Otello, and La Morte di Cleopatra"</i>	Louis Henry	Robert Gallenberg, Louis Henry	San Carlo	1812	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1821	HTC	pf, "Ridotto...dilettante sig. Giuseppe Galluzzo"	10	1812
	<i>Il Prometeo (...Eone e Lino)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	La Scala	1813	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1813	HTC	pf	6	1813
	<i>Il Prometeo (Cupido...)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Weigl	La Scala	1813	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1813	HTC	pf	3	1813
	<i>Il Prometeo (pezzi - see comment)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Beethoven, Weigl	La Scala	1813, autunno	Printed pf score, SC, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1813	HTC	pf	12	1813
X	<i>Il Prometeo (Sonata, ...Eone e Lino)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	?	La Scala	1813	MS pf score		1813	HTC	pf	11	1813

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Prometeo; Raccolta di varj e migliori pezzi di musica per forte piano del ballo, Prometeo.</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: various compsers inc Weigl and Beethoven, arr. By Viganò	La Scala	May 22, 1813	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1813	NYPL	piano	4 pieces	1813
X	<i>Il Cavaliere del Tempio (or Le Avventure di Arnoldo il Prode) (pezzi scelti)</i>	Uvano Garzia	Luigi Belloli, Gallenberg	La Scala	1815, autunno	MS pf score		1815	HTC	pf, rid. By Pietro Piazza	31	1815
	<i>Il Cavaliere del Tempio (gran quinetto)</i>	Uvano Garzia	Robert Gallenberg (Belloli)	La Scala	1815, autunno	MS pf score		1815	HTC	pf	11	1815
X	<i>Il Tamerlano (pezzi scelti)</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Ferdinando Ponteliberò	La Scala	1816, Feb.	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1816	HTC	pf	11	1816
X	<i>L'alièvo della natura; diversi pezzi ridotti per forte-piano</i>	Gaetano Gioja				Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1816	NYPL	piano	17	1816
X	<i>La Niobe; gran ballo in sei atti.</i>		diversi autori			MS score on microfilm			NYPL, Boston U			1816
X	<i>Niobe (applauditi pezzi)</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Robert Gallenberg +	La Scala	1816, Feb.	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1816	HTC	pf - some for four-hands	9	1816
X	<i>Niobe (applauditi pezzi)</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Robert Gallenberg +	La Scala	1816, Feb.	MS pf score		1816	HTC	pf	15	1816
	<i>Astolfo e Giocondo (pas des trois)</i>	Armand Vestris	Frédéric Venua, Robert Gallenberg, +	San Carlo	1817, Feb.	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1817	HTC	pf, rid. by D. Giuseppe Galluzzo	5	1817
X	<i>La Vendetta di Venere (gran ballo)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Weigl, Rossini, Beethoven, Umlauf, Carafa	La Scala	1817	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1817	HTC	pf	31	1817

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Mirra; ossia La vendetta di Venere: gran ballo</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi rinomati autori: inc. Weigl, Rossini, Beethoven, Carrafa and Umlauff	?La Scala (likely)	.	Printed pf score (cembalo)	Ricordi, Milano	?1820	NYPL	cembalo, Ridotto per cembalo solo dal Sig.r Ferd.o Bonazzi	31	1817
	<i>L'Origine dei Guelfi e Ghibellini in Firenze, o sia, La morte di Bon del Monte</i>	Antonio Landini	Pietro Romani	Teatro della Pergola, Florence	1817, autunno	MS pf score		1817	HTC	pf	85	1817
X	<i>Psammi re d'Egitto; gran ballo</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Viganò and others	?La Scala (likely)	.	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1818	NYPL	piano	31	1817
	<i>Psammi, Re d'Egitto (gran ballo: No. 5)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Josef Lipavsk'y +	La Scala	1817, autunno	Printed pf score, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1817	HTC	pf	3	1817
	<i>Arsène "Pas de trois..."</i>	Louis Henry	Michele Carafa	San Carlo	1818, July	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1818	HTC	pf	8	1818
	<i>Arsène "Pas de neuf nel ballo..."</i>	Louis Henry	Michele Carafa	San Carlo	1818, July	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1818	HTC	pf	16	1818
X	<i>Dedalo; gran ballo</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: based on works by Gallenberg, Lichtenthal, Umlauf and Rossini, arranged by Viganò.	La Scala	.	Printed pf score (forte-piano) SC	Ricordi, Milano	?1818	NYPL	forte-piano	51	1818
X X	<i>I giuochi istmici AND Der Spanier auf der Insel</i>	Salvatore? Viganò	Joseph Weigl and others	Vienna	ca. 1815	Printed pf score	Chez Boieldieu	?1818	NYPL	piano	9 pieces	1818
	<i>Il Conte d'Essex (pezzi)</i>	Gaetano Gioja	diversi: Peter Lichtenthal, + Haydn, Beethoven, Cherubini, Rossini, etc.	La Scala	1818, Oct.	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1818	HTC	pf	21	1818

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Il Rossignolo "Pas de trois dan le ..."</i>	Gaëtan Vestris	Michele Carafa	San Carlo	1818	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1818	HTC	pf, "arrangé... par Mr. le chev. Jn. Galeota"	4	1818
X	<i>La Vestale</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Mirabella (and others)	La Scala	1818	MS score on microfilm, SC			NYPL, Boston U	orchestra	~300 pages	1818
X X	<i>La Vestale (2 copies)</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Weigl, Lichtenthal, Rossini, Kinsky, Viganò, Spontini, Beethoven, Mozart, Carafa, +	La Scala	1818 June	Printed pf score, SD, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1818	HTC	pf, rid. by Giovanni Moro, Ferdinando Bonazzi, Pietro Piazza	47	1818
X	<i>La vestale; gran ballo tragico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Weigl, Lichthenthal, Beethoven, Kinsky, Spontini and Rossini, including the latter's "Overture della gazza ladra."	?La Scala (likely)	Spring 1818	Printed pf score, SD, SC	Ricordi, Milano	?1818	NYPL	piano	47	1818
X	<i>La vestale; gran ballo tragico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Salvatore Viganò, Rossini, Beethoven and others	?La Scala (likely)	.	Printed pf score, SD, SC	Ricordi, Milano	?1819	NYPL	piano	47	1818

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Otello: gran ballo tragico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi: Giaochino Rossini, Gallenberg, Brambilla, Carafa, +	La Scala	1818, primavera	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1818	HTC	pf	41	1818
X	<i>Otello: gran ballo tragico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi rinomati autori	?	.	Printed pf score (cembalo)	Ricordi, Milano	?1818	NYPL	cembalo, ridotto per cembalo solo	53	1818
	<i>Pirro ed Ermione (ballabile nel ballo eroico...)</i>	Alessandro Fabbri	?	La Scala	1818, autunno	MS pf score, SC*		1818	HTC	pf	17	1818
X	<i>Acbar, Gran Mogol</i>	Gaetano Gioja	diversi: Rossini, Brambilla, Generali, Gallenberg, Carafa, +, arr. By Paolo Brambilla	La Scala	1819, carnevale	Printed pf score, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1819	HTC	pf, rid. by Pietro Piazza, Giovanni Moro, and Signore Grasse and Almasio	38	1819
X	<i>Acbar, Gran Mogol "Ballabile del...Carafa....rid...Piazza"</i>	Gaetano Gioja	diversi: Rossini, Brambilla, Generali, Gallenberg, Carafa, +, arr. By Paolo Brambilla	La Scala	1819, carnevale	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1819	HTC	pf, rid. by Pietro Piazza	5	1819
X	<i>Acbar, gran mogol; ballo</i>	Gaetano Gioja	diversi: Rossini, Brambilla, Musica di diversi rinomati autori	La Scala		Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1819	NYPL	piano	38	1819

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Amore e Dovere (due pezzi...)</i>	Giovanni Galzerani		La Scala	1819	scribal MS score			HTC	pf, rid. per cembalo...Giovanni Moro	9	1819
X	<i>Amore e dovere. Diversi Pezzi scelti</i>		diversi: Various composers inc. Rossini and Paccini	?La Scala		Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1820	NYPL	piano , ridotti per cembalo solo dal Sig.r Ab. te Gio. i Moro	16	1819
	<i>Capriccio e Buon Cuore</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Rossini, Weigl, +, arr. Paolo Brambilla	La Scala	1819, Feb.	Printed pf score, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1819	HTC	pf, rid. per cembalo solo...Pietro Piazza	26	1819
X	<i>Ghengis-Kan "Pezzi scelti..."</i>	Louis Henry	Robert Gallenberg	San Carlo	1819	Printed pf score	Napoli, Girard	1819	HTC	pf, "Rid ... Luigi Niedermeyer"	14	1819
X	<i>I Titani "...più applauditi pezzi..."</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Aiblinger + Carafa and Rossini	La Scala	1819, Oct.	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1819	HTC	pf	62	1819
	<i>Il Finto Feudatario "Sinfonia d' ballo in 3 atti... Francia 1817, Milano 1818"</i>	Carlo Blasis	Francesco Antonio de Blasis	La Scala	1819, primavera	MS full score		1819	HTC		19	1819
	<i>Alessandro nell' Indie; gran ballo eroico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi rinomati autori: inc. Brambilla and Weigl	?La Scala (likely)	.	Printed pf score (forte-piano), SD	Ricordi, Milano	?1820	NYPL	forte-piano	39	1820
X	<i>Alessandro nell'Indie</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Brambilla, Weigl, +, arr. Brambilla and Lichtenthal	La Scala	1820, Feb.	Printed pf score, SD	Ricordi, Milano	1820	HTC	pf, rid. Louis Jansen and Dionigi Brogialdi	39	1820
	<i>Castore e Polluce "...pezzi scelti..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Paolo Brambilla	La Scala	1820, May	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1820	HTC	pf, ridotto ... Brogialdi"	15	1820

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Chao-Kang "Pezzi scelti..."</i>	Louis Henry	Luigi Carlini	San Carlo	1820, primavera	Printed pf score, SC	Girard, Napoli	1820	HTC	pf, "ridotti...maestro Giacomo Cordella"	29	1820
	<i>Don Giovanni Tenorio "Pezzi scelti... gran ballo..."</i>	Louis Henry	Luigi Carlini	San Carlo	1820	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1820	HTC	pf, "...ridotti...maestro Luigi Dalla Casa"	50	1820
	<i>Gl'innocenti frà l'Armi "Saltarello alla villana nel..."</i>	?	?	?	1820s	MS pf score		1820s	HTC	pf, from scriptorium of Gaetano Rosati	11	1820
	<i>Gustavo Vasa "Pezzi scelti...gran ballo..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini	San Carlo	1820	Printed pf score, SC	Girard, Napoli	1820	HTC	pf, "ridotti con accompagnamento di piano fort."	10	1820
	IMPORT: <i>Alfred le Grand</i> , ballet historique en trois actes	Aumer	Robert Graf von Gallenberg	?Vienne, Bureau de Musique des Theatres	?1820	Printed pf score	Bureau de Musique des Theatres	?1820	NYPL	piano, Mis en musique par Mr. Le Comte W. Robert de Gallenberg. Arrangé pour le pianoforte par Ferdinand Stegmayer	2 vols.	1820
X	<i>La fata malvagia; ballo in 5 atti</i>	Armand (Ermando) Vestris; ?	diversi: Pacini; diversi celebri autori			MS score on microfilm			NYPL, Boston U	? Piano ?	1 vol.	1820
X	<i>Otranto Liberata "Pezzi scelti nel gran ballo..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini	San Carlo	1820, autunno	Printed pf score, SC	Girard, Napoli	1820	HTC	pf, "Ridotti ... G. Galluzzo"	16	1820

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Otranto Liberata</i> "Tarantella nel gran ballo..."	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini	San Carlo	1820, autunno	Printed pf score, SC	Girard, Napoli	1820	HTC	pf, "Ridotta...maestro Luigi Dalla Casa, bolognese."	6	1820
	<i>Telemaco</i> "Ballabile de' baccanti nel gran ballo..."	Louis Duport	Michele Carafa +	San Carlo	1820, June	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1820	HTC	pf, "gran ballo de' sigi. Duport e Hus ridotto per piano forte da Luigi Niedermeyer." "	5	1820
	<i>Telemaco</i> "Pas de deux nel gran ballo... musica del... Carafa..."	Louis Duport	Michele Carafa +	San Carlo	1820, June	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1820	HTC	pf, "ridotto per piano forte da Luigi Dalla Casa"	7	1820
	<i>Castore e Polluce</i> pezzi scelti..."	Salvatore Taglioni	Pietro Raimondi	San Carlo	1821	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1821	HTC	pf, "ridotti...Giuseppe Galluzzo (dilettante)."	10	1821
X	<i>Giovanna d'Arco</i> "Pezzi scelti del ballo storico..."	Salvatore Viganò	diversi rinomati autori Lichtenthal+ Aiblinger, Generali, Paisiello, Haydn, Viganò, Dussek, Rossini, arranged by Viganò	La Scala	1821, autunno	Printed pf score, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1821	HTC	pf, "...ridotti per cembalo solo ... Dionigi Brogialdi."	41	1821

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Giovanna d'Arco; Pezzi scelti del ballo storico</i>	Salvatore Viganò	diversi rinomati autori, Music arranged by, partly composed by Viganò			Printed pf score (cembalo)	Ricordi, Milano	?182-	NYPL	cembalo, ridotti per cembalo solo dal Sigr. Dionigi Brogialdi, part of Biblioteca di Musica moderna	53	1821
	<i>Gl'Incas "Pezzi scelti nel gran ballo..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni w/ contributions by Louis Henry	Luigi Carlini	San Carlo	1821	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1821	HTC	pf, "Ridotti ... Giuseppe Galluzzo, dilettante."	37	1821
	<i>I Due Geni "Pezzi scelti... gran ballo..."(quintetto - finale)</i>	Louis Henry	Pietro Raimondi	San Carlo	1821, Oct.	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1821	HTC	pf, "Ridotti...dilettante Giuseppe Galluzzo"	10	1821
X	<i>La donna del bosco; ballo in cinque atti</i>	[Gaspard Zannini]	Msaldinádegen	?Teatro Contavalli di Bologna		MS score on microfilm, SC			NYPL, Boston U			1821
X	<i>L'ingegno supera l'età [ossia, L'eredità rapita e riacquistata] Ballo di mezzo carattere in tre atti.</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Robert Graf von Gallenberg	?Teatro di Torre' Argentina, Rome?	carnevale 1821	MS Printed pf score, SD		?1821	NYPL	piano, Tradotta per il piano forte dal Mro. sig. Gaspard Frattesi	unpag ed	1821
	<i>L'Isola della Fortuna "Pezzi scelti..."</i>	Louis Henry	Pietro Raimondi	San Carlo	1821, July	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1821	HTC	pf, "Ridotti...dilettante Giuseppe Galluzzo"	15	1821

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Calto e Colama "...gran ballo...Ridotto..."</i>	Armand Vestris	Pietro Romani	San Carlo	1822	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1822	HTC	pf, "Ridotto... dilettante D. Giuseppe Galluzzo"	13	1822
X	<i>Gaudemberga; ballo in sei atti</i>	Armand Vestris ?	diversi ?			MS score on microfilm			NYPL, Boston U			1822
X	<i>Gundeberga "Settimino nel ballo...Ridotto"</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Luigi Carlini +	Teatro in via della Pergola, Firenze / San Carlo	1820 / 1822	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1822	H	pf, "Ridotto... dilettante D. Giuseppe Galluzzo"	9	1822
X	<i>Il Noce di Benevento: ballo alegorico</i>	Giulio Viganò after Salvatore Viganò	Franz Xaver Süssmayer	La Scala	1812, 1822, april	Printed pf score, SD	Ricordi, Milano	1822	HTC	pf, instrumental cues,	49	1822
X	<i>Il Trionfo dell'Amor Filiale "Danza cosacca ..."</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Ferdinace Ries +, arr. Paolo Brambilla	La Scala	1822, November	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1822	HTC	pf, from Reis' piano variations Op. 40, No. 1	5	1822
X	<i>La fata malvagia "... Ballo magico... Ridotto..."</i>	Armand Vestris	Giovanni Pacini + Raimondo Doche	Teatro del Fondo, Naples	1822, autunno	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1822	HTC	pf, "Ridotto... dilettante D. Giuseppe Galluzzo"	13	1822
	<i>La festa di Tersicore "Pezzi scelti..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini	San Carlo	1822	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1822	HTC	pf, "Ridotto... dilettante Giuseppe Galluzzo"	14	1822
	<i>l'Orda selvaggia "Pezzi scelti...gran ballo... Ridotti"</i>	Louis Henry	Pietro Raimondi	San Carlo	1822	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1822	HTC	pf, "Ridotti...dilettante Giuseppe Galluzzo"	6	1822

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Niobe "...ballo mitologico... Ridotto"</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Robert Gallenberg, Carlini, +	San Carlo	1822	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1822	HTC	pf, "Ridotto... dilettante D. Giuseppe Galluzzo"	15	1822
X	<i>Niobe "...passo delle ore..."</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Luigi Carlini	San Carlo	1822	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1822	HTC	pf, "Ridotto... dilettante D. Giuseppe Galluzzo"	10	1822
X	<i>Niobe "Ballabile nell'atto 10..."</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Robert Gallenberg	San Carlo	1822	Printed pf score, 4 hands	Girard, Napoli	1822	HTC	pf, "Ridotto... dilettante D. Giuseppe Galluzzo"	10	1822
	<i>Apelle e Campaspe "ballo...Ridotti..."</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Pietro Raimondi	San Carlo	1823	Printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	1823	HTC	pf, "Ridotti...Galluzzo"	9	1823
X	<i>Atide e Cloe "Pas de deux eseguito dà conjughi Taglioni..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini	San Carlo	1823, July	Printed pf score, SC	Girard, Napoli	1823	HTC	pf, "Facilmente ridotto...Galluzzo"	6	1823
X	<i>Ottavia: gran ballo tragico</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Pietro Raimondi	La Scala	1823, carnevale	Printed pf score, SD, acts II-V, 26 p.	Ricordi, Milano	1823	HTC	pf,	26	1823
X	<i>Sesostri "Pas de trois..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini +	San Carlo	1823, January	Printed pf score, SC	Girard, Napoli	1823	HTC	pf, "Ridotto...Galluzzo"	5	1823
X	<i>Sesostri: gran ballo istorico</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini +	San Carlo	1823, January	Printed pf score, vol. 1, 2, 4 of 4	Girard, Napoli	1823	HTC	pf, "Ridotto...Galluzzo"	23	1823
X	<i>Sesostri</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini	La Scala	Aug 16 1824	MS score on microfilm, SC		1824	NYPL, Boston U			1823

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Tippoo Saeb "...gran ballo ..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini, + Romani	San Carlo	1823, July	Printed pf score (4 p), SC	Girard, Napoli	1823	HTC	pf, "Ridotto...Galluzzo"	4	1823
	<i>Tippoo Saeb "Pas de trois..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini, + Romani	San Carlo	1823, July	Printed pf score, SC	Girard, Napoli	1823	HTC	pf, "Ridotto...Galluzzo"	6	1823
X	<i>Matilde e Malek-Adel (Pezzi scelti...ballo storico.."/ "tragico..."</i>	Francesco Clerico	Agostino Belloli, + Pietro Romani, Joseph Weigl	La Scala	1824, primavera	Printed Printed pf score, SD, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1824	HTC	pf	30	1824
X	<i>Aroldo, ossia I templari; tragedia ball-mimica.</i>		Luigi Belloli			score on microfilm			NYPL, Boston U			1825
X	<i>Federico secondo, re di Prussia; ballo in cinque atti</i>	Urbano Garzia				MS score on microfilm			NYPL, Boston U	?	1 score	1825
	<i>Francesca da Rimini (Pezzi scelti..."</i>	Giovanni Galzerani	Vincenzo Schira	Teatro all Canobbiana, Milan	1825, autunno	Printed pf score, SD, acts 4-5	Ricordi, Milano	1825	HTC	pf, "...Ridotti...Luigi Truzzi"	15	1825
X	<i>Agamennone "Terzetto ballabile"</i>	Giovanni Galzerani	Cesare Pagni	La Scala	1828, autunno	MS full score, SC			HTC	parts	85	1828
X	<i>Gengis-Kan "Ballabile cinese..."</i>	Louis Henry	Paolo Brambilla +, arr. Brambilla	La Scala	1828, primavera	Printed pf score, SD, SC	Ricordi, Pozzi e Co., Firenze; Ricordi, Milano	1828	HTC	pf, "Ridotto...Luigi Truzzi"	8	1828
X	<i>Il Flauto Magico "Tre pezzi scelti..."</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Severio Mercadante	La Scala	1828, Jan.	Printed pf score	Milano?	1828?	HTC	pf, "Ridotti...Giovanni Galeota."	14	1828
X	UNNAMED BALLET "Passo a tre"		Cesare Pagni	La Scala?	1828-9?	MS full score - scribal MS			HTC	parts	41	1828
X	<i>Buondelmonte "Quintetto Samengo"</i>	Giovanni Galzerani	Robert Gallenberg	La Scala	1829, Feb.	MS score, scribal			HTC	str, pic, fl, ob, cl, bs, hn, trmb, banda	103	1829

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Adelaide di Francia</i> "Pièces choisies du gran ballet..."	Louis Henry	Cesare Pugni	La Scala	1830, carnevale	Printed pf score, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1830	HTC	pf, reduced by Pugni and Luigi Truzzi	76	1830
X	<i>Agamennone; Ballabile nel ballo Agamennone</i>	Giovanni Galzerani	Cesare Pugni			Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?183-	NYPL	piano, Ridotto per piano-forte dal M. Truzzi	12	1830
X	<i>Romanov: gran ballo in sei atti</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Placido Mandanici	San Carlo	1832, May	MS full score, scribal, SC			HTC	?	327	1832
X	<i>Amore e Psiche</i> "pot-pourri sopra teme rimembranze nel gran ballo...gran ballabile"	Salvatore Taglioni	Pietro Romani	San Carlo	1835	Printed pf score, SC	?	1835?	HTC	pf	11	1835
X	UNNAMED BALLET "marcia"		Robert Gallenberg		1836	MS full score			HTC		7	1836
X	<i>Furio Camillo</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg	San Carlo	1838, Oct.	MS full score, AU			HTC		81	1838
X	<i>La Esmeralda</i>	Jules Perrot	Cesare Pugni	(London) La Scala	1845	MS parts for entire ballet		?1844	NYPL	large orchestra – see footnote ^a	parts	1844
X	<i>Esmeralda</i> "Pezzi scelti... Fanny Elssler e dal signor Perrot..."	Jules Perrot	Cesare Pugni + Giovanni Bajetti	(London) La Scala	1845, carnevale	Printed pf score, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1845	HTC	pf, "Riduzione ...?"	59	1845
	<i>Esmeralda: gran ballo</i>	Jules Perrot	Cesare Pugni + Giovanni Bajetti	(London) La Scala	1845, carnevale	Printed pf score, vols. 1, 4 / 4	F. Lucca, Milano	1844?	HTC	pf	26	1845
	<i>Il diavolo a quattro; ballo grande</i>	Giovanni Casati after Mazilier	Costantino dall'Argine (added pieces to score likely by Bellini)	?La Scala	?Sept. 12, 1865	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1845	NYPL	piano, Riduzione per pianoforte di G. P. Bocelli, 'Polka nell'atto 1' and 'Ballabile finale'	2 pieces	1845
X	BALLABILI eseguiti dalla Cerrito e St. Leon				1846, carnevale	Printed Printed pf score	G. Magrini, Torino	1846	HTC	pf, 3 waltzes and 2 galops	11	1846

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Iselda di Normandia; ballo fantastico</i>	Giovanni Casati	Pio fl. Bellini	?La Scala	?April 13 1846	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1846	NYPL	Riduzione per Pianoforte solo di A. Raineri	44	1846
	<i>Caterina, ossia, La figlia del bandito: ballo grande</i>	Jules Perrot	Cesare Pugni and Giovanni Bajetti	(London) La Scala	Jan. 9, 1847	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1847	NYPL	piano, ridotta per pianoforte solo da E. Muzio	132	1847
X	<i>Caterina; ou La fille du brigand. Ballet composé par Jules Perrot et reproduit par lui au Théâtre I. R. à la Scala à Milan</i>	Jules Perrot	Cesare Pugni and Giovanni Bajetti	(London) La Scala	Jan 9, 1847	Printed pf score, SD in Italian	F. Lucca, Milano	?1847	NYPL	piano, ridotta per pianoforte solo da E. Muzio	86	1847
	<i>Odetta; o, La clemenza di Carlo VI, re di Francia; ballo storico; Pezzi</i>	Jules Perrot	Giacomo Panizza, Giacomo and G. B. Croff.			Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1847	NYPL	piano	3 v. in 1	1847
X	<i>Faust; pezzi scelti del gran ballo fantastico</i>	Jules Perrot	Giacomo Panizza			Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1848	NYPL	piano, e dedicati al distintissimo compositore di musica, Maurizio Levi, dall'autore	9	1848
	<i>Giovanni di Leida; ossia, Il falso profeta Ballo storico</i>	Giovanni Casati	Giovanni Battista di Croff,	?La Scala	?Dec. 26, 1849	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1849	NYPL	piano, Musica ridotta per pianoforte solo da G. B. Croff	3 pieces	1849
X	BALLABILE		Amilcare Ponchielli		after 1850	MS score, AU			HTC	for band	14	1850
	<i>Diema; ballo</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza					?185-	NYPL	piano	3 pieces	1850

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Il Viaggio nella Luna</i>		Amilcare Ponchielli		after 1850	MS score, AU, 8 p., descriptions			HTC	for band, 3 mvmts.	8	1850
X	<i>Passo a Due</i> <i>esequito ... Montani ... Croce</i>		Giuseppe Giaquinto		1850s	MS full score, AU			HTC	corrections and alteration, sketches	20	1850
X	<i>Passo a due? ... Croce e Durante</i>		Giuseppe Giaquinto		1850s	MS full score, AU			HTC	corrections and alteration, sketches	16	1850
X	<i>Fausto: ballo fantastico...</i>	Antonio Cortesi	Luigi Maria Viviani	Teatro della Pergola, Florence	1852	Printed pf score, SD, SC	Redinando Lorenzi, Firenze	1852	HTC		92	1852
X	<i>Fausto; ballo fantastico</i>	Antonio Cortesi	Luigi Maria Viviani	?Teatro della pergola.	?1852	Printed pf score	F. Lorenzi, Firenze	?1852	NYPL	piano, La riduzione per piano del Mo. E. Picchi	92	1852
X	<i>Bianchi e negri: azione coreografica</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza and others	La Scala	Nov. 10, 1853	Printed pf score, SD	F. Lucca, Milano	?1853	NYPL	piano	64	1853
X	<i>Bianchi e negri</i>	Giuseppe Rota	diversi: Paolo Giorza + Marco Aurelio Marliani, Cesare Dominicetti, Signor Olivieri	La Fenice	1857, carneval quare-sima	Printed pf score, SC, SD	F. Lucca, Milano	1857	HTC	piano	64	1853
X	<i>Palmina</i>	Teodor Martin	Giacomo Panizza after Francisco Antonio Norberto do Santos Pinto	La Scala	1853	MS full score, AU			HTC		126	1853

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Il giuocatore; ballo</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza and altri	?La Scala	Jan. 14, 1854	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1854	NYPL	piano, Pezzi Scelti ridotti per pianoforte solo da P. Giorza	5 pieces	1854
	<i>Esmeralda</i> ; gran ballo composto dal Sr. Perrot pel Reale Teatro di Londra e riprodotto dallo Stesso sulle Scene dell'I. R. Teatro alla Scala	Jules Perrot	Cesare Pugni	Reale Teatro di Londra, La Scala	1844	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1854	NYPL	piano	61	1854
X	<i>Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico</i>	Luigi Danesi	diversi: maestri Bernardi e Scaramelli and others: Venanzi, Mascheroni	?La Scala	1855	Printed pf score, SC	Bratti Sciabilli, Firenze	?1855	NYPL	Reduction for piano by R. Vitali ^b	71	1855
	<i>Gran Polka in carattere...</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Giuseppe Giaquinto	San Carlo	1855	MS full score - composer's autograph w/ corrections			HTC	autograph with corrections and alterations	12	1855
X	<i>Napoletana: Ballabile a diversi caratteri</i>		Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli		after 1855	MS full score			HTC	"Danza Moresca" has harp and guitar part	10	1855
	<i>Passo a Sette Gambe</i>		Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli		after 1855	MS full score			HTC	deletions in ink	4	1855
X	<i>Shakspeare; ovvero, Il sogno di una notte d'estate</i>	Giovanni Casati	Paolo Giorza	?La Scala	Jan. 27, 1855	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1855	NYPL	piano, Riduzione per pianoforte di P. Truzzi e G. Toja	85	1855

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Vivandiera: Ballabile</i>		Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli		after 1855	MS full score			HTC		8	1855
X	<i>Tutti Coreografi; ossia un Ballo Nuovo</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza	Teatro all Canobbiana, Milan	1856 autunno	Printed pf score, SC	F. Lucca, Milano	1856	HTC	Individual Numbers named in catalogue	43	1856
X	<i>Un ballo nuovo; azione coreografica</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza			Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1856	NYPL	piano, Pianoforte solo dall'autore	6 pieces	1856
	<i>Carlo Il Guastatore: azione mimica in quattro parti e sette quadri</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Argentina	1857, autunno	Printed pf score, ?	F. Lucca, Milano	1857	HTC		74	1857
	<i>La giocoliera; ballo</i>	Pasquale Borri	Paolo Giorza			Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1857	NYPL	piano	3 pieces	1857
X	<i>Il Sogno dell'Esule</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1858, primavera	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	1858	HTC		63	1858
X	<i>Niccolò de' Lapi</i>	Federico Fusco	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1858, carnevale	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	1858	HTC		71	1858
X	<i>Nicolò de' Lapi; ballo storico in 6 atti</i>	Federico Fusco	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1858, carnevale	Printed pf score, SD	F. Lucca, Milano	1858	NYPL	piano, Musica di Paolo Giorza e dallo stesso ridotta per pianoforte solo	71	1858
X	<i>Uno spirito maligno; ovvero, Metempsicosi di una farfalla</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza	La Scala	primavera 1858	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1858	NYPL	piano, Musica del maestro Paolo Giorza e dallo stesso ridotta per piano forte solo	40	1858

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Clara</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza and Scaramelli	Teatro Grande, Trieste	1859, Feb.	MS foglietto - scribal / comp.			HTC	alterations	124	1859
X	<i>Clara</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza and Scaramelli	Teatro Grande, Trieste	1859, Feb.	MS full score			HTC	alterations	346	1859
	<i>Florina</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza + Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli	Teatro Grande, Trieste	1858, carnevale	MS foglietto - scribal MS			HTC	three treble staves with inst. Cues - many alterations	114	1859
	<i>Florina</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza + Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli	Teatro Grande, Trieste	1858, carnevale	MS full score, missing just a few pieces			HTC		144	1859
	<i>Loretta l'indovina; ballo in 4 parti</i>	Davide Costa	Giacquinto, Giuseppe	San Carlo	Nov. 18, 1859	Printed pf score, SD	Privilegia to Stab. Musicale Partenope o di T. Cottrau	1859	NYPL	piano, Musica del maestro Giuseppe Giaquinto, dallo stesso ridotto per pianoforte e dedicato alla celebre artista danzante Amina Boschetti	6 pieces	1859
	<i>Un Sogno; Ossia La Figlia Di Gand</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza, Scaramelli, Giuseppe Devasini, Giacomo Panizza, G. Ortori, and others	Teatro Grande, Trieste	1859, carnevale	MS full score, SC			HTC	ex. In catalogue	254	1859

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Un'avventura di carnevale; ballo in cinque atti</i>	Pasquale Borri	Paolo Giorza	?La Scala	March 19, 1859	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1859	NYPL	piano	7 pieces	1859
	<i>Favilla</i>		Paolo Giorza			MS foglietto - scribal MS			HTC	three treble staves with inst. Cues - many alterations	98	1860
	<i>Favilla</i> [selection]		Paolo Giorza			MS Banda Score			HTC	2 treble staves	8	1860
	<i>Favilla Ballabile persiano" and "Finale"</i>		Paolo Giorza			MS Full Score			HTC		16	1860
	<i>Idea; ballo fantastico</i>	?; Pasquale Borri				Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?186-	NYPL	piano		1860
	<i>Il vampiro; ballo fantastico in cinque atti</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza	?La Scala	Dec. 26, 1860	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1860	NYPL	piano	5 pieces	1860
X	<i>Marco Visconti; ballo storico</i>	Federico Fusco	Enrico Bernardi	?La Scala	?Sept. 5, 1860.	Printed pf score, SD, SC	Ricordi, Milano	?1860	NYPL	piano, arr.	21	1860
	<i>Nadilla; o Il Lago delle Fate</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza			MS foglietto - scribal MS			HTC	2-3 treble staves	29	1860
	<i>Nadilla; o Il Lago delle Fate</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza			MS foglietto - scribal MS			HTC	3 treble staves, many alterations	107	1860
	<i>Nadilla; o Il Lago delle Fate</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza			MS full score, AU,			HTC	many alterations	127	1860
X	<i>Scintilla; ossia, Il demone seduttore. Ballo fantastico</i>	Pasquale Borri	Enrico Bernardi	La Scala	?Jan. 15, 1860	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1860	NYPL	piano, Musica di Enrico Bernardi, dallo stesso ridotta per pianoforte	4 pieces	1860
	<i>Benvenuto Cellini; ballo</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Luigi Venzano	?La Scala	August 24, 1861	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1861	NYPL	piano, Ridotta per pianoforte da L. Truzzi	3 pieces	1861

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Don Cesare di Bazan; ballo in 5 atti</i>	Francesco Penco	diversi: Muzzi, Giustiniano and Scaramelli, Bernardi, ecc			Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1861	NYPL	piano	5 pieces	1861
	<i>Ellinor: o, Vedi Napoli e poi mori</i>	Paolo Taglioni	Peter Ludwig Hertel	?La Scala	Dec 26, 1861	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1861	NYPL	piano,	14 pieces	1861
	<i>Il barone di Prosky; ballo in cinque atti</i>	Francesco Penco	Ravières, comte de	Teatro della Canobbiana		Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1861	NYPL	piano	5 pieces	1861
	<i>La Contessa d'Egmont</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1861, autunno	Printed pf score, SC	F. Lucca, Milano	1861	HTC		68	1861
X	<i>La contessa d'Egmont; ballo in cinque atti</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza	?La Scala	March 2, 1861	Printed pf score, SD	F. Lucca, Milano	1861	NYPL	piano	76	1861
	<i>Arabella: ballo grande in 5 parti</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1862, primavera	MS foglietto - scribal MS			HTC	3 treble staves w/ inst. Cues	118	1862
	<i>Arabella: ballo grande in 5 parti</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1862, primavera	MS full score, mostly AU			HTC	alterations	330	1862
X	<i>Ariella</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza	La Scala	1862, autunno	Chor. Production notes			HTC	notes and costume designs	11 items	1862
X	<i>Ariella</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza	La Scala	1862, autunno	MS foglietto - scribal MS			HTC	alterations	191	1862
X	<i>Ariella</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza	La Scala	1862, autunno	MS répétiteur with chor. SD			HTC	melodic line, pictographs of floor patterns, SD interlined	60	1862

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Flik e flok</i>	Paolo Taglioni	Peter Ludwig Hertel	La Scala	1862, carnevale	Printed pf score, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1862	HTC	red. By Luigi Rivetta and G. Galbiati-Garegnani	79	1862
X	<i>Flik e Flok; ballo fantastico</i>	Paolo Taglioni	Peter Ludwig Hertel	?La Scala		Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1862	NYPL	piano, Arranged for piano by L. Rivetta.	75	1862
	<i>Gabriella de Vergi; ballo tragico in cinque atti: Maria Taglioni polka, op. 175</i>	(Maria Taglioni Polka)	Strauss, Johann, also più celebri e rinomati autori		?carnevale 1827	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1863	NYPL	piano	1 score	1862
	<i>Folgore; ballo fantastico in tre parti</i> * same as <i>L'Anello infernale</i> below	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza	?Carlo Felice, Genova	primavera 1862	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1862	NYPL	piano, Musica composta e ridotta per pianoforte da Paolo Giorza	31	1862
	<i>L'anello infernale; ballo fantastico in sei parti</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza	?La Scala	autunno 1862	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1862	NYPL	piano, Musica composta e ridotta per pianoforte da Paolo Giorza	63	1862
X	<i>L'Anello Infernale; ossia Folgore</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1862, Genoa	MS short score, AU, SC			HTC	3 staves, alterations	64	1862
X	<i>L'Anello Infernale; ossia Folgore</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1862, Genoa	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1862	HTC	Inscribed by Amina Boschetti, prov. Cia Fornaroli	31	1862
	<i>Le stelle; ballo</i>	Paolo Taglioni	Peter Ludwig Hertel	?La Scala	Performed at La Scala, Dec. 26, 1862.	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1862	NYPL	piano, Arranged for piano by L. Truzzi	7 pieces	1862

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Nostradamus</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Paolo Giorza	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1862, carnevale	Printed pf score, SC	Ricordi, Milano	1862	HTC		39	1862
	<i>Nostradamus; ballo fantastico in cinque atti</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Paolo Giorza	?Carlo Felice, Genova, also La Scala	La Scala, April 21, 1862	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1862	NYPL	piano, Musica composta e ridotta per pianoforte da Paolo Giorza	39	1862
	<i>Ballanda; ballo</i>	Paolo Taglioni	Peter Ludwig Hertel	?La Scala	Feb 25, 1863	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1863	NYPL	piano, Riduzione per pianoforte di F. Pollini	9 pieces	1863
X	<i>Fantasie d'un Poeta a Roma^c</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	Teatro regio, Parma	1863, Parma	MS full score, AU			HTC	alterations	120	1863
	<i>L'Ambiziosa</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Pietro Repetto	Teatro Grande, Brescia	1863, August	MS foglietto - scribal MS			HTC	3 treble staves, inst. cues, prelude and Act 1 only	38	1863
	<i>L'Ambiziosa</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Pietro Repetto	Teatro Grande, Brescia	1863, August	MS full score, AU			HTC	alterations	144	1863
	<i>Anna di Masovia; ballo in 5 atti</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Costantino dall'Argine		1852	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1864	NYPL	piano, Musica di C. dall'Argine; dallo stesso ridotta per pianoforte solo	51	1864
X	<i>Fantasie; Visione di un Poeta^d</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	Turin?	1864?	MS répétiteur with chor. SD			HTC	melodic line, pictographs of floor patterns, SD interlined	31	1864

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Gazelda. Selections</i>	Jules Perrot	Paolo Giorza	La Scala	Jan. 27, 1864	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1864	NYPL	piano	3 pieces	1864
	<i>Velleda; azione coreografica in cinque quadri</i>	Giuseppe Rota	Costantino dall'Argine	?La Scala	?March 3, 1864	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1864	NYPL	piano, Ridotta per pianoforte da Luigi Truzzi	74	1864
	<i>Galieno de' Falieri</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Enrico Rolland	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1865, carnevale	MS full score, AU			HTC	alterations	240	1865
	<i>Il Sogno d'Ines</i>	Agrippa Pinzuti	Giuseppe Giaquinto	San Carlo	1865, quaresima	MS full score, AU			HTC	alterations, mixed chorus and orchestra	16	1865
	IMPORT: La maschera; o, Le notti di Venezia. Ballo in cinque parti	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza	(Paris) Riprodott o alla Scala	La Scala, March 16, 1865	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1865	NYPL	piano	79	1865
	<i>Leonilda; o, La fidanzata del filibustiere.</i> Ballo grande in due parti e sette quadri	Paolo Taglioni	Paolo Giorza	La Scala	Jan. 31, 1865	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1865	NYPL	piano, Ridotta per pianoforte da Francesco Almasio	84	1865
	<i>Madamigella d'Heilly; ballo</i>	Giovanni Casati	Paolo Giorza and Costantino dall'Argine	?La Scala	Oct. 25, 1865	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1865	NYPL	piano, Riduzione per pianoforte degli autori	5 pieces	1865
	<i>Salammbò; ballo grande</i>	Lorenzo Viena	Paolo Giorza	?Teatro Regio di Torino	Dec. 15 1864	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1865	NYPL	piano	71	1865
X	<i>Zelia</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1865, carnevale	Chor. Production notes			HTC	notes from 1866-68	8 items	1865
X	<i>Zelia</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1865, carnevale	MS foglietto - scribal MS			HTC	3 treble staves, alterations	73	1865
X	<i>Zelia</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1865, carnevale	MS foglietto - starts with Act 1, no. 8			HTC	3 treble staves, alterations	105	1865

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Zelia</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1865, carnevale	MS full score, AU, SC			HTC	one piece not from composer	151	1865
	<i>Estella; ballo</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Paolo Giorza			Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1866	NYPL	piano, Riduzione per pianoforte dell'autore	37	1866
	<i>La devâdâcy; ballo in cinque atti e sei quadri</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Costantino dall'Argine	?La Scala	?Oct 27, 1866	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1866	NYPL	piano, Musica del maestro C. dall'Argine, dallo stesso ridotta per pianoforte solo	83	1866
	<i>L'Ambizioso</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine			MS foglietto			HTC	alterations, 1 pg. with a pictograph, 3 treble staves	140	1866
	<i>L'Ambizioso</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine			MS full score, AU			HTC	alterations	120	1866
	<i>Ondina; o La Grotta d'Adelberga</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1866, primavera	MS foglietto			HTC	3 treble staves, alterations	106	1866
	<i>Ondina; o La Grotta d'Adelberga</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1866, primavera	MS full score, AU			HTC	alterations	126	1866
	<i>Ondina; o La Grotta d'Adelberga</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1866, primavera	MS full scores			HTC	many pieces	21 items	1866
X	<i>Zelia later version</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine + Paolo Giorza additions	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1866, primavera	MS Banda Score			HTC		4	1866

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Zelia later version (section)</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine + Paolo Giorza additions	Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa	1866, primavera	MS full score			HTC		8	1866
	<i>Nyssa e Saib</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine + Leopoldo Angeli	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1867, carnevale	Chor. Production Notes			HTC		9 items	1867
	<i>Nyssa e Saib</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine + Leopoldo Angeli	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1867, carnevale	MS foglietto			HTC	alterations, 3 treble staves	147	1867
	<i>Nyssa e Saib</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine + Leopoldo Angeli	Teatro Apollo, Rome	1867, carnevale	MS full score, AU, "original"			HTC	alterations	109	1867
X	<i>Brahma</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Costantino dall'Argine	La Scala, Carlo Felice, Teatro Comunale, Bologna, all in 1868	1868	Printed pf score, SD, SC	F. Lucca, Milano	1868	H	red. by F. Almasio	107	1868
X	<i>Brahma: ballo in un prologo e sei atti</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Costantino dall'Argine	?La Scala	?Feb. 25, 1868	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano and New York	?1868	NYPL	piano, riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio	107	1868
	<i>Brahma: ballo in sette atti e prologo</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Costantino dall'Argine	?La Scala	?Feb. 25, 1868	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1868	NYPL	piano, Riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio	8 pieces	1868
	<i>La Camargo; ballo</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Costantino dall'Argine	?La Scala	?Jan 11, 1868	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1868	NYPL	piano	3 pieces	1868

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>L'Isola di Bradamante: scherzo in tre atti</i>		Costantino dall'Argine			MS full score, AU			HTC		104	1868
	<i>Nyssa e Saib later version</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine + Leopoldo Angeli	Teatro regio, Turin	1868 carnevale-quaresima	MS Banda Score, SC			HTC	3 treble staves, markings	32	1868
	<i>Nyssa e Saib later version</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine + Leopoldo Angeli	Teatro regio, Turin	1868 carnevale-quaresima	2 MS full scores by Antonio Bauer			HTC	two numbers, one is a solo by the prima ballerina	14	1868
	<i>Nyssa e Saib later version</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine + Leopoldo Angeli	Teatro regio, Turin	1868 carnevale-quaresima	MS répétiteur			HTC	melodic line, Act 1,2,4	52	1868
	<i>Nyssa e Saib later version</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine + Leopoldo Angeli	Teatro regio, Turin	1868 carnevale-quaresima	MS répétiteur with chor. SD			HTC	melodic line complete, with pictographs, SD, + finale by Bauer	74	1868
X	<i>Don Parasol; ballo</i>	Paolo Taglioni	Peter Ludwig Hertel	?La Scala	Dec. 26, 1869	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1869	NYPL	piano	7 pieces	1869
Supplement from the New York Public Library and elsewhere												
	<i>Bianca di Nevers; ballo</i>	Ferdinando Pratesi	Romualdo Marengo	?La Scala	Aug. 28, 1872	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1872	NYPL	piano	7 pieces	1872
	<i>Cristoforo Colombo; ballo</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Paolo Giorza	?Carlo Felice, Genova		Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1872	NYPL	piano, Musica composta e ridotta per pianoforte da Paolo Giorza	38	1872
	<i>I sette peccati capitali; azione coreografica</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Romualdo Marengo, G. R. Serponti			Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1872	NYPL	piano	4 pieces	1872

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Le due gemelle; azione coreografica in un prologo e sei atti</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Amilcare Ponchielli	?La Scala	?1873	Printed pf score, SD	Ricordi, Milano	?1873	NYPL	piano	150	1873
	<i>Nephté; o, Il figliuol prodigo. Ballo in sei atti</i>	Pasquale Borri	Giacquinto, Giuseppe, and Giorza, Marengo, Bolelli, Döppler	?La Scala	Aug. 30, 1873	Printed pf score, SD	F. Lucca, Milano	?1873	NYPL	piano	151	1873
	<i>Ermanzia ballo</i>	Ferdinando Pratesi	Romualdo Marengo			Printed pf score	Giudici e Strada, Torino	?1874	NYPL	piano	47	1874
	<i>Le figlie di Chèope; ballo</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Costantino dall'Argine			Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1875	NYPL	piano	6 pieces	1875
	<i>Pietro Micca; ballo storico</i>	Luigi Manzotti	Giovanni Chiti	?La Scala	?Jan. 20, 1875	Printed pf score	Bratti, Firenze	?1875	NYPL	piano		1875
	<i>Théa; ossia, La fata dei fiori. Ballo fantastico in cinque quadri</i>	Paolo Taglioni	Costantino dall'Argine	?La Scala	?Feb. 27, 1867	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1876	NYPL	piano, Ridotta per pianoforte solo da Enrico Bernardi	51	1876
	<i>La stella di Granata. Ballo storico-fantastico</i>	Cesare Marzagora	Costantino dall'Argine	Teatro della Canobbiana	?carnevale, 1877	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1877	NYPL	piano	6 pieces	1877
	<i>Loreley; ballo</i>	Ippolito Monplaisir	Costantino dall'Argine	?La Scala	?Jan. 4, 1877	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1877	NYPL	piano	5 pieces	1877
	<i>Nerone; ballo</i>	Antonio Pallerini	Costantino dall'Argine	?La Scala	?1877	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1877	NYPL	piano, Riduzione per pianoforte di M. Saladino	3 pieces	1877
	<i>Maria di Haswig; ballo</i>	Cesare Marzagora	Carlo Besozzi			Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1880	NYPL	piano	63	1880
	<i>Morgano; ballo fantastico</i>	Paolo Taglioni	Peter Ludwig Hertel	?La Scala	quaresima, Feb. 21, 1880	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1880	NYPL	piano	6 pieces	1880

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
X	<i>Excelsior; azione, storica, allegorica, fantastica</i>	Luigi Manzotti	Romualdo Marengo	La Scala	Jan. 11, 1881	Printed pf score, SD	Ricordi, Milano and New York	?1881	NYPL	piano, Edizione completa per pianoforte; riduzione di M. Saladino	132	1881
X	<i>Daï Natha; ballo romantico fantastico</i>	Cesare Marzagora	Romualdo Marengo	?La Scala	Jan. 7, 1882	Printed pf score	Giudici e Strada, Torino	?1882	NYPL	piano	34	1882
X	<i>L'astro degli Afghan; ballo in sei atti</i>	Ferdinando Pratesi	Romualdo Marengo	?La Scala	Jan. 3, 1883	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1883	NYPL	piano	104	1883
	<i>Amor; poema coreografico in due parti e sedici quadri</i>	Luigi Manzotti	Romualdo Marengo	La Scala	Feb. 17, 1886	Printed pf score, SD	Ricordi, Milano	?1886	NYPL	piano; Edizione completa per pianoforte, riduzione di Carlo Chiusuri	225	1886
	<i>Carnaval à Venise</i>		G. Jacobi			MS with piano arrangement, signed Oct. 8, 1887			NYPL	orchestra, piano	83 l. ????	1887
	<i>Narenta; ballo</i>	Luigi Manzotti, "Riprodotta da A. Coppini."?	Paolo Giorza	?La Scala		Printed pf score, SD	F. Lucca, Milano	?1887	NYPL	piano	131	1887
	<i>Annibale ballo storico in un prologo e nove quadri</i>	Giovanni Pogna	Romualdo Marengo	?Teatro dal Verne Milano	carnevale 1887-88	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1888	NYPL	piano	5 pieces	1888
	<i>Day-Sing; azione coreografica-fantastica in sette quadri ed un prologo</i>	Ferdinando Pratesi	Romualdo Marengo	?La Scala	Feb. 7, 1891	Printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	?1891	NYPL	piano	85	1891

**Appendix A continued: A Database of Ballet Music Sources in the Ward (HTC) and NYPL Collections
(print version)**

Source studied	Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
	<i>Il Guarany; opera-ballo in quattro atti, libretto di Antonio Scalvini,</i>		Carlos Gomes	?La Scala	March 19, 1870	piano vocal score	Ricordi, Milano	?1892	NYPL	piano, voice, Opera completa per canto e pianoforte	447	1892
	<i>Rodope; ballo</i>	Raffaele Grassi	Paolo Giorza	?La Scala	Jan. 5, 1892	Printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	?1892	NYPL	piano	115	1892

Notes:

^a Scored for: piano, violin II, viola, violoncello I-II, double bass, bassoon I-II, horn I-II, bass trombone, ophicleide, bass drum, kettle drums and an unspecified bass instrument): 1 part for the Pas seul (horn III-IV) and 13 parts for the Pas galop (violin I, viola, double bass I-III, flute I-II, clarinet I-II, oboe I-II, bassoon I-II, trumpet I-II, horn I-II, III-IV, bass trombone and 2 parts for unspecified instruments.

^b "Polka dei guillari" (6 p.) and Valzer-passo a dodici (9 p.) composed by A. Venanzi and E. Mascheroni, respectively, for the performance of Gretchen at La Scala, 1885, inserted.

^c *Fantasia d'un Poeta a Roma* (1863) is the same or similar to the ballet below this entry *Fantasia; Visione di un Poeta* (1864). The two should be compared more thoroughly.

^d See note c.

APPENDIX B

A DATABASE OF SOME MUSICAL SOURCES FOR ITALIAN
BALLETTS IN ITALIAN LIBRARIES (PRINT VERSION)

Appendix B: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries (print version)

Title	Choreographer	Composer	Premier Venue	Premier Date	Material type	Pub.	Date	Location	Source	Instrument etc.	Pgs.	Sort Date
EARLY SOURCE: <i>Il convitato di pietra</i> , ballo del quartetto di Mo. Viganò nel...in Venezia 1782	Salvatore Viganò	Salvatore Viganò?			MS score		1782	Genova, B. del Conservatorio di Musica Niccolò Paganini	Sc. 122	orchestra		1782
"Ballo delle Streghe"	Salvatore Viganò	Salvatore Viganò?			MS piano score			Milano, de Micheli	Mss. Mus. 238	pianoforte, C major		1800
"Composizioni strumentali" [various pieces of ballets, operas and famous composers for private use]		diversi: Gallenberg, Generali, Rossini, Rauzzini, Brambilla, Morlacchi			MS per cembalo o pianoforte			Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense	Mss. 2851	cembalo o piano-forte		1800
"Musica da ballo, per orchestra in Mi bem."		Robert Gallenberg			MS score			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà	orchestra		1800
<i>Alceste</i> Dieci variazioni / Sopra un Balletto dell' <i>Alceste</i> / Del Sig.r Gelinek		Josef Jelunek			MS piano score		18--	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Musica Strumentale e 2604	piano		1800
Balletto / per pianoforte					MS piano score		18--	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	O(C).2.22(1)	piano		1800

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

Balli (contents listed separately)				MS			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	25.3.3			1800
Balli (see separate entries)		Pietro Graviller		MS orch. Reduction			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	25.3.12-13	orch. Reduction		1800
Balli: Passo a due, passo a due, passo a tre, passo a tre, passo della Scopa, Sarto di Sondrio (see separate entry)				MS piano ?		18--	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	25.3.10-11	piano, and ?		1800
<i>Ballo degli Zingari</i> : ballabile secondo		Joseph Weigl		MS piano score			Torino, B. Nazionale Universitaria	Foà-Giordano 374	piano reduction		1800
<i>Ballo della Regina di Prussia</i>				MS		18--	Roma, Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia	Accademico A-Ms-44	piano?		1800
<i>Barbablu</i> : Gran Ballabile...C.F. Calegari?				MS per arpa o piano			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	6.5.40	arpa o piano		1800
<i>Esselino</i> : quartetto nel ballo...				MS piano score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Casa Reale - 78.2.3(21-22)	piano four-hands, ridotto per pianoforte a quattro mani da Simonis		1800
<i>Gli Arabi nelle Spagne</i> : Ballabile dei Mori nel...del celebre flautista Ciardi. Riduzione del Lcio Campiani		Cesare Ciardi		MS piano score			B. musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	Mss. Musiche B 3279	pianoforte		1800

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Il convitato di pietra</i>				MS piano score			Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	Mss.Mus. B 2336	piano		1800
<i>Illusione d'un Pittore / divertimento di ballo</i>				MS piano score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	25.3.3	piano, Ridotta per Pianoforte da Francesco Mancini		1800
<i>La Colonia: ballo ...sinfonia</i>		Robert Gallenberg		MS	?San Carlo		San Severo, Archivio capitolare della Cattedrale (S. Maria Assunta) AND B. del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Ms 405	pianoforte reduction		1800
<i>La morte d'Ottone II imperatore/ Balletto eroico posto in musica e ridotto dal medesimo per il piano-forte</i>		Leopold Antonin Kozeluh		MS piano score			Bologna, Biblioteca del Convento di S. Francesco dei Fratelli Minori conventuali	FN.K.I.1	piano, ridotto dal stesso		1800
Musica per ballo: Bacchanale, Balletto, Terzetto		Robert Gallenberg		MS score, autograph ?		18--	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.8.12			1800
Passo a tre		Gabrielli					Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	25.3.3			1800

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Annetta e Lubino: ballo per cembalo (part of "Balli")</i>		diversi autori			MS per cembalo		1802	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	0.9.34	cembalo		1802
<i>Il Conte Tolvaj: ballo Ungherese (part of "Balli")</i>					MS per cembalo	copia	1802	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	0.9.34	cembalo		1802
<i>Aci e Galatea: ballo per cembalo (part of "Tre balli per cembalo")</i>					MS per cembalo		1803	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	0.9.28	cembalo		1803
<i>Equivoco delle due scale: ballo per cembalo</i>					MS per cembalo		1803	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	0.9.28	cembalo		1803
<i>Gli Amanti schiavi: ballo per cembalo titolato...</i>					MS per cembalo		1803	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	0.9.28	cembalo		1803
<i>I Guastatori di Campagna: ballo per cembalo</i>					MS per cembalo		1804	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	0.9.36	cembalo		1804
<i>La Finta Militare: ballo buffo (part of "Balli")</i>		diversi autori			MS per cembalo		1804	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	0.9.36	cembalo		1804

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>L'Antiquario: ballo per cembalo (part of "Balli")</i>		diversi autori			MS per cembalo		1804	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	0.9.36	cembalo		1804
<i>Teresa Vedova: quartetto nel ballo di Teresa Vedova</i>	Trento?				MS per cembalo		1804	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	0.9.36	cembalo		1804
<i>Figaro ossia Il Barbier di Siviglia: ballo</i>		Louis-Antoine Duport			MS			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Pacco 629(1-8)	2 ob, 2 clar, 2 horn, 2 bsn, and contra; Accomodate nel Harmonia Di		1806
<i>Il Semplice e la Vanerella</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Salvatore Viganò?			MS parts		1806 nella fiera del santo	Padova, B. del Conservatorio di Musica Cesare Pollini	ATVc 86	fl, ob I e II, cl, fag, cor I e II, tr I e II, vl princ., 3 vl I, 4 vl II, vla, 3 b.		1806
<i>Il Noce di Benevento: Variazioni per clavicembalo : sopra la prima controdanza del ballo "Il noce di Benevento"</i>		Francesco Pollini			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1808	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena		clavi-cembalo	11	1808
<i>Gli Sterlizi: No.2 Ballabile del Ballo grande ridotto per Piano-Forte, part of Pieces diverse pour Piano-Forte</i>	Salvatore Viganò				MS piano score		18--	B. musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	Mss.Musiche B 4234 AND Mss.Musiche B 4625	piano-forte		1809
<i>I Quattro Caratteri: Allemande e Galoppe nel ballo...</i>					MS per forte piano			Roma, Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia	Accademico A-MS-4542	forte-piano		1810

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Il Giudizio di Paride: ballo mitologico</i>	Luigi Henry	Luigi Carlini			printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale		piano, ridotto	39	1810
<i>La Carovana del Cairo (ballo completo)</i>	Luigi Henry	Robert Gallenberg			printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli, Ragni Collection	Plate PN 352 (1-4)	piano	56	1810
<i>Meleagro (Pas de deux)</i>	Luigi Henry	Robert Gallenberg			printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli, Ragni Collection	Plate PN 339-2	piano	5	1810
<i>Meleagro (Pas de trois)</i>	Luigi Henry	Robert Gallenberg			printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli, Ragni Collection	Plate PN 339	piano	5	1810
<i>Meleagro Marcia per banda - estratt da qualche motivo del..., ridotta per armonia di trombe</i>		G. F. Calegari			MS autograph score			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedata	trumpet band	6	1810
<i>Otto mesi in due ore (ballo completo)</i>	Gaetano Gioja	Robert Gallenberg			printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli	Plate PN 408 (1-3)	piano	26	1810
<i>Il Noce di Benevento</i>	[Likely S. Viganò]	Franz Xaver Sussmayr			MS			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedata Q.14.14	f11, f12, ob1, cl1, cl2, fag1, fag2, cor1, cor2, tr1, tr2, timp, vl1, vl2, vla, vlc, b		1812
<i>Il Sansone, gran ballo AND Il nuovo Pigmalione: introduzione e nove variazioni sopra un tema balletto nel...</i>		Robert Gallenberg			printed pf score	RicordiMilano	1813	Milano: Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi, / Bergamo: Biblioteca del Civico istituto musicale Gaetano Donizetti	MI: A.37.24.18	harp	11	1813

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Penteo: ballo primo composizione del Sig. Clerico</i>	Francesco Clerico			1813	MS parts			B. del Conservatorio di Musica Cesare Pollini	ATVc 96: Ms. 1813	1 fl e ot, ob 1 e II, cl, fag, cor I e II, vl princ., 2 vl I, 3 vl II, 2 vla, 2 b.		1813
<i>Il Ritorno di Ulisse in Patria (Sinfonia)</i>		Robert Gallenberg			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1814	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli, Ragni Collection	PN 166 (1814)	piano, ridotta dal... Giovanni Moro	5	1814
<i>La ritrovata Figlia di Ottone Secondo: Musica del ballo intitolata...</i>		Leopoldo Kozeluch			MS piano score		ca. 1818	Civitanova Marche, Biblioteca comunale Silvio Zavatti	Ricci - ms.A.15.3	vl1, vl2, vla, b, fl1, fl2, ob1, ob2, fag1, fag2, cor1, cor2, tr1, tr2, timp, ?		1815
RELATED SOURCE: "Tarantella" ballo nazionale Napoletano					MS piano score			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà Z.5.39			1815
<i>Cendrillon o sia della Virtù Premiata: Gran Polonese...</i>					MS per cembalo o pianoforte	Napoli presso Merola Strada		Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Mus, Strum. App. 7.8.5(33)	cembalo o piano-forte		1816
<i>La virtù premiata: ballo</i>	Louis- Antoine Duport	Robert Gallenberg			MS score	Teatro S. Carlo- Napoli	1816	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	O.9.31	ott,fl1,fl2,ob1,ob 2,clno,cl1,cl2,fag 1,fag2,eh,cor1,co r2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr 2,trb1,trb2,trb3,ar p,timp,vl1,vl2,vla ,vlc,cb		1816
<i>Cesare in Egitto: gran ballo</i>		Robert Gallenberg			MS score, autograph			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.8.3	ott,fl1,fl2,ob1,ob 2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag 2,cor1, cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1 ,tr2,trb1,trb2,trb3, serp, timp, gc, banda,arp,vl1,vl2 ,vla,vlc,b		1816

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>La Mania del ballo: Danza cinese in tempo di Vals e danza egiziana</i>	[Likely Giovanni Coralli]	Ferdinando Pontelibero			printed pf score	RicordiMilano	1816	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda P.7	forte-piano, ridotta per forte-piano da Pietro Piazza	5	1816
RELATED SOURCE?: Sofia di Trawestein ovvero gli Ussiti	Giuseppe Sorrentino			Nella Fiea del Santo L'Anno 1817	MS parts		1817	B. del Conservatorio di Musica Cesare Pollini	ATVc 98	fl, obl e ll, cl I e II, fag, cor I e II, tr I e II, trb, gc, cl princ., 2 vl I, 3 vl ll, 2 vla, 3 b.		1817
<i>Alfredo: terzetto nel ballo del Alfredo...</i>			?Faenza	1818	MS piano score		1818	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	O(C).2.22(4)	piano, Ridotto suonabile per il Piano Forte Da Angelo Pettinati		1818
<i>Dedalo: [extracted pieces]</i>		Lichtenthal, Gallenberg, Rossini, Mozart			MS piano score			Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	Mss.Mus. B 3539	piano		1818
<i>Il flauto magico: (nel ballo...) also "Flauto Incantato"</i>		Saverio Mercadante			MS piano score		~1818	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda M.11.3	piano, ridotta da Giovanni Galeota		1818
<i>La vera felicità: balletto</i>	Filippo Bertini?	diversi rinomati autori	La Scala?	1818	printed pf score	RicordiMilano	1818	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda.U. 11.27	cembalo, ridotto per cembalo dal sig.r Pietro Pazza	21	1818
<i>La Vestale:</i>	[likely Salvatore Viganò]				MS			Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	Mss.Mus. B 4868	pf reduction		1818
<i>La Vestale: Addio nel Ballo La Vestale</i>	[likely Salvatore Viganò]	Cavatta			MS			Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense	MS MUS 5794@1	part of "Compo-sizioni strumentali"		1818

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Arsene: passo a nove</i>					MS			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	M.S.App. 7.8.5 (34)			1819
<i>Arsene: Terzetto nel ballo d'Arsene</i>					MS			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	M.S.App. 7.8.5 (35)			1819
<i>Bianca: Variazioni per Forte-Piano : sulla Siciliana / del Sig.r Ayblinger : nel ballo "Bianca"</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Jean-Antoine-Frédéric Jansen, also Rossini, Johann Kaspar Aiblinger			printed pf score	RicordiMilano	1819	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena		forte-piano, E dedicate alla signora Lionel Goldsmid	9	1819
<i>I Titani: Raccolta di varj e più applauditi pezzi del gran Ballo i Titani : atto 1.</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Jean-Antoine-Frédéric Jansen, Johann Kaspar Aiblinger			printed pf score	Ricordi Milano	~ 1819	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina sezione musicale		piano, ridotti per forte-piano da J.F.A. Jansen	18	1819
<i>I Titani: Variazioni brillanti per Forte-Piano : sopra un tema del ballo "I Titani"</i>	Salvatore Viganò	Jansen, Rossini, Aiblinger			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1819	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena		forte-piano	9	1819
<i>La spada di legno: Variazioni per forte-piano sopra un tema nel balletto</i>	[likely Giovanni Galzerani]	Giovanni Michele Stocker			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1819-1821	Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati		piano	13	1819
<i>L'Ingegno supera l'eta: ballo di mezzo carattere</i>	[Likely Gaetano Gioja]	Robert Gallenberg			MS piano score			Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense	Mss. 2851@1	pf reduction		1819

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Saffo. Ballo mitologico</i>	Gaetano Gioja	diversi autori	?La Scala (likely)	1819	piano?	G. Pirola, Milano	1819	Milano: Biblioteca comunale centrale di Milano; Cremona: Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civica di Cremona	MUS.M MUS.1.-3558; CIV.A.31. G.4.2			1819
<i>Achar Gran Mogol: (nel ballo...)</i>		Michele Carafa			MS piano score			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà D.48.6	cembalo or forte piano, ridotto		1820
<i>Arsene: Pas de neuf</i>		Michele Carafa			MS			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà D.48.8	orch. Reduction		1820
<i>Arsene: Pas de trois</i>		Michele Carafa			MS piano score (cembalo o fortepiano)			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà D.48.7	cembalo o forte-piano, riidotta da Giovanni Galeota		1820
Balletto / Eseguito dalla Sig.a Marietta Conti / Nel Teatro Argentino / II Carnevale / 1820 / Tradotto per Piano Forte					MS piano score		18--	Roma, Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia	Accademico A-Ms-44	piano		1820
<i>Claudina</i> / Ballo	Salvatore Taglioni	Pietro Graviller			MS piano score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	25.3.12-13	piano, ridotta ... da Francesco Mancini		1820

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Jerusalemme liberata</i> : Gran ballo	Paolo Samengo	Robert Gallenberg			MS score, auto-graph			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.8.5	ott,fl1,fl2,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,tr1,tr2,tr3,tr4,trb1,trb2,trb3,ti mp,gc,tamb mil,pt, triang,arp,vl1,vl2, vla,vlc,b		1820
<i>l'Otranto liberato</i> : tarantella nel ballo...tradotta a stromenti da fiati	[likely S. Taglioni]	[likely Luigi Carlini]			MS inst. trascrizione			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Casa Reale - 78.4.3(1-13)	wind instruments		1820
<i>Manfrina</i> tratta da un ballo	Salvatore Viganò				printed pf score	G. Lorenzi Firenze	18--	Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati		piano?	2	1820
<i>Arsena</i> : Favorit Cotillon aus dem Ballet Arsena		Robert Gallenberg			printed pf score	A. Diabelli Wien	~ 1822	Parma, Casa della Musica-Teatro Regio		piano four hands, für das Pianoforte auf vier Hände eingerichtet und herausgegeben von Anton Diabelli	7	1822
<i>Niobe (La)</i> : ballo ...	Gaetano Gioja		?Firenze, Teatro della Pergola	Carneval e 1815	MS	Teatro della Pergola	1815	Roma, Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia	A-Ms-1746	orch. Reduction		1822
<i>Niobe</i> : ballo della <i>Niobe ridotto per solo Pianoforte</i>	Gaetano Gioja				MS piano score		18--	B. del Conservatorio di Musica Luca Marenzio [ex Istituto Musicale]	Rota 17e, c. 17-19	pianoforte, adagio, d minor		1822
<i>Niobe</i> : ballo mitologico	G. Gioja	Luigi Carlini			printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale		piano, ridotto	8	1822

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Niobe: Introduzione...traddotta per Musica Militare</i>	[Likely Gioja]				MS inst. transcription			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Casa Reale - 78.4.2(1-16)	transcribed for military ensemble: tradotta per musica militare dal sig.r Dn Ignazio Prota		1822
<i>Niobe: Numero 1. La Niobe Ballo / Dagotto Pmo/ La famiglia di Niobe...</i>	[Likely Gioja]	Luigi Carlini			MS parts			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Casa Reale - 77.5.1(1-16)	musica militare? First bassoon and ?		1822
<i>Niobe: Trio e Minuetto nel ballo....</i>	[Likely Gioja]				MS inst. transcription			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Casa Reale - 78.4.2(66-83)	transcribed for wind instruments: accomodato per armonia di Strumenti da fiato		1822
<i>Rossignuolo: Paso a tre</i>		Michele Carafa			MS		1822	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà D.48.9	orch. Reduction		1822
<i>Giovanna d'Arco: Introduzione con variazioni facili per Forte-Piano: sopra un tema del Ballo</i>	[Likely Viganò]	Jansen, Rossini, Aiblinger			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1823	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena		forte-piano	7	1823
<i>Le Nozze di Figaro: Fandango del balletto Le Nozze de Figaro</i>		Gaspare Luigi Pacifico Spontini			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	~1823	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	A.15.16.29	cembalo, ridotto per cembalo solo dal maestro Mirecki	3	1823

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Maleagro: gran ballo</i>		Robert Gallenberg			MS score "originale"		1823	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.8.8	ott,fl,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr2,trb1,trb2,trb3,ti mp,gc,arp,pt,triang,glock,tamb,gon g,vl1,vl2,vla,vlc, b		1823
<i>Sesostri (Marcia-Andante sostenuto)</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini			printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli, Ragni Collection	Plate PN 302-5	piano	11	1823
<i>Sesostri: Congiura nel ballo...</i>	[Likely Salvatore Taglioni]	Giuseppe Doglia			MS piano score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	O(C).2.22(2)	piano, ridotta facile per piano forte solo dal...		1823
<i>Sesostri: Siegue Walzer nel ballo Sesostri</i>	[Likely Salvatore Taglioni]				MS			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Musicale Strumentale 10-109			1823
<i>Tippoo Saeb (Marcia)</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Luigi Carlini			printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli, Ragni Collection	Plate PN 323	piano	3	1823
<i>Tippoo Saeb (Pas de trois)</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Pietro Romani			printed pf score	Girard, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli, Ragni Collection	PN 325	piano	6	1823
<i>Matilde e Malek-Adel: Ballabile nel atto terzo (riduzione per banda)</i>	Francesco Clerico				MS parts?			B. musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	Mss. Musiche B. 3277			1824
OPERA: Gabriella di Vergi: coro e ballo		Michele Carafa			MS piano score			B. del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	M.S. 81	pianoforte	9?	1824

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

"Composizioni da ballo" [various pieces]		Robert Gallenberg			MS score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.8.13	various		1825
<i>Amleto: sinfonia</i>		Robert Gallenberg			MS			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Musica Strumentale e 81	orch. Reduction		1825
<i>Cotillon</i>		Robert Gallenberg			printed pf score	Lit. Militare, Napoli	1825	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli, Ragni Collection	Plate (1825)	piano, in "Passatempi Musicali" Fasc. VI page 38	3	1825
<i>Ginevra e Roberto: gran ballo</i>	Pietro Campilli	Robert Gallenberg			MS score		before 1839	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.8.6	ott, fl1, fl2, ob1, ob2, cl1, cl2, fag1, fag2, cor1, cor2, tr1, tr2, trb1, trb2, camp1, timp, gc, tambmil, triang, pt, arp, vl1, vl2, vla, vlc, b		1825
<i>La Colonia: ballo, quintetto</i>		Robert Gallenberg	?San Carlo		MS piano score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Musica Strumentale e 2454	piano		1825
<i>La Rivolta delle Donne del Serraglio: (or La Rivolta delle Donne...)</i> N 16, passo doppio, ricavato dal ballo.... Per banda militare		Erminio Piacenza			MS score, inst. transcription			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	O(C).1.1(1a)	banda militare, ridotto dal maestro Fornasini per banda militare		1825

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Margherita: ballo</i>		Robert Gallenberg			MS score		before 1839	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.8.7	ott,fl1,fl2,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,tr1,tr2,trb1,trb2,trb3,cfag,timp,gc,tambmil,vl1,vl2,vla,vlc,b		1825
RELATED SOURCE: Mazurka		Robert Gallenberg			printed pf score	Lit. Militare, Napoli	1825	Napoli, Archivi di Napoli, Ragni Collection	Plate (1825)	piano, in "Passatempi Musicali" Fasc. III page 37	1	1825
<i>Nicola Pesce: Polacca, Passo a due nel ballo...per armonia e banda militare</i>		Robert Gallenberg			MS score, inst. Transcription			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	O(C).1.1(2a)	armonio e banda militare, ridotto dal Alberto Scheidt		1825
<i>Il Solitario: ridotto per Banda militare dall'autore</i>	[likely Francesco Clerico]	Agostino Belloli			MS score			Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	Mss.Mus. B 3035	ott,flno,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,cl3,fag1,fag2,cfag,cor1,cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr2,tr3,tr4,trb1,trb2,trb3,serp1,serp2,tambmil,tamb		1826
<i>Il Conte Pini: Marcia</i>	[likely Paolo Samengo]	Placido Mandanici			MS score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Casa Reale - O(E).7.42(1)			1827
<i>Ines de Castro: Gran Ballo</i>	[likely S. Taglioni]		?San Carlo		MS			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Mus. Strum. 7.8.5(31)			1827
<i>La Morte di Virginia: Sinfonia (part of "Composizioni")</i>	[likely Giovanni Galzerani]				MS			Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	Mss.Mus. B 4233			1827

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Ettore Fieramosca: gran ballo, 5.o</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS piano score			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà Q.50.11	piano		1830
<i>Ettore Fieramosca: gran ballo, Introduzione al Prologo</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà Q.50.7	orch. Reduction		1830
<i>Ettore Fieramosca: gran ballo, marcia de cavalieri nel...</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS piano score			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà Q.50.10	piano		1830
<i>Ettore Fieramosca: gran ballo, Tarantella Pugliese</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà Q.50.8	orch. Reduction		1830
<i>Ines de Castro Gran ballo (part of "Balletti")</i>	[likely Antonio Cortesi]	Robert Gallenberg			MS			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.7.14			1830
<i>La festa da ballo in maschera (balletto): waltzer</i>	Luigi Henry	Placido Mandanici			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1830	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	1.A.369.1 1	piano, ; ridotto per piano forte dal M. Truzzi	4	1830
<i>La festa da ballo in maschera: waltzer del sig. Mo. Mandanici nel Balletto... del sig. Henry</i>	Luigi Henry	Placido Mandanici			MS piano score			B. del Conservatorio di Musica Niccolò Paganini	Sc. 31 n.n.	piano		1830
<i>Pietro il grande: ballo primo</i>		Nicola Vaccai			MS guida per orch.			Torino, B. Nazionale Universitaria	Foà 67	orchestra		1830

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Pietro il Grande:</i> Pot-pourri : per pianoforte, flauto, clarinetto e violoncello : sul Ballo Pietro il Grande		Giuseppe Fournier			instrument al score	Livorno, Calcografi a Vignozzi	~1830	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena		piano, flute, clarinet and cello (part missing), manca la parte del violoncello.	18, 4, 4	1830
<i>Macbeth:</i> ballo in 5 atti	[Likely Luigi Henry]	Robert Gallenberg			MS score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	34.2.33	fl1,fl2,ott,ob1,ob 2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag 2,cor1,cor 2,cor3,cor4,tr1, tr2,trb1,trb2,trb3, trb4,timp,t riang1, triang2,triang3,tri ang4,gc,vl1,vl2,v la, vic,b,banda		1831
<i>Macbeth:</i> Introduzione; random Pas de deux and Pas de trois	[Likely Luigi Henry]	Robert Gallenberg			MS			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.7.14			1831
<i>Macbeth:</i> No. 14 Battagli nel ballo...	[Likely Luigi Henry]	Robert Gallenberg			MS score			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda Q.48.9	orchestra?		1831
<i>Romanov:</i> gran ballo (Act 5): Marcia Trinfale	Salvatore Taglioni	Placido Mandanici			MS score		May 30, 1830 / 1837	Campobasso, Biblioteca provinciale Pasquale Albino - I-CBp	Pepe - Ms.62	copied by Marcello Pepe, ott,fl,cl,fag, tr,trb,cor,tamb,gc, vl,vla,vic,cb		1832
<i>Romanov: Gran marcia trionfale nel ballo "Romanow"</i>					printed pf score	L.i Bertuzzi, Milano	~1835	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena		piano, part of Raccolta periodica de' pezzi sentimentali , N°78	5	1832

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Tutto al Contrario</i> Marcia	[Likely Luigi Henry]	Giacomo Panizza			MS score		18--	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda A.58.3	ott,fl,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,tr1,tr2,trb1,trb2,timp,vl1,vl2,vla,vlc,cb		1832
<i>Chao-Kang: due ballabili nel balletto</i>		Mikhail Ivanovic Glinka			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1833	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	l.A.261.7	piano, variati per piano-forte ... dal sig.r M. Glinka;	7	1833
<i>I Saraceni in Catania: ballo in 5 atti</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Placido Mandanici	Real Teatro del Fondo	March 30, 1834	MS score		1834	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	ex Pacco 62	fl1,fl2,ob1,ob2,eh,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr2,trb1,trb2,trb3,timp,vl1,vl2,vla,vlc,cb,banda		1834
<i>Volvikoff: gran ballo in quattro Atti</i>	Antonio Guerra	Robert Gallenberg			MS score, autograph		~1835	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.7.16	ott,fl1,fl2,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr2,trb1,trb2,trb3,of,timp,gc,tambml,pt, triang		1835
Musica da ballo: Grand Pas de quatre (Naples 12 Janvier 1836); Pas de Neuf (Naples 1836); Grand pas de deux (Naples Nov 1835, for Brugnoli and Guerra); Fascinateur: grand ballet de L. Henry non termine...		Robert Gallenberg			MS		1835-6	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.7.15			1836
<i>Faust: gran ballo fantastico... Terzo quadro La strad di Lipsia</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS piano score		1838	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda Q.50.3	piano, ridotto per piano forte dal Luigi Siri		1838

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Faust</i> : gran ballo fantastico.... Secondo quadro Le Streghe dell'Hartz	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS piano score		1838	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda Q.50.2	piano, ridotto per piano forte dal Luigi Siri		1838
<i>Faust</i> : gran ballo fantastico...Il Laboratorio e l'Evocazione di Mefistofele	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS piano score		1838	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda Q.50.1	piano, ridotto per piano forte dal Luigi Siri		1838
<i>Faust</i> : gran ballo fantastico...ottavo quadro, scena della tomba	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS piano score		1838	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda Q.50.6	piano, ridotto per piano forte dal Luigi Siri		1838
<i>Faust</i> : gran ballo fantastico...Prologo, scena infernale	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS piano score		1838	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda Q.50.5	piano, ridotto per piano forte dal Luigi Siri		1838
<i>Faust</i> : gran ballo fantastico...Sesto quadro La festa di ballo	Salvatore Taglioni	Robert Gallenberg			MS piano score		1838	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda Q.50.4	piano, ridotto per piano forte dal Luigi Siri	14?	1838
<i>I Quattro Caratteri</i> : Iglesia nel ballo comico...			?Roma, Teatro Apollo	Carn-evale 1838	MS piano score		1838	Roma, Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia	Governati vo - G-Mss-3070	piano		1838
<i>Appuntimenti</i> Balletto in due atti di G. Briol, Musica di P. Mandanici	G. Briol	Placido Mandanici			MS score		18--	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	ex Pacco 61	ott,fl1,fl2,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,tr1,tr2,trb1,trb2,trb3,ti mp,vl1,vl2,vla,vlc,cb,banda		1840

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Il Cid</i>	Salvatore Taglioni	Mario Aspa			MS score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Pacco 26 bis	ott,fl,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr2, trb1,trb2,trb3,of,cb,mand,chit,arp,timp,gc,triang,vl1,vl2,vla,vlb,banda		1840
<i>La rivolta delle Donne del Serraglio</i> : polka					MS score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Oc.1.3(3)			1840
<i>Matilda di Spoleto</i> : galop		Giaochino Rossini?			MS piano score			Ostiglia, Biblioteca musicale Opera Pia Greggiati	Mss.Mus. B 4159/a-b	piano		1840
<i>Nadir e Lamea</i> / Balletto per Fondo		conte Gabrielli	May 1842?		MS score, autograph		1842	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Pacco 3214(2)	fl1,fl2,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,cor1,cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr2,fag1,fag2,trb1,trb2,arp,timp,triang,vl1,vl2,vla,vlc,cb		1842
<i>La Zingara, Divertimento brillante nel ballo La Zingara</i>		Luigi Biscardi and conte Nicola Gabrielli			printed pf score	F. Ili Fabricator e-F. Zerega	18--	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale		piano	10	1843
IMPORT: Protetta del Danubio	Filipo Taglioni	Pietro Graviller			MS piano score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	25.3.12-13	piano, Ridotta per solo Pianoforte dal Dilettante Francesco / Mancini		1844
<i>Le Spose Veneziane</i> : Galoppa nel ballo...		Nicolo Gabrielli			MS		~1844	Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Noseda O.35.4			1844

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Sarto di Sondrio</i> / Balletto in Cinque Atti	Salvatore Taglioni	Pietro Graviglia			MS piano score		18--	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	25.3.10-11	piano, Ridotta per solo Piano Forte dal Dilettante Francesco Mancini		1844
<i>Eroina Danese:</i> gran ballo	Giovanni Gaberani	Antonio Mussi	Napoli, San Carlo	July 31, 1845	MS score		1845	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	H.3.28	ott,fl,ob1,ob2,c11,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr2, trb1, trb2, trb3, tim p, gc, arp, vl1, vl2, vla, vlc, cbs, b, banda		1845
POSSIBLE IMPORT <i>Paquita</i> / Balletto / in tre quadri					MS piano score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	25.3.3	piano, Ridotta per Pianoforte dal Dilettante Francesco Mancini		1846
<i>Il Vampiro:</i> Napoli li Xbr 1848 nel nuovo ballo...passo raddoppiato...per uso delle fanfare de'Battaglioni Cacciatori...		Nicolo Gabrielli			MS score, inst. Transcription	(Napoli, copia)	1848	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	pacco 3193 (32)	"per uso delle fanfare de' Battaglioni Cacciatori" transc. By Edoardo Buonomo		1848
<i>Bradamante e Ruggero:</i> Napoli 7bre 1849 Nel Ballo...per uso delle fanfare de' Battaglioni Cacciatori...		Nicolo Gabrielli			MS score, inst. Transcription	(Napoli, copia)	1849	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	pacco 3193 (33)	"per uso delle fanfare de' Battaglioni Cacciatori" transc. By Edoardo Buonomo		1849

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>La Donne del Serraglio</i> : Napoli li 8bre 1849 nel ballo...passo doppio... ad uso delle fanfare de' Battaglioni Cacciatori		Nicolo Gabrielli			MS score, inst. Transcription	(Napoli, copia)	1849	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	pacco 3193 (34)	"ad uso delle fanfare de' Battaglioni Cacciatori" transc. By Edoardo Buonomo		1849
<i>La figlia del Bandito</i> ; passo doppio e trio rascritti per banda		Cesare Pagni, Giovanni Bajetti			MS score, inst. Transcription	(Napoli, copia)	1849	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	pacco 3193 (79)	banda, transc. Edoardo Buonomo		1849
<i>Caterina o la Figlia del bandito</i> : Duetto : per due flauti : op. 45 : sopra motivi del Ballo Caterina o la Figlia del bandito	[danced by Fanny Elssler?]	Giulio Briccialdi			instrumental score	Ricordi, Milano	1850	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena		flute I and II, La presente composizione è rilegata in un unico volume contenente diversi brani editi da Ricordi. - Num. ed.: 19397.	9, 10	1850
<i>Olfa</i> : nel ballo... Introduzione e Ballabile di Corsari nella Scena della Piazza di Smirne...	Salvatore Taglioni	Giuseppe Giacchino	?San Carlo	January, 1850	MS, autograph			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Nosedà L.41.11	orch. Reduction		1850
<i>Un' avventura di Carnevale</i> : ballo in cinque atti	Pasquale Borri	Paolo Giorza			printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	1850-60	Parma, Casa della Musica-Teatro Regio		piano, ridotta per piano forte solo		1850
<i>La Regina delle Rose</i> : Napoli li Gennaio 1851 nel ballo....marcia danzante a passo doppio...per uso delle prime sette Fanfar de' Batt. Cacciatori		Nicolo Gabrielli			MS score, inst. Transcription	(Napoli, copia)	1851	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	pacco 3193 (35)	"per uso delle fanfare de' Battaglioni Cacciatori" transc. By Edoardo Buonomo		1851

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Pigmaliione e Galatea</i> : Passo danzante	Carlo Blasis	Giovanni Bajette			MS partitura		18--	B. del Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello	Torrefranca Ms. C. 22	orchestra, D major		1851
<i>Nadina</i> : ballo fantastico in tre scene	Salvatore Taglioni	Giuseppe Giacquinto			MS score, autograph	Napoli, Teatro de Fondo	1852	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.3.18	S1,S2,S3,T1,T2, B1,B2,Coro(S,T, B),fl,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag, cor1,cor2,vl1,vl2, vla,b		1852
Napoli 24 giugno 1852 nell' ultimo ballo rappresentato nel real teatro S. Carlo N. 4 passo raddoppiato... per le bande e.o4.to ed11.modi linea...		Giuseppe Giacquinto			MS score, inst. Transcription	(Napoli, copia)	1852	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	pacco 3193 (44)	"Per le Bande 3.o 4.to ed 11.mo di Linea," transc. by Eduardo Buonomo		1852
Napoli 28 Maggio nell' ultimo ballo rappresentato in San Carlo: passo doppio...per uso delle p.me sette fanf. De' Batt. Cacc.ri		Giuseppe Giacquinto			MS score, inst. Transcription	(Napoli, autografo)	1852	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	pacco 3193 (42)	"per uso delle fanfare de' Battaglioni Cacciatori" transc. By Edoardo Buonomo		1852
<i>Bianchi e negri</i> , I: <i>Ballabile negri</i> . Finale.	Giuseppe Rota	Carlo Gambini [reducer]			MS piano score			Milano, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi	Piano IV 231-37	piano	12?, 2 copies	1853
<i>Bianchi e negri</i> : Introduzione e walzer: gran festa da ballo in casa del console inglese : n.2		Paolo Giorza			printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	1850-60	Parma, Casa della Musica-Teatro Regio		piano	11	1853

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Olfa</i> : gran ballo in un prologo e 4 epoche...	Salvatore Taglioni	Giuseppe Giacchino			MS score, autograph	Real Teatro S. Carlo	1853	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.3.16	S1,S2,S3,T1,T2, B1,B2,Coro(S,T,B),fl,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag, cor1,cor2,vl1,vl2, vla,b		1853
<i>Il Giocatore</i> : ballo: pezzi scelti	Giuseppe Rota	diversi autori			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	~1855	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena		piano, ridotti per pianoforte solo da P. Giorza	5, 12, 5, 3, 3	1855
<i>Renato Raimondo</i> : ballo	Salvatore Taglioni	Giuseppe Giacchino			MS foglietto, "partitura condensata"	1855-31 luglio Teatro di S. Carlo-Napoli	1855	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	O(A).6.57 (6)			1855
<i>Shakespeare</i> : passo a due eseguite dal Sig.r Carey e Sig.a Levasseur		diversi: vari maestri	?San Carlo		MS score			Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	Mus. Strum. 7.8.5(32)	ott,fl,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr2,trb1,trb2,trb3,cb,bs,timp,vl1,vl2,vla,vlc,b		1855
<i>Edmondo Dantes</i> ossia <i>Il Conte di Monte-Cristo</i> : ballo	Giuseppe Rota	Paolo Giorza			MS score		1856	Campobasso, Biblioteca provinciale Pasquale Albino - 1-CBp	Pepe - Ms.27 (Act I), Pepe - Ms.53 (Act II)	copied by Marcello Pepe, Act II: ott, fl,ob,cl, fag,tr,trb, cor1,cor2,timp,gc,vl,vla,vlc,cb		1856
<i>Edmondo Dantes</i> : Napoli Sbre 1858 nel ballo... Valser... per uso delle fanfare de' primi sette Batt. Cacciatori		Paolo Giorza			MS score, inst. Transcription	(Napoli, autografo)	1858	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	pacco 3193 (47)	"per uso dell prime sette fanfare de' Batt. Cacciatori" transc. Edoardo Buonomo		1858

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Loretta l'Indovina:</i> Napoli Dicembre 1859: Gran polka figurata nella 3.a parte....per uso delle prime sette fanfare de' Batt. Cacciatori		Giuseppe Giacquinto			MS score, inst. Transcripti on	(Napoli, autografo)	1859	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	pacco 3193 (45)	"per uso dell prime sette fanfare de' Batt. Cacciatori" transc. Edoardo Buonomo		1859
<i>Cherubina o La rosa di Posilipo:</i> ballo romantico in cinque atti	Lorenzo Viena	Paolo Giorza	Parma, Teatro di Parma	Carne- vale 1860-61	printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	1860-61	Parma, Casa della Musica- Teatro Regio	?	piano, ridotta per pianoforte solo		1860
<i>Il corazziere di Brest (selected pieces)</i>	Filippo Izzo	Giuseppe Giacquinto			printed pf score	Gio. E Gius. Fabricator e, Napoli	18--	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale	?	piano	15	1860
<i>La Devadacy:</i> ballo in cinque atti e sei quadri	Ippolito Monplaisir	Costantino dall'Argine			printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	18--	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale	?	piano, dallo stesso ridotta per pianoforte solo	83	1860
<i>Loretta l'indovina:</i> ballo per pianoforte		Giuseppe Giacquinto			printed pf score	T. Cottrau, Napoli	186-	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale	?	piano	32	1860
<i>Uno spirito maligno ovvero metempsicosi di una farfalla:</i> Hulda: mazurka per pianoforte	Giuseppe Rota	Mattiozzi, Rudolfo	?Firenze, Teatro della Pergola	18--	printed pf score	Canti Giovanni, Milano		Parma, Casa della Musica- Teatro Regio	?	piano	3	1860
<i>Flik e Flok:</i> Ballo fantastico	Paolo Taglioni	P. Hertel			printed pf score	Ricordi, Milano	1862	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale	?	piano	79	1862
<i>Leonilda o La fidanzata del filibustiere:</i> ballo grande in due parti e sette quadri	Paolo Taglioni	Paolo Goirza			printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	1865?	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale	?	piano, ridotta per piano-forte da Francesco Almasio	84	1865

**Appendix B continued: A Database of Some Musical Sources for Italian Ballets in Italian Libraries
(print version)**

<i>Talismano</i> : gran ballo fantastico in otto quadri	A. Fuchs	Giuseppe Giacchino			MS score, autograph	?San Carlo	Autunno 1865	Napoli, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella	18.7.18	4S,4T,1B,ott,fl1,fl2,ob1,ob2,cl1,cl2,fag1,fag2,cor1,cor2,cor3,cor4,tr1,tr2,timp,vl1,vl2,vla1,vla2,vlc,b		1865
Balletto buffo / locanda gratis / musica di D.G. / scritta per le scene del collegio Campana / Osimo / 1866		Domenico Quercetti			MS	Teatrino Campana-Osimo	1866	Osimo, Biblioteca comunale Francesco Cini	MUS.QUE RCETTI - 46			1866
<i>Brahma</i> : ballo in un prologo e sei atti	Ippolito Monplaisir	Costantino dall'Argine			printed pf score	F. Lucca, Milano	~1868	Modena, Ist. Musicale Pareggiato O. Vecchi Modena		piano, riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio	107	1868
<i>Sieba</i> / ballo	Luigi Manzotti	Romualdo Marengo	Torino?	1878	MS score?		1878	Roma, Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia	Accademico - A-Ms-902			1878
<i>Amor: Caos, Pantheon e Trionfo di Amore</i>	[Luigi Manzotti]	Romualdo Marengo			MS score			Roma - Arch. Capitolino		trascrizione per banda di Alessandro Vasella		1886

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY

Almanacco, almanac (theatre) a publication, often serial, that recounts the year of events at a specific theatre, often containing descriptions, reviews, illustrations, details of the theatre's production (who was employed when, new rules and policies, list of boxholders, etc.); these were published most frequently in the first half of the nineteenth century in Italy

Argomento introductory material in a libretto (both in opera and ballet) that gives the background for the story, or premises, and explains what has happened so far, as well as what changes have been made if the story has been adapted from a known literary or other source; sometimes a summary of the plot is given, also

Autunno fall, in this dissertation referring to the theatrical season from August to November

Ballabile, ballabili (plural) dance(s), danced portion(s) of the ballet, usually performed by a group of dancers; can contain solos, duets, trios, and so on

Ballo meaning "dance," in Italian, this term is used interchangeably with ballet and means the same thing during the nineteenth-century

Ballo grande, gran ballo in Italy, a ballet in usually five (or more) acts, serious in subject matter, often mythological, tragic, heroic, historic or allegorical, and often based on pre-existing literature or plot; performed between the first and second acts of operas

Ballo di mezzo carattere in Italy, a ballet that is lighter in tone and subject matter than the ballo grande, often with comic, rustic or pastoral characters and themes; performed after the second act of the opera

Ballet d'azione, ballet d'action, pantomime ballet, ballet pantomime associated with Jean-Georges Noverre (1727-1810), Gaetan Vestris (1729-1808), as well as Pierre and Maximilien Gardel (1758-1840, 1741-1787), ballets which tell a story through pantomime and dance accompanied by music; these ballets were not like the divertissement as they included more mime and dramatic plots and were autonomous (not relying on association with an opera for their existence)

Carnevale theatrical season in Italy, starting December 26 and ending on ‘Shrove Tuesday’ (the Tuesday before lent), considered the most important of theatrical seasons because often the most lavish productions were featured (at theatres with the means)

Coreodramma “danced drama,” the term coined by Ritorni for Viganò’s ballets because they were seen as new compared to the *divertissement* and pantomime-ballet genres, because of the integration of mime and dance, see footnote 143.

Cronologia, chronology, (theatre) a publication that lists the events and performances at a particular theatre, often giving details about composers, choreographers, performers, and other theatre personnel; may contain prose descriptions of events, essays, and articles; these range from collector item to scholarly publications; these were published before and throughout the nineteenth century, and are still created at present

Divertissement, ballet-divertissement a term associated with internal ballets (also choruses and ensemble) in French stage works beginning roughly around 1700. In the nineteenth century, the *divertissement* referred to the ballet incorporated into grand opéra or ballet-pantomime, which was indispensable and one of the main forms of dancing on the Parisian stage. The dances and content of such ballet were linked to the subject matter of the opera or ballet-pantomime

Estate summer, in this dissertation referring to the theatrical season encompassing June/July to August

Foglietto similar to the *répétiteur*, this a manuscript short score of the ballet in usually two-three staves (often violin, violin, bass) which was likely used in rehearsal and could be annotated, differing only in that the *répétiteur* is designated as an annotated rehearsal score and was often in one staff (for violin)

Grottesco, grotteschi (plural) Italian style / type of dancer who specialized in grand, exaggerated, acrobatic, jumping and virtuosic movements and steps; Gennaro Magri’s treatise of 1778 records the technique in detail, Italian choreographers of the first decades of the nineteenth century, such as Salvatore Viganò and Gaetano Gioia, were both trained as *grotteschi* and the technique was absorbed into classical ballet during the nineteenth century; the Italian *grottesco* could perform comic and rustic roles in the ballet

Grand opéra French opera during the nineteenth century, generally in five acts, lavishly staged and grandiose, with internal ballets and choruses, see also “opera-ballo”

Inverno winter, in this dissertation referring the short theatrical season (though rarely occurring) encompassing November and Advent

Libretto (used interchangeably with scenario in this dissertation) the booklet that contains the plots of operas and ballets (often both)

Melodrama a spoken drama or dramatic scene with musical accompaniment carried forward by a single protagonist, distinct from the Italian “melodramma” which is opera (see below); also a type of play in the nineteenth century where good triumphs over evil

Melodramma the standard Italian term for opera during the nineteenth century

Opera ballo Italian term for French grand opéra

Pas de deux, passo a due (used interchangeably) French and Italian terms for “a dance for two”

Primavera spring, in this dissertation referring to the theatrical season beginning on Easter weekend and ending at the end of June

Quaresima the theatrical season during Lent, sometimes combined with carnevale to make one large theatrical season

Répétiteur an annotated score used for rehearsal, consisting usually of one violin stave (though they can have more)

Scenario (used interchangeably with libretto in this dissertation) a published ballet plot, in the same form as a libretto (small booklet)

Stagioni seasons, referring in this dissertation to theatrical seasons

Variations (danced) solo danced portions within a larger number such as a pas de deux or ballabile, where the dancer shows off his or her technical prowess

Variations (musical form) a musical piece structured on a theme followed by a set of pieces, called variations, in which the theme is elaborated and transformed (varied)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Bibliography

[Battista, Gio.] "Milano." *Teatri, arti e letteratura* 28 (1837): 15.

Aiken, George L., George C. Howard, Thomas Laurence Riis, and Harriet Beecher Stowe. *Uncle Tom's cabin: (1852)*. Vol. 5 Nineteenth-century American Musical Theater. New York: Garland, 1994.

AIRDanza – Associazione Italiana per la Ricerca sulla Danza Associazione Italiana per la Ricerca sulla Danza 2001, accessed May 2007; Available from <http://www.airdanza.it/INGLESE/indexing.html>.

Ajello, Raffaele, and Carlo Marinelli. *Il Teatro di San Carlo*. 2 vols. Napoli: Guida, 1987.

"All'egregio merito dei conjugii Maglietti. Primi ballerini danzante nel nobil Teatro di Apollo in Roma nel carnevale del 1838, in segno di stima D. C." Lithograph, vignette, 23 x 19.6 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515958), 1838.

Allison Delarue Collection at Princeton University Library accessed between 2008-2010 http://libweb5.princeton.edu/Visual_Materials/Delarue/Htmls/index.html.

AmadeusOnline Milano: Pubblicazione periodica telematica registrata presso il Tribunale di Milano, accessed 2010; Available from <http://www.amadeusonline.net/almanacco.php>.

Andreella, Fabrizio. *Il corpo sospeso: la danza tra codici e simboli all'inizio della modernità*. 1a ed. Saggi. Venezia: Cardo, 1994.

Antolini, Bianca Maria. "Cronache Teatrali Veneziane: 1842-1849." In *Musica senza aggettivi. Studi per Fedele d'Amico*, ed. Agostino Ziino, 1. Firenze: Olschki, 1991.

- Archivo di teatro napoli* Napoli: [Archivo di teatro napoli] chief executive Ernesto Cilento, webmaster Michele Castelli, accessed September 22 2008; Available from http://archiviteatro.napolibeniculturali.it/index_html.
- Arkin, Lisa C., and Marian Elizabeth Smith. "National Dance and the Romantic Ballet." In *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet*, ed. Lynn Garafola, 11-68. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997.
- Arteaga, Esteban de, Vincenzo Manfredini, and F. Arnaud. *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano dalla sua origine fino al presente*. 3 vols. Bologna: Stamperia di C. Trenti, 1783 - 1788.
- Aschengreen, Erik, and Ole Nørlyng. *Balletbogen*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1982.
- _____. *Et Folkesagn: ballet af A. Bournonville, musiken af N.W. Gade og J.P.E. Hartmann*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Teater og kapel, 1984.
- Aschengren, Erik, and Ole Nørlyng. *La Sylphide: The Ballet - The Music - The Composer*. København, 1986.
- Ascolini, Vasco, New York Public Library Dance Collection, and Reggio Emilia Teatro Municipale. "[Il coreografo perduto, Salvatore Viganò: exhibition]." (1985).
- "Ballo I Titani, atto II. Il tartaro. Uno de' Giganti annunzia l'arrivo di Tia: ne esultano I Titani stimandola opporterna per trasportar immantinente sulla terra i tre insidose'vasi. Progr. Stucchi inc. Angeli acq. [after a set design by Sanquirico]." Aquatint engraving (color), 13.5 x 15.9 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515812), [1819].
- "Ballo napolitano detto la tarantella." Watercolor, 18.2 x 28.7 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, [1800].
- Basso, Alberto, ed. *L'arte della danza e del balletto*. Edited by Alberto Basso. Vol. 5, Musica in scena: storia dello spettacolo musicale. Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1995.
- Basso, Alberto, Marie-Thérèse Bouquet-Boyer, Valeria Gualerzi, and Alberto Testa. *Storia del Teatro regio di Torino: Chronologie*. Vol. 5 Istituzioni culturali piemontesi, ed. Alberto Basso. [Torino]: Cassa di risparmio di Torino, 1988.
- Bauman, Thomas. "The Society of La Fenice and Its First Impresarios." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 2 (1986): 332-354.

- Beaumont, Cyril W. *Complete Book of Ballets: a Guide to the Principal Ballets of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Garden City: N.Y., Garden City Pub. Co., inc., 1941.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo, Giorgio Pestelli, and Kate Singleton. *Opera on stage*. Vol. 5 The History of Italian opera: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo, and Giorgio Pestelli. *Storia dell'opera italiana*. Vol. 5, part IIa Biblioteca di cultura musicale, La Spettacolarità. Torino: EDT/Musica, 1988.
- Blasis, Carlo. *Traité élémentaire, théorique et pratique de l'art de la Danse contenant les développemens, et les démonstrations des principes généraux et particuliers qui doivent, guider le danseur; avec le portrait de l'auteur et planches*. Milan: J. Beati et A. Tenenti, 1820.
- _____. "Dancing." In *The Young Lady's Book*, 395-418. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830.
- _____. *Lezioni di ballo giusto l'uso delle civili conversazioni. [Almanacco per l'anno 1831]*. Milano: Giuseppe Crespi, 1830.
- _____. *Saggi e prospetto del trattato generale di pantomima naturale e di pantomima teatrale fondato sui principi della fisica e della geometria e dedotto dagli elementi del disegno e del bello ideale*. Milano: Tip. Guglielmini e Redaelli, 1841.
- _____. *Notes upon Dancing, Historical and Practical*. Translated by R. Barton. London: M. Delaporte, 1847.
- _____. *Delle composizioni coreografiche e delle opere letterarie di Carlo Blasis, coll'aggiunta delle testimonianze di varii scrittori, e di una sua dissertazione inedita sovra le passioni ed il genio*: Milano, 1854.
- _____. *The Code of Terpsichore: a Practical and Historical Treatise, on the Ballet, Dancing, and Pantomime: with a Complete Theory of the Art of Dancing: Intended as well for the Instruction of Amateurs as the use of Professional Persons*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Dance Horizons, 1976.
- Blasis, Carlo. *The Code of Terpsichore: the Art of Dancing, Comprising its Theory and Practice, and a History of its Rise and Progress, from the Earliest Times*. Translated by R. Barton. London: E. Bull, 1830.
- Blasis, Carlo, and Mary Stewart Evans. *An Elementary Treatise upon the Theory and Practice of the Art of Dancing*. New York: Kamin dance gallery, 1944.

- Blasis, Carlo, and Mary Stewart Evans. *An Elementary Treatise upon the Theory and Practice of the Art of Dancing*. New York: Kamin Dance Publishers, 1953.
- Borsa, Matteo. *Saggio filosofico sui balli pantomimi serj dell'opera, del Dott. Matteo Borsa*. Milano: Presso G. Marelli, 1782.
- Boscolo, Lucia, and Sergio Durante. *La musica strumentale nel Veneto fra Settecento ed Ottocento: atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Padova, 4-6 novembre 1996)*. Padova: CLEUP, 2000.
- Bottoni, Luciano. *Il teatro, il pantomimo e la rivoluzione*. Vol. 40 Lettere italiane / Saggi Firenze: Olschki, 1990.
- Bournonville, August, Patricia McAndrew, and Knud Arne Jürgensen. *My dearly beloved wife! Letters from France and Italy, 1841*. Alton, Hampshire [England]: Dance Books, 2005.
- Brighenti, Giacomo, Gasparo Angiolini, Onorato Viganò, José Sasportes, Elena Ruffin, Giovanna Trentin, and Alessio Rasetti. *Balli teatrali a Venezia (1746-1859): partiture di sei balli pantomimici* Drammaturgia musicale veneta. Milano: G. Ricordi, 1994.
- Brumana, Biancamaria. *Teatro musicale e accademie a Perugia tra dominazione francese e restaurazione: 1801-1830*. Vol. 4 Storia dei teatri italiani. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996.
- Budden, Julian. *The Operas of Verdi*. Vol. I. London, New York: Cassel, 1973.
- Cafiero, Rosa. "Aspetti della musica coreutica fra Settecento e Ottocento." In *Il Teatro di San Carlo, 1737-1987*, ed. Bruno Cagli and Agostino Ziino, 309-332. Napoli: Electa Napoli, 1987.
- Cavalletti, Lavinia. "Salvatore Taglioni re di Napoli." *La Danza italiana. Roma*. no. 8-9, winter (1990): 109-134.
- _____. "Salvatore Taglioni, King of Naples." In *Rethinking the Sylph*, ed. Lynn Garafola, 181-196, 259-261. Hanover: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press, 1997.
- Celi, Claudia. "Dance scholarship in Italy." In *Beyond Performance: Dance Scholarship Today (1988: Essen)*, 136-141. Berlin, 1989.
- _____. "L'arivamento della gran maravija der ballo ossia il ballo a Roma dal 1845 al 1854." *La Danza italiana. Roma*. winter, no. 8-9 (1990): 73-107.

- _____. "L'epoca del coreodramma (1800-1830)." In *L'arte della danza e del balletto*, ed. Alberto Basso, 5, 89-116. Torino: UTET, 1995.
- _____. "Percorsi romantici nell'Ottocento Italiano." In *L'arte della danza e del balletto*, ed. Alberto Basso, 5, 117-138. Torino: UTET, 1995.
- _____. "La Bohème immaginaria: umori scapigliati e domestiche virtù nel ballo dell'Italia nascente." In *Creature di Prometeo: il ballo teatrale: dal divertimento al dramma: studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*, ed. Giovanni Morelli and Aurel M. Milloss, 23, 323-332. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996.
- _____. "The Arrival of the Great Wonder of Ballet: or, Ballet in Rome from 1845 to 1855." In *Rethinking the Sylph*, ed. Lynn Garafola, 165-180. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press, 1997.
- Chazin-Bennahum, Judith. *The Lure of Perfection: Fashion and Ballet, 1780-1830*. New York: Routledge (NY) New York, NY, 2005.
- Chegai, Andrea. *L'esilio di Metastasio: forme e riforme dello spettacolo d'opera fra Sette e Ottocento*. Vol. 2 Storia dello spettacolo. Firenze: Le lettere, 1998, 2000.
- Cohen, Selma Jeanne. "Virtue (almost) triumphant." *The Dancing Times*. London. (1964): 297-301.
- Collier, Martin. *Italian Unification, 1820-71*. Heinemann Advanced History. Oxford: Heinemann, 2003.
- Collins, Willa J. "Adolphe Adam's ballet "Le Corsaire" at the Paris Opera, 1856-1868: A source study." Ph.D., Cornell University, 2008.
- D'Amico, Fedele, Agostino Ziino, and Società italiana di musicologia. *Musica senza aggettivi: studi per Fedele d'Amico* Quaderni della Rivista italiana di musicologia,. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1991.
- Dahms, Sibylle, Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, Daniel Brandenburg, and Monika Woitas. *Prima la danza!: Festschrift für Sibylle Dahms*. Vol. 6 Publikationen des Instituts für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Salzburg.; Derra de Moroda Dance Archives Tanzforschungen. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004.
- Dalmonte, Rossana. "'Une Écriture corporelle": la musica e la danza." In *Il sogno del coreodramma: Salvatore Viganò, poeta muto*, ed. Ezio Raimondi, 1, 145-240. Reggio Emilia: Società Editrice Il Mulino, 1984.

Damsholt, Inger. "Choreomusical Discourse: the Relationship between Dance and Music." PhD dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 1999.

Dance Facsimiles, Dance Literature Facsimiles: Listing of Facsimile Editions Distributed by OMI New York: accessed June 2007; Available from <http://www.omifacsimiles.com/index.html>

Day, David A. "The Annotated *violon répétiteur* and Early Romantic Ballet at the Théâtre Royal de Bruxelles (1815-1830)." Ph.D., New York University, 2008.

DHDS Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society accessed August 20 2008; Available from <http://www.dhds.org.uk/>.

Di Tondo, Ornella. "Italian Opera Staging Manuals (Disposizioni sceniche) and Ballet. An Example: Arrigo Boito's *Mefistofele*." In *Die Beziehung von Musik und Choreographie im Ballett Buch*, ed. Michael Malkiewicz and Jörg Rothkamm, 157-170. Berlin: Vorwerk 8, 2007.

_____. *La censura sui balli teatrali nella Roma dell'Ottocento*. 1 ed. Tracce di Tersicore / CRUD, Università degli studi di Torino, Regione Piemonte Torino: UTET università, 2008.

Die Beziehung von Musik und Choreographie im Ballett Buch. ed. Michael Malkiewicz and Jörg Rothkamm. Berlin: Vorwerk 8, 2007.

Dizionario Etimologia Francesco Bonomi, 2004-2008, accessed 2006-2010; Available from <http://www.etimo.it/?pag=hom>.

"Domenico Ronzani e Francesca Pezzoli, primi ballerini mimici, nel Teatro di Apollo in Roma nel carnevale del 1835." Lithograph, vignette, image: 18 x 21 cm. New York: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515787) [1835].

"Donna di Napoli che balla la tarantella." Watercolor, line border: 15 x 10.7 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, [1800s].

Durante, Sergio, and Maria Nevilla Massaro. *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali del Conservatorio "Cesare Pollini" di Padova*. Vol. 1 Cataloghi di fondi musicali italiani. Torino, Italia: EDT/musica, 1982.

- "Ex.1, Early polka rhythms." In *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22020>
 (accessed May 2010).
- Fabbri, Paolo. *Di sì felice innesto: Rossini, la danza, e il ballo teatrale in Italia*. Vol. 3
 Saggi e fonti, ed. Paolo Fabbri. Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini Pesaro, 1996.
- Fabbri, Paolo, and Roberto Verti. *Due secoli di teatro per musica a Reggio Emilia:
 repertorio cronologico delle opere e dei balli 1645-1857*. Reggio Emilia: Teatro
 Edizioni del municipale Valli, 1987.
- Falcone, Francesca. "The Evolution of the Arabesque in Dance." *Dance Chronicle* 22,
 no. 1 (1999): 71-117.
- _____. "The Italian Style and the Period." *Dance Chronicle* 29, no. 3 (2006): 317 -
 340.
- Ferrari, Donatella. "I balletti comici di Salvatore Viganò." *La Danza italiana*. primavera,
 no. 7 (1989): 79-97.
- Fiske, Roger. *Ballet Music*. London: Harrap, 1958.
- Fortis, Leon "Doctor Veritas". "Conversazione." *L'Illustrazione italiana*, no. 2 (1877):
 22-23.
- _____. "L'Illustrazione italiana." 23. Milano: Editore Garzanti, 1877.
- G. Ricordi e Compagnia. *Catalogo generale delle edizioni G. Ricordi & c.* 3 vols. Milano
 [etc.]: G. Ricordi & c., 1892.
- Galeazzi, Francesco, and Domenico Agrillo. *Elementi teorico-pratici di musica: con un
 saggio sopra l'arte di suonare il violino analizzata, ed a dimostrabili principj
 ridotta: opera utilissima a chiunque vuol applicare con profitto alla musica, e
 specialmente a' principianti, dieettanti [i.e. dilettanti], e professori di violino*. In
 Roma: Nella Stamperia Pilucchi Cracas, 1791.
- Garafola, Lynn. *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet*.
 Hanover, NH: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press,
 1997.
- Gatti, Carlo. *Il teatro alla Scala nella storia e nell'arte, 1778-1963*. 2 ed. Milano:
 Ricordi, 1964.
- Gautier, Théophile, and Ivor Forbes Guest. *Gautier on Dance*. London: Dance, 1986.

- Giordano, Gloria. "Il galop, un "frenetico tumulto"." *Chorégraphie. Roma.* anno 1, no. 1 (1993): 84-94.
- _____. "La Polonaise." *Chorégraphie. Roma.* Anno 1, no. 2 (1993): 85-96.
- Gossett, Philip. "Verdi, Ghislanzoni, and Aida: the Uses of Convention." *Critical Inquiry* 1, no. 2 (1974): 291-334.
- Guest, Ivor Forbes. *The Romantic Ballet in Paris.* 1st American ed. Middletown, Conn.,: Wesleyan University Press, 1966.
- _____. "Carlotta Zambelli." *Revue d'histoire du théâtre, Année 21, no. 3* (1969): 199-255.
- _____. *The Romantic Ballet in England: its Development, Fulfilment, and Decline.* 1st American ed. Middletown, Conn.,: Wesleyan University Press, 1972.
- _____. "Carlotta Zambelli. [In 2 parts]." *Dance Magazine. New York.* part 1, Feb 1974, 51-66; part 2, Mar 1974, 43-58 (1974).
- _____. *Fanny Cerrito: the Life of a Romantic Ballerina.* 2nd revised ed. London: Dance Books Ltd, 1974.
- _____. *The Divine Virginia: a Biography of Virginia Zucchi.* New York: M. Dekker, 1977.
- _____. *Jules Perrot: Master of the Romantic Ballet.* New York: Dance Horizons, 1984.
- _____. "L'Italia e il balletto romantico." *La Danza italiana. Roma.* winter, no. 8-9 (1990): 7-25.
- Hafki, Thomas. *Operntexte von Monteverdi bis Strauss originalsprachige Libretti mit deutschen Übersetzungen.* Vol. 57 Digitale Bibliothek. Berlin: Directmedia, 2002.
- Hammond, Sandra Noll. "Clues to Ballet's Technical History from the Early Nineteenth-century Ballet Lesson." *Dance Research. London.* 3, no. 1 (1984): 53-66.
- _____. "Early Nineteenth-century Ballet Technique from Léon Michel." *Society of Dance History Scholars. Proceedings, 10th annual conference, 1987* (1987): 208-212.

- . "Searching for the Sylph: Documentation of Early Developments in Pointe Technique." *Dance research journal. [CORD] New York*. 19, no. 2 (1988): 27-31.
- _____. "Steps Through Time: Selected Dance Vocabulary of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *Dance Research. London* 10, no. 2 (1992): 93-108.
- _____. "Windows into Romantic Ballet: Content and Structure of Four Early Nineteenth-century Pas de Deux." *Society of Dance History Scholars (U.S.). 20th Conference (Barnard College). Proceedings*. (1997): 137-144.
- _____. "Windows into Romantic Ballet, part II: Content and Structure of Solo Entrées from the Early Nineteenth Century." *Society of Dance History Scholars (U.S.). Conference (21st: 1998: University of Oregon). Proceedings*. (1998): 47-53.
- Hansell, Kathleen Kusmick. "Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan, 1771-1776: a Musical and Social history." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 1980.
- _____. "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera " In *Opera on Stage*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi, Giorgio Pestelli and Kate Singleton, 5, 177-308. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Harris-Warrick, Rebecca, and Bruce Alan Brown. *The Grotesque Dancer on the Eighteenth-century Stage: Gennaro Magri and his World*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005.
- Harwood, Gregory W. "Verdi's Reform of the Italian Opera Orchestra." *19th-Century Music* 10, no. 2 (1986): 108-134.
- Harwood, Gregory W., and Francesco Galeazzi. "Francesco Galeazzi's Elementi teorico-prattici di musica: part four, section two: an annotated translation and commentary." M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1980.
- Horak, Karl. "Schottische oder Polka: die vollkommene Verwirrung der Tanznamen " *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Volksliedwerkes* xxxviii (1989): 124-40.
- "Il ballo della tarantella." Lithograph, colored, vignette, image: 14.8 x 24.5 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, 1840.

- "Interno dell' I. R. Teatro alla Scala preso nel momento dell'ultima scena del ballo, La conquista di Malacca. G. B. inc. Angeli acq. [after a set design by Sanquirico]." Aquatint engraving (color), 15.4 x 18.3 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection, (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515877) [1820?].
- Ivaldi, Armando Fabio. "'Dans le style de l'Egypte ancienne": spettacoli esotici al Teatro Carlo Felice di Genova (1839-1842)." *Chorègraphie. Roma.*, no. 8 (1996): 65-81.
- Jahrmärker, Manuela. *Themen, Motive und Bilder des Romantischen: zum italienischen Musiktheater des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Forum Musiktheater. Münster: Lit, 2006.
- Jensen, Luke. *Gazzetta musicale di Milano: 1842-1862.* 5 vols. Répertoire international de la presse musicale. Baltimore, Md.: NISC, 2000.
- Jordan, Stephanie. "The Role of the Ballet Composer at the Paris Opéra: 1820-1850." *Dance Chronicle. New York.* 4, no. 4 (1982): 374-388.
- _____. *Moving Music: Dialogues with Music in Twentieth-century Ballet.* London: Dance, 2000.
- Jürgensen, Knud Arne. "Bournonville in Italia." *La Danza italiana. Roma.* 7 (1989): 99-119.
- _____. *The Verdi Ballets Premio internazionale Rotary Club di Parma "Giuseppe Verdi" Parma: Istituto nazionale di studi verdiani,* 1995.
- Kahane, Martine. "Archives of the Dance (4): A. The Library and Archives of the Paris Opéra: part 2." *Dance Research. London.* 3, no. 1 (1984): 67-71.
- _____. "La danza nelle versioni parigine delle opere di Verdi." *La Danza italiana. Roma.* autunno, no. 1 (1984): 43-60.
- Kirstein, Lincoln. *Movement & Metaphor: Four Centuries of Ballet.* New York: Praeger, 1970.
- Koehler, Elisa. "The Italian Wind Band: Its Heritage and Legacy." *Journal of the Conductors Guild* 16, no. 2 (summer-fall) (1995): 96-105.
- "La polka, danced by Mad'elle Carlotta Grisi, & Mons'r Perrot at Her Majesty's Theatre." Lithograph, hexagonal, colored, 36 x 28 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515743).

- Lanchbery, John, and Ivor Forbes Guest. "The Scores of *La fille mal gardée* (parts 1–3)." *Theatre Research* 3, no. 1-3 (1961): I: 32-42, II: 121-134, III: 191-204.
- Lawrence, Robert. *The Victor Book of Ballets and Ballet Music*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950.
- Le ballet au 19e siècle*. Paris: Éditions de la Nouvelle revue française, 1921.
- Lecomte, Nathalie. "Maria Taglioni alla Scala." *La Danza italiana. Roma*. winter no. 8-9 (1990): 47-71.
- Levinson, André, and Reinhold von Walter. *Meister des balletts*. Potsdam: Müller & co., 1923.
- Levy, Morris S., and John M. Ward. *Italian Ballet, 1637-1977: a Catalogue*. Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Lichtenthal, Peter. *Estetica: ossia, dottrina del bello e delle arti belle*. Vol. 21 Biblioteca storico giuridica e artistico letteraria: Arti. Bologna: A.M.I.S., 1971, 1831.
- Lo Iacono, Concetta. "La carne, la vita e il diavolo: i libretti dei balli di Virginia Zucchi." *La Danza italiana. Roma*. 4 (1986): 59-83.
- _____. "Manzotti & Marengo: il diritto di due autori." *Nuova rivista musicale italiana. Torino.*, no. 3 (1987): 421-446.
- _____. "Minima coreutica: Fasti e dissesti del ballo italiano sul declino dell'Ottocento." In *Musica senza aggettivi. Studi per Fedele d'Amico*, ed. Agostino Ziino., 1, 391-421 Firenze: Olschki, 1991.
- Locke, Ralph P. *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*. Cambridge: New York, 2009.
- Lombardi, Carmela. *Il ballo pantomimo: lettere, saggi e libelli sulla danza (1773-1785) I testi e le fonti*, 3. Torino: Paravia: Scriptorium, 1998.
- Longyear, Rey M. "The "Banda sul palco": Wind Bands in Nineteenth-century Opera." *Journal of Band Research* 13, no. 2, Spring (1978): 25-40.
- Løvenskiold, Herman Severin, and David Garforth. *Music for the Bournonville ballet La Sylphide*. Musical recording, CD audio. Colchester, Essex, England: Chandos Records, 1991.

- Maclean, Grace Edith. "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*" in *Germany*. Vol. 10 Americana Germanica; New series; Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1910.
- "Madame Brugnioli [Brugnoli] & Samengo." Engraving, vignette, image: 15.5 x 11.5 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Lillian Moore Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1532698), [1832].
- Maehder, Jürgen. "'Banda sul palco': Variable Besetzungen in der Bühnenmusik der italiensichen Oper des 19. Jahrhunderts als Relikte alter Besetzungstraditionen?" In *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart: Bach, Händel, Schütz: Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Stuttgart, 1985*, ed. Dietrich Berke and Dorothee Hanemann, 2, 293-310. Kassel, New York: Bärenreiter, 1987.
- Magri, Gennaro, Irmgard E. Berry, and Annalisa Fox. *Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Dancing*. Translated by Mary Skeaping. London; Princeton, N.J.: Dance Books (Distributed in the USA by Princeton Book), 1988.
- Mancini, Franco, Bruno Cagli, and Agostino Ziino. *Il Teatro di San Carlo, 1737-1987*. 3 vols. Napoli: Electa Napoli, 1987.
- Marenco, Romualdo. *Sport: ballo in otto quadri: edizione completa per pianoforte, del coreografo Luigi Manzotti; musica di Romualdo Marenco; riduzione di Carmelo Bizzozero*. Milano: G. Ricordi & C., 1897.
- Marrone, Gaetana. *Encyclopedia of Italian Literary studies*. 2 vols. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Masutto, Giovanni. *Maestri di musica italiani del nostro secola; ricordi e cenni biografici*. 2 ed. Venezia: Stab. Tip. Lit. M. Fontana, 1880.
- McAndrew, Patricia, August Bournonville, August Vinding, Emil Hartmann, Joseph Glæser, Jr., J. P. E. Hartmann, Wilhelm Holm, and A. F. Lincke. "The Ballet Poems of August Bournonville: The Complete Scenarios, Part Six." *Dance Chronicle* 4, no. 4 (1981): 402-451.
- Meucci, Renato, and William Waterhouse. "The *Cimbasso* and Related Instruments in 19th-Century Italy." *The Galpin Society Journal* 49 (1996): 143-179.
- Milani, Adriana. "Francesco Clerico: la produzione milanese." *Danza italiana. Roma. quaderno n. 1* (1998): 59-83.

Milloss, Aurel M. "La lezione di Salvatore Viganò." *La Danza italiana. Roma*. 1, autunno (1984): 7-19.

_____. *Presentation of the Book Il sogno del coreodramma: Salvatore Viganò, poeta muto (Dream of a choreodrama, Salvatore Viganò, silent poet) [by] Aurelio M. Milloss*. Reggio Emilia: Teatro Municipale "R. Valli", 1984.

Milloss, Aurel M., and Giovanni Morelli. *Creature di Prometeo: il ballo teatrale: dal divertimento al dramma: studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*. Vol. 23 Studi di musica veneta, ed. Giovanni Morelli. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996.

Mòllica, Fabio. *La danza di società nell'Italia dell'800: un primo studio*. Vol. 1 I libri della società di danza. Bologna: Associazione culturale società di danza, 1995.

_____. *Il valzer dei maestri: storia ottocentesca di una danza*. Vol. 5 I libri della Società di danza: Modena: Associazione culturale Società di danza, 2005.

_____. *L'abito da ballo in Italia nell'ottocento* I libri della Società di Danza Modena: Associazione Culturale Società di Danza, 2006.

Moore, Lillian. *Artists of the Dance*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1938.

Morgan, Lady, and Sir Thomas Charles. "Italy." 1. London: H. Colburn and Co., 1821.

Morina, Beryl. *Mime in Ballet: for Teachers, Dancers, Students, and Ballet Enthusiasts*. Winchester, U.K.: Woodstock Winchester, 2000.

Nadal, Augustin, and Ribou Pierre. *Histoire des vestales: avec un traité du luxe des dames romaines*. Paris: La veuve de P. Ribou libraire, quay les augustins, à l'image S. Louis, 1725.

New York Public Library Digital Gallery New York: accessed 2006-2010; Available from <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/index.cfm>.

Niccolo, Sanesi. "Sofia Fuoco nella Tarantella." In *Carrieri, Raffaele. La danza in Italia, 1500-1900. Milano [1946]*, reproduction of a hand-colored lithograph, 11 x 8 1/4 in.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection, 1946.

_____. "Sofia Fuoco nella Tarantella." Color lithograph, including title and ornamental border, 30.5 x 22.5 cm.: Firenze, Lit. Ach. Paris, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1515952) [1850].

- Nørlyng, Ole, and Henning Urup. *Bournonville: tradition, rekonstruktion*. København: C.A. Reitzel, 1989.
- NYPL, *500 years of Italian Dance* New York: accessed April 15 2007; Available from <http://www.nypl.org/research/lpa/italiandance/over.html> New address: <http://legacy.www.nypl.org/research/lpa/italiandance/>.
- Opera Today: Spontini: La Vestale* [website and PDF download]. 2007, accessed March 2010; Available from http://www.operatoday.com/content/2007/08/spontini_la_ves_1.php.
- Pappacena, Flavia. *Ricostruzione della linea stilistica di Carlo Blasis* Chorègraphie: Nuova serie n. 1, 2001. Roma: Meltemi, 2003.
- _____. "Analysis and Reconstruction of the Pas de deux in the third scene of Luigi Manzotti's "Gran Ballo" Excelsior (1881)." In *Die Beziehung von Musik und Choreographie im Ballett Buch*, ed. Michael Malkiewicz and Jörg Rothkamm, 171-186. Berlin: Vorwerk 8, 2007.
- Pappacena, Flavia, and Carlo Blasis. *Il trattato di danza di Carlo Blasis, 1820-1830 (Carlo Blasis' treatise on dance, 1820-1830)*. Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2005.
- Pappacena, Flavia, Elena Grillo, Claudia Celi, Maria Amata Caló, and Mario Musumeci. *Excelsior: documenti e saggi* Chorégraphie. Rome: Di Giacomo, 1998.
- Parker, Roger, and Mary Ann Smart. *Reading Critics Reading: Opera and Ballet Criticism in France from the Revolution to 1848*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- PBS. *People & Events: Uncle Tom's Cabin Takes the Nation by Storm* PBS.org, 1999-2000, accessed December 2008; Available from http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/foster/peopleevents/e_cabin.html.
- "Peasants from Calabria dancing the tarantella." Watercolor, 26.5 x 21.5 cm. Naples: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, 1824.
- Peter Ernst Lassen, Morten Mogensen, Herman Severin Løvenskiold, et al. *Musikken til Bournonvilles balletter*. Musical recording, CD audio. Copenhagen, Denmark: Danacord, 2005.

- Poesio, Giannandrea. "Balletic mime." *The Dancing Times. London.* June (1990): 895-899.
- _____. "The language of gesture in Italian dance from Commedia dell'arte to Blasis." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Surrey, 1993.
- _____. "The Origins of Ballet Mime." *Dancing Times. London.* Sept. (1995).
- _____. "The Origins of Ballet Mime: part II." *Dancing Times. London.* Oct. (1995): 24-25.
- _____. "The Origins of Ballet Mime: part III." *Dancing times. London.* Nov. (1995): 155-157.
- _____. "Blasis, the Italian Ballo, and the Male Sylph." In *Rethinking the Sylph*, ed. Lynn Garafola, 131-142. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press, 1997.
- _____. "Galop, Gender and Politics in the Italian Ballo Grande." In *Society of Dance History Scholars (U.S.). 20th Conference. Proceedings.*, 151-156. Barnard College, New York City, 1997.
- _____. "Gesture and Mime." *Dancing times. London.* October (1998): 5.
- _____. "Viganò, the Coreodramma and the Language of Gesture." *Historical Dance: The Journal of the DHDS.* 3, no. 5 (1998): 3-8.
- _____. "Reviving the Gesture." In *Dancing in the Millennium, proceedings.* 339-341, 2000.
- Powers, Harold S. "'La solita forma' and 'The Uses of Convention'." *Nuove prospettive nella ricerca verdiana Parma [etc.]: Istituto di studi verdiani* (1987): 74-109.
- Raimondi, Ezio (editor), Luciano Bottoni, Rossana Dalmonte, Fabrizio Frasnedi, and Anna Ottani Cavina. *Il sogno del coreodramma: Salvatore Viganò, poeta muto, a cura di Ezio Raimondi.* Vol. 1 Proscenio; quaderni del Teatro Municipale "Romolo Valli" di Reggio Emilia. Reggio Emilia: Società Editrice Il Mulino, 1984.
- Ricordi. *Catalogo delle pubblicazioni, Regio Stabilimento Ricordi:* Milano, 1875.
- Riis, Thomas L. "The Music and Musicians in Nineteenth-century Productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*" *American Music* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 268-86.

- Rinaldi, Mario. *Due secoli di musica al Teatro Argentina*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Storia dei teatri italiani. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1978.
- Ritorni, Carlo. *Commentarii della vita e delle opere coredrammatiche di Salvatore Vigano e della coregrafia e de' corepei*. Milano: Guglielmini e Redaelli, 1838.
- _____. *Ammaestramenti alla composizione d'ogni poema e d'ogni opera appartenente alla musica*. Milano: L. di G. Pirola, 1841.
- Rizzuti, Alberto. "Music for a Risorgimento Myth: Joan of Arc 1789-1849." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2001.
- _____. "Vigano's 'Giovanna d'Arco' and Manzoni's 'March 1821' in the Storm of 1821 Italy." *Music and Letters* 86, no. 2 (2005): 186-201.
- Romanelli, Giandomenico, Giuseppe Pugliese, Josè Sasportes, Patrizia Veroli, and Graziano Arici. *Gran teatro La Fenice*. Köln: Evergreen Taschen, 1999.
- Rosenthal, Debra J. *Harriet Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's cabin': a Sourcebook* Routledge Guides to Literature; Routledge Literary Sourcebooks: London: Routledge, 2004.
- Rosselli, John. *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: the Role of the Impresario*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Rossi, Luigi. *Il ballo alla Scala. 1778-1970*. [Milano]: Edizioni della Scala, 1972.
- _____. *Enrico Cecchetti: il maestro dei maestri*. 1a ed. Vercelli: Edizioni della danza, 1978.
- Rossini, Gioacchino, and Ferretti Jacopo. *La Cenerentola: melodramma giocoso in 2 atti, Opera completa per canto e pianoforte*. Milano: New York, 1952.
- Royce, Anya Peterson. *Movement and Meaning: Creativity and Interpretation in Ballet and Mime*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Ruffin, Elena. "Il ballo teatrale a Venezia nel secolo XIX." *La danza italiana. Roma*. No. 5-6, no. Autunno 1987 (1987): 151-179.
- _____. "Il ruolo del ballo nelle vicende del romanticismo a Venezia." *La Danza italiana. Roma*. winter, no. 8-9 (1990): 27-44.
- Sacchi, Giovenale. *Della divisione del tempo nella musica, nel ballo e nella poesia* Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis, n. 45. Bologna: Forni, 1969.

Saint-Léon, Arthur, and Raymond Lister. *Stenochoreography or the Art of Writing Dancing Swiftly*. Cambridge: R. Lister, 1992.

Saint-Léon, Arthur, and Flavia Pappacena. *La stènochorègraphie 1852*. [Facsimile reprint] ed. Chorègraphie: rivista di ricerca sulla danza, ed. Flavia Pappacena. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2006.

Salvatore Viganò, 1769-1821 source material on his life and works. Filmed from the Cia Fornaroli Collection. New York: The New York Public Library, 1955.

"[Salvatore Viganò]." *Memoria sulla illuminazione a gas dei teatri*. (1820): 89-90.

Sanquirico, Alessandro, and Giuseppe Castellini. "Tempio di Vesta; col simulacro della dea, dinanzi alla quale arde il fuoco sacro. Questa scena fu eseguita pel ballo tragico, La vestale, inventato, e posto sulle scene dell'I. R. Teatro alla Scala dal Sig. Salvatore Viganò. Nella primavera dell'anno 1818." Engraving, 33 x 39.5 cm. Milano: Antonio Bossi Editore, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (part of digital galletry ID: 1515821) 1818.

Sanquirico, Alessandro, and Carolina Lose inc. "Basio sacro contiguo collegio de Flamini, ed al tempio di Vesta. Questa scena fu eseguita pel ballo tragico, La Vestale, composto dal Sigr. Salvatore Viganò, e messo sulle scene dell'I. R. Teatro alla Scala. La primavera dell'anno 1818. A Sanquirico inv. e dip. Carolina Lose inc." Aquatint engraving, 33.2 x 40.6 cm. Milano: Antonio Bossi Editore, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (part of digital galletry ID: 1515823), 1818.

Sanquirico, Alessandro, and G. Durelli inc. "Appartamento nella casa del console Murena. Questa scena venne eseguita pel ballo tragico, La vestale, composto, e posto sulle scene dell'I. R. Teatro alla Scala dal Sig. Salvatore Viganò. Nella primavera dell'anno 1818. A. Sanquirico inv. e dip. G. Durelli inc." Aquatint engraving, 33 x 40.9 cm. Milano: Antonio Bossi Editore, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Cia Fornaroli Collection (part of digital galletry ID: 1515822), [1818?].

Sasportes, José. "La danza, 1737-1900." In *Il Teatro di San Carlo*, 367-396. Napoli: Guida Editori, 1987.

_____. "Viganò versus Stravinskij." *Sasportes, José [clippings]* (1991).

_____. "La danza al Teatro La Fenice 1792-1900." In *Gran teatro La Fenice*, 277-301. Köln: Evergreen Taschen, 1999.

- Scafidi, Nadia, Rita Zambon, Roberta Albano, and Flavia Pappacena. *Le ballet en Italie: La Scala, La Fenice, Le San Carlo: du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours*. Rome: Gremese, 1998.
- Scafidi, Nadia, Rita Zambon, Roberta Albano, and Flavia Pappacena. *La danza in Italia: la Scala, la Fenice, il San Carlo, dal XVIII secolo ai giorni nostri*. Biblioteca delle arti, ed. Flavia Pappacena. Roma: Gremese, 1998.
- Scaramelli, Giuseppe. *Saggio sopra i doveri di un primo violino direttore d'orchestra*. Trieste: G. Weis, 1811.
- Schiørring, Nils. "Bournonville and the Music to his Ballets." *Theatre Research Studies, II. Copenhagen, Institute for Theatre Research, University of Copenhagen* (1972): 84-98.
- Schneider, Marcel. "Viganò, idole de Stendahl: considéré comme le père du choréodrame." *Danser Nov.* 1992, no. 105 (1992): 38-39.
- Schwartz-Bishir, Rebecca Amie. "Musique Dansante and the Art of Ballet." Ph.D., University of Michigan, 2008.
- Scott, John, and John Taylor. "Scraps from the Correspondence of a Musical Dilettante Travelling in Italy." *The London Magazine*. 12 (June 1825): 204-208.
- Searle, Humphrey. *Ballet Music; An Introduction*. London: Cassell, 1958.
- _____. *Ballet Music; An Introduction*. 2d rev. ed. New York: Dover Publications, 1973.
- Secondo, Giovanni, and Alberto Testa. *Mostra del libro e del documento di danza, 1581-1975: Torino, Foyer del Piccolo Regio, 23 aprile-18 maggio 1975: catalogo*. Torino: Teatro Regio, 1975.
- Seragnoli, Daniele. *L'industria del teatro: Carlo Ritorni e lo spettacolo a Reggio Emilia nell'Ottocento*. Vol. 4 Proscenio. [Bologna]: Società editrice il Mulino, 1987.
- Shaikovich (Šaifkevič / Anatolij Šajkevič), Anatolii Efimovich. *Mythologie du ballet de Viganò à Lifar*. Paris: Éditions Corrêa, 1939.
- Shaikovich, Anatolii Efimovich (Anatole Schaichkevitch). *Mitología del ballet de Viganò a Lifar*. Translated by Omar Mantero Blanco. Buenos Aires: L. Mera, 1942.

- Shapiro, Anne Dhu. "Action Music in American Pantomime and Melodrama, 1730-1913." *American Music* 2, no. 4 (1984): 49-72.
- Smart, Mary Ann. *Mimomania: Music and Gesture in Nineteenth-century Opera*. Vol. 13 California Studies in 19th-century Music. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Smith, Marian. "Borrowings and Original Music: A Dilemma for the Ballet-pantomime Composer." *Dance Research. London*. 6, no. 2, autumn 1988 (1988): 3-29.
- Smith, Marian Elizabeth. *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle*. Princeton Studies in Opera. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Smith, Marian Elizabeth "Music for the Ballet-pantomime at the Paris Opéra, 1825-1850." Dissertation, Yale University, 1988.
- Souritz, Elisabeth. "Carlo Blasis a Mosca." *La Danza italiana. Roma*. winter, no. 8-9 (1990): 137-156.
- Sowell, Debra H., Francesca Falcone, and Patrizia Veroli. *Il ballo romantico. Tesori della Collezione Sowell*. Palermo: L'Epos, 2007.
- Sowell, Debra H., and Madison U. Sowell. *The Art of Terpsichore: from Renaissance Festivals to Romantic Ballets*. Vol. 44 Friends of the Brigham Young University Library Newsletter. Provo, Utah: Friends of the Brigham Young University Library, 1994.
- Sowell, Debra Hickenlooper. "'Virtue (almost) Triumphant' Revisited: of Sylphs and Silfidi." *Dance Chronicle. New York*. 18, no. 2 (1995): 293-301.
- . "Romantic Topography and Modern Technology: Charting the Nineteenth-Century Repertory." In *Topographies: Sites, Bodies, Technologies, 32nd Annual Conference of the Society for Dance History Scholars*, 225-232. Stanford and San Francisco, CA: Society for Dance History Scholars, 2009.
- Sowell, Madison. "Gli Almanacchi e la storia della danza nell'età romantica." *L'Esopo. Rivista trimestrale di bibliofilia*, no. 99-100 (2004): 17-36.
- Spontini, Gaspare. *La Vestale. Libretto by Étienne de Jouy, Music by Gasparo Spontini ... A facsimile edition of the printed orchestral score [published by Erard, Paris], with an introduction by Charles Rosen*. Early romantic Opera. New York, London: Garland, 1979.

- Spontini, Gaspare, and Étienne de Jouy. *La vestale: tragédie lyrique en trois actes*. Paris: Chez Melles; Erard, 1807.
- Spontini, Gaspare, and Étienne de Jouy. *La vestale: melodramma in tre atti di De Jouy. Traduzione italiana di Giovanni Schmidt. Opera completa per canto e pianoforte*: [Milan] Ricordi, 1954.
- Spontini, Gaspare, Étienne de Jouy, and Giovanni Schmidt. *La vestale; melodramma in 3 atti di de Jouy. Rappresentata per la prima volta in francese al Teatro dell'Opera di Parigi il 15 dicembre 1807 e riprodotta in italiano nel Teatro alla Scala di Milano il 26 dicembre 1824. Prima rappresentazione in Italia, 8 settembre 1811 a Napoli. Traduzione italiana di G. Schmidt. Opera completa per canto e pianoforte*. Uniform Milano: Ricordi, 1955.
- Stendhal. *Correspondance inédite*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Paris: M. Lévy, 1855.
- _____. *Voyages en Italie*. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 249 ed. Victor Del Litto. Paris: Gallimard, 1973.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *La capanna dello zio Tomaso; o, La Schiavità*. Milano: Borroni e Scotti, 1852.
- _____. *La capanna dello zio Tomaso: o, La Schiavità*. 4 vols. Florilegio romantico. Milano: Borroni e Scotti, 1852.
- _____. *La capanna dello zio Tommaso: ossia, La vita dei negri in America*. Translated by B. Bermani. 2 vols. Milano e Lodi: Presso la tipografia di Claudio Wilmont e Figli, 1853.
- _____. *La Chiave della capanna dello zio Tomaso contenente i fatti e i documenti originali sopra cui è fondato il romanzo colle note giustificative di Enrichetta Beecher Stowe*. 2 vols. Milano, 1853.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher *La capanna dello zio Tommaso: ossia, La vita dei negri in America*. Translated by B. Bermani. 3 vols. Milano e Lodi: Presso la tipografia di Claudio Wilmont e Figli, 1853.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher, and University of Virginia. *Uncle Tom's Cabin or Life among the Lowly Charlottesville*: Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library, accessed December 2008; Available from <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbib/toccer-new2?id=StoCabi.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=front>.

- Tani, Gino. *Storia della danza: dalle origini ai nostri giorni*. 3 vols. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1983.
- "Tarantella dancers." Lithograph, line border: 21.4 x 29 cm.: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, 1800.
- "Terpsichore 1450-1900." In *International Dance Conference*, ed. Barbara Ravelhofer, 211. Gent, Belgium: Institute for Historical Dance Practice, 2000.
- Terzian, Elizabeth. "Salvatore Viganò: his Ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821)." Master of Arts, University of California, 1986.
- _____. "Salvatore Viganò: his Ballets at the Teatro La Scala (1811-1821), the Attitudes of his Contemporaries." *Society of Dance History Scholars. Proceedings, 10th annual conference* (1987): 38-44.
- Testa, Alberto. *Due secoli di ballo alla Scala, 1778-1975: 8 febbraio-8 marzo 1975*. Milano: Arti grafiche G. Ferrari, 1975.
- _____. "Duecentocinquanta anni di balletto al Teatro di San Carlo." In *Il Teatro di San Carlo, 1737-1987*, 333-341. Napoli: Electa Napoli, 1987.
- Thomas, Antoine Jean-Baptiste, and François Le Villain (lithographer). "Polichinelle et grotesques." Lithograph, line border: 9.2 x 28.9 cm.; entire sheet: 28 x 42.2 cm: The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division (available as part of the digital collection, ID: 1532559), [1823].
- Tintori, Giampiero. *Cronologia: opere, balletti, concerti 1778-1977*. Vol. 2 Duecento anni di Teatro alla Scala. Gorle: Grafica Gutenberg editrice, 1979.
- Toschi, Andrea. "Un esperimento di catalogazione elettronica dei balletti dell' ottocento." *La Danza italiana. Roma*. winter, no. 8-9 (1990): 159-172.
- Trentin, Giovanna. "Francesco Clerico, il poeta del ballo pantomimo." *La danza italiana. Roma.*, no. 5/6, Autunno (1987): 121-149.
- Ufficio Ricerca Fondi Musicali* [library database]. accessed 2008-2010; Available from http://www.urfm.braidense.it/index/index_urfm_en.php.
- Venanzi, Angelo, and Remigio Vitali. *Sieba. Ballo di L. Manzotti ... Riduzione per pianoforte di R. Vitali*. Milano, 1884.
- Verdi, Giuseppe. *Hymns - Inni*. The works of Giuseppe Verdi. Series IV, Hymns, ed. Roberta Montemorra Marvin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Veroli, Patrizia. "Walter Toscanini, Bibliophile and Collector, and the Cia Fornaroli Collection of the New York Public Library." *Dance Chronicle - Studies in Dance and the Related Arts* 28, no. 3 (2005): 323-362.

Verti, Roberto. "The *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli*, Milan, Venice, Rome 1764-1823: Preliminary Research on a Source for the History of Opera." *Periodica Musica* III, no. Spring (1985): 1-7.

_____. *Un almanacco drammatico: l'Indice de' teatrali spettacoli: 1764-1823*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Saggi e fonti. Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, Volume: Per il carnevale dell'anno 1764-dalla primavera 1785 a tutto il carnevale 1786; dalla primavera 1786 a tutto il carnevale 1787-dalla primavera 1808 a tutto il carnevale 1809; incominciando dalla quaresima 1819 a tutto il carnevale 1820-incominciando dalla quaresima 1822 a tutto il carnevale 1823., 1996.

Viale Ferrero, Mercedes. "Gli scenografi dei balli di Salvatore Viganò." *La scenografia della Scala nell'età neoclassica*. 1983 (1983): 81-86.

Warrack, John Hamilton. *Tchaikovsky Ballet Music* BBC music guides. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979.

Wiley, Roland John. *Tchaikovsky's Ballets: Swan lake, Sleeping Beauty, Nutcracker*. Oxford: Clarendon Press: New York, 1985.

_____. *A Century of Russian Ballet: Documents and Accounts, 1810-1910*. Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press: New York, 1990.

_____. *Tchaikovsky The master musicians*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Zambon, Rita. ""Sulle tracce dell'immortale Astigiano": influenze alfieriane nei libretti di danza della prima metà dell'Ottocento." *Chorégraphie.*, no. 2 (1993): 73-84.

_____. "Alla ri-scoperta di Giovanni Galzerani: 1a parte, L'interprete." *Chorègraphie. Roma*. anno 3, no. 5 (1995): 35-45.

_____. "Alla ri-scoperta di Giovanni Galzerani: 2a parte, Il coreografo." *Chorègraphie. Roma*. anno 3, no. 6 (1995): 67-90.

_____. "Quando il Ballo Anticipa L'opera: "Il Corsaro" di Giovanni Galzerani " In *Creature di Prometeo: il ballo teatrale: dal divertimento al dramma: studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*, ed. Giovanni Morelli and Aurel M. Milloss, 23, 305-314. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1996.

Zecca-Laterza, Agostina. *Il Catalogo numerico Ricordi 1857 con date e indici Bibliotheca musicae 8; Cataloghi editoriali 1* Roma: Nuovo istituto editoriale italiano, 1984.

Zorn, Friedrich Albert. *Grammatik der Tanzkunst, theoretischer und praktischer; Unterricht in der Tanzkunst und Tanzschreibkunst, oder Choregraphie. Nebst Atlas mit Zeichnungen und Musikalischen uebungs-Beispeilen mit Choregraphischer Bezeichnung und einem besondern Notenhefte für den Musiker.* Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1887.

Scores and Libretti from the Harvard Theatre Collection, including the John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection

Belloli, A., Francesco Clerico, Pietro Romani, and Joseph Weigl. *Pezzi scelti dal ballo storico Matilde e Malek-Adel [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Ricordi, 1824.

Belloli, Luigi, Pietro Piazza, and Urbano Garzia. "Varj pezzi di musica del sigr. Luigi Beloli estratti dal ballo Il cavaliere del tempio: manuscript [alternate title: Avventure di Aroldo il prode], [1815?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.

Brambilla, Paolo, Louis Henry, and L. Truzzi. *Ballabile cinese: nel ballo Gengiskan del Sigr. Henry [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Firenze, Milano: Ricordi, Pozzi e Co., 1828.

Briol, Giovanni. *Matilde e Malek-Adhel, ballo in dieci quadri composto e diretto dal signor Giovanni Briol, da rappresentarsi nel real teatro S. Carlo a'4 ottobre 1847 ricorrendo il fausto giorno onomastico di S.A.R. il duca di Calabria d. Francesco Maria Leopoldo principe ereditario del regno delle due Sicilie.* Napoli: Flautina, 1847.

Carafa, Michele, Gaetano Gioja, and Pietro Piazza. *Ballabile [from Acbar Gran Mogol] [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Presso Gio. Ricordi, negoziante di musica, editore del C.R. Conservatorio e proprietario della musica del R. Teatro alla Scala, che tiene stamperia, archivio di spartiti e magazzino di cembali di Vienna e Monaco, nella cont.a di S.a Margherita, N.o 1118, 1819.

- Carlini, Luigi, Michele Carafa, and Giuseppe Galluzzo. *Pas de trois: eseguito dal sigr. Hullin e le sigre. Vacque-Mulin e Sighera aggiunto nel ballo Sesostri [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1823.
- Carlini, Luigi, Luigi Dalla Casa, and Salvatore Taglioni. *Tarantella nel gran ballo Otranto liberata [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Gius. Girard, 1820.
- Carlini, Luigi, Gaetano Gioja, and Giuseppe Galluzzo. *Settimino nel ballo Gundeberga [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1822.
- Carlini, Luigi, and Giuseppe Galluzzo. *Sesostri: gran ballo storico [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1823.
- Carlini, Luigi, Giuseppe Galluzzo, and Salvatore Taglioni. *Pezzi scelti nel gran ballo Otranto liberata [piano score]* Ruth Neils and John M. Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Gius. Girard, 1820.
- Carlini, Luigi, Giuseppe Galluzzo, Salvatore Taglioni, and Adelaide Taglioni-Peraud. *Pas de deux: eseguito dà conjugi Taglioni nel ballo Atide e Cloe [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1823.
- Carlini, Luigi, Salvatore Taglioni, and Giuseppe Galluzzo. *Sesostri: gran ballo storico [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1823.
- Cerrito, Fanny, and Arthur Saint-Léon. *Ballabili eseguiti dalla Cerrito e St. Leon nel carnevale del 1846 [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Torino: G. Magrini, 1846.
- "Cesare in Egitto: ballo in cinque atti: manuscript, [1800?]." 1 ms. piano score, bound. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Clerico, Francesco, and Madame Cottin. *Matilde, e Malek-Adel: ballo tragico in cinque atti.* Venezia: Casali, 1826.
- Cortesi, Antonio, Luigi Maria Viviani, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. *Fausto: ballo fantastico in cinque quadri [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Firenze: A spese dell' Impresa, 1849.

- _____. *Fausto: ballo fantastico in cinque quadri [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Firenze: Fioretti, 1861.
- Dall'Argine, Costantino, and Antonio Pallerini. "Zelia: ballo grande del corf. Antonio Pallerini: manuscript, [1865?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- _____. "Ballo Zelia: manuscript, [ca. 1865?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- _____. "Zelia: del coreografo Antonio Pallerini: musica di Cosno. Dall'Argine: foglietto: manuscript, [ca. 1865?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Dall'Argine, Costantino, Ippolito Giorgio Monplaisir, and F. Almasio. *Brahma: ballo in un prologo e sei atti [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: F. Lucca, 1868.
- Gallenberg, Robert Graf von. "Grand pas de deux [manuscript], [18--]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- _____. "Pas e deux [manuscript], [18--]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- _____. "Marcia: manuscript, [1836]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Gallenberg, Robert Graf von, Gaetano Gioja, Mathilda Murari-Brà (former owner). "Raccolta di varj ed applauditi pezzi di musica scelti dal gran ballo [manuscript], [1816?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Gallenberg, Robert Graf von, Giuseppe Galluzzo, and Louis Henry. *Pas de deux [from Talismano, Othello, La morte di Cleopatra, piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1821.

- Gallenberg, Robert Graf von, Giovanni Galzerani, and Paolo Samengo. "Boundelmonte [sic]: quintetto Samengo: manuscript, [ca. 1829?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19890606. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Gallenberg, Robert Graf von, and Gaetano Gioja. *Raccolta di varj ed applauditi pezzi di musica scelti dal gran ballo La Niobe [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Gio. Ricordi, 1816.
- Gallenberg, Robert Graf von, Galluzzo Giuseppe, and Gaetano Gioja. *Niobe: ballabile nell'atto 1o [piano score] [Niobe; o La vendetta di Latona, musica del sig. conte Gallenberg; ridotto per piano forte a 4 mani dal sig. dilettante Giuseppe Galluzzo]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1822.
- Gallenberg, Robert Graf von, Louis Henry, and Hadrava. "Pas de deux du grand ballet Hamlet: composé par Mr. Henry [manuscript], [after 1812]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Gallenberg, Robert Graf von, and Salvatore Taglioni. "Furio Camillo: manuscript, [1838]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Galzerani, Giovanni. "Due pezzi scielti [sic] del ballo Amore e Dovere ... Ridotti per cembalo solo dal sig abata Giovanni Moro, [1819]." John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Giaquinto, Giuseppe, Filippo Baratti, Malvina Bartoletti, and signora Montani. "Passo a 3: [between 1866 and 1868?] manuscript, Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Giaquinto, Giuseppe, Gaetano Croce, and Durante. "Passo a due: manuscript, [185-?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Giaquinto, Giuseppe, signora Montani, and Gaetano Croce. "Passo a due: manuscript, [185-?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.

- Gioja, Gaetano. "Musica ridotta per forte-piano del ballo serio, La Niobe: rappresentato nel Teatro comunale di Bologna il carnevale del 1817: manuscript, [1817?] " Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20070628. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Gioja, Gaetano, Giuseppe Galluzzo, and Robert Graf von Gallenberg. *Niobe: ballo mitologico [Niobe; o La vendetta di Latona, del signor Gaetano Gioja ; ridotto per piano forte dal signor dilettante D. Giuseppe Galluzzo] [piano score]* Ruth Neils and John M. Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1822.
- Gioja, Gaetano, Gioacchino Rossini, Paolo Brambilla, Pietro Generali, Robert Graf von Gallenberg, Pietro Piazza, signor Grassi, signor Almasio, and Giovanni Moro. *Acbar gran mogul: ballo [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Presso Gio. Ricordi, negoziante di musica, editore del C.R. Conservatorio, e proprietario della musica del R. Teatro alla Scala, tiene stamperia, archivio di spartiti e magazzino di cembali di Vienna e Monaco, nella cont.a di S.a Margherita, N.o 1118, 1819.
- Giorza, Paolo, and Antonio Pallerini. "Ariella: [del] coreografo Pallerini Antonio: musica [di] Paolo Giorza; autunno 1862 p[er] La Scala: foglietto: [ca. 1862] manuscript, [1862]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Giorza, Paolo, Antonio Pallerini, and Amina Boschetti. *Folgore: ballo fantastico in tre parti [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Ricordi, 1862.
- Giorza, Paolo, and Federico Fusco. *Nicolò de' Lapi: ballo storico in 6 atti [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: F. Lucca, 1858.
- Giorza, Paolo, and Antonio Pallerini. "Ariella: foglietto: [ca. 1862] manuscript, [ca. 1862]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- _____. "L'anello infernale: ballo di A. Pallerini: musica di P. Giorza: manuscript, [ca. 1862]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Giorza, Paolo, Giuseppe Rota, Marco Aurelio Marliani, Cesare Dominiceti, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Niccola Olivieri. *Bianchi e negri: azione coreografica [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Francesco Lucca, 1857.

- Giorza, Paolo, Giuseppe Rota, and Niccola Olivieri. *Tutti coreografi, ossia, Un ballo nuovo: azione coreografica [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: F. Lucca, 1856.
- Giorza, Paolo, Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli, and Antonio Pallerini. "Clara: ballo grande in cinque atti del coreografo Antonio Pallerini: 1859, manuscript, 1859." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- _____. "Clara: ballo grande in cinque atti del coreografo Antonio Pallerini: con musica dei sigri. maestri Paolo Giorza e G.A. Scaramelli: foglietto [ca. 1859] manuscript, [ca. 1859]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Hertel, Peter Ludwig, and Paul Taglioni. *Au feu!: galop de Flick et Flock = Feuerwehr-Galopp [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Paris: Flaxland, 1862.
- Hertel, Peter Ludwig, Paul Taglioni, Luigi Rivetta, and G. Galbiati-Garegnani. *Flik e Flok: ballo fantastico del coreografo P. Taglioni [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Ricordi, 1862.
- Mandanici, Placido, and Salvatore Taglioni. "Romanovv: gran ballo in sei atti manuscript, [1832?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Marenco, Romualdo, and Luigi. Manzotti *Sieba, ossia, La spada di Wodan: azione coreografica in 8 quadri*. 3a. completa. ed. Torino: Giudici e Strada, 1884.
- Mayr, Giovanni Simone, (supposed) Pietro Metastasio, (librettist), and Luigi Maria Viviani. *Demetrio: dramma per musica: da rappresentarsi nel regio teatro di Torino nel carnovale dell'anno 1824: alla presenza delle LL. SS. RR. MM.* Harvard Theatre Collection. Torino: Presso Onorato Derossi stamp. e lib. del R. teatro, 1824.
- Menozi, Giovanni, Costantino Dall'Argine, and Ippolito Giorgio Monplaisir. *Marcia cinese: nel ballo Brahma [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: F. Lucca, 1868.
- Mercadante, Saverio, Giovanni Galeota, and Salvatore Taglioni. *Tre pezzi scelti del ballo Il flauto magico [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). [Milan?]: s.n., 1828.

- Monplaisir, Ippolito Giorgio. *Brahma; ballo in sette atti e prologo. Musica del Maestro Costantino dall' Argine, da rappresentarsi al Teatro Comunale di Bologna l'autunno 1868 [microform, scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Bologna: Tip. de G. Vitali, 1868.
- Monplaisir, Ippolito Giorgio, and Costantino Dall'Argine. *Brahma: ballo in sette atti e un prologo [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Ricordi, 1886.
- Nicolini, Giuseppe, Luigi Romanelli, Antonio Cherubini, and Francesco Clerico. *Aspasia ed Agide: melodramma serio [scenario for Matilde e Malek-Adel]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Giacomo Pirola, 1824.
- Niedermeyer, Louis, Robert Graf von Gallenberg, and Louis Henry. *Pezzi scelti nel gran ballo Gengis-Kan [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Gius. Girard, 1819.
- Pacini, Giovanni, Giuseppe Galluzzo, Armand Vestris, and Raimondo Doche. *La fata malvagia: ballo magico [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1822.
- Pallerini, Antonio, and Costantino Dall'Argine. *Zelia: azione mimica in cinque atti [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Roma: Giovanni Olivieri, 1865.
- _____. "Production Notes for the Ballet Zelia: manuscript, [1866-1871]." Book; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Pallerini, Antonio, Paolo Giorza, and Amina Boschetti. *L'anello infernale, ossia, Folgore: ballo fantastico in sei parti [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Luigi di Giacomo Pirola 1862.
- Pallerini, Antonio, and Paolo Giorza. "Production notes for the ballet Ariella: [1856-1872] manuscript, [1856-1872]." Book; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Panizza, Giacomo, and Teodoro Martín. "Palmina: ballo teatrale, Scala 1853: [1852] manuscript, [1852]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.

- Ponchielli, Amilcare. "Ballabile: Ponchielli: [between 1861 and 1864?] manuscript, Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- _____. "Melodie interne nel ballo Il viaggio nella luna: [between 1861 and 1864?] manuscript, Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Pontelibero, Ferdinando, Gaetano Gioja, and Pietro Piazza. *Nel ballo Il Tamerlano [ballabile del sigr. Ferdinando Pontelibero; ridotto per forte-piano da Pietro Piazza] [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Gioi. Ricordi, editore del C.R. Conservatorio, tiene stamperia, archivio di spartiti e magazzino di cembali di Vienna, nella cont. di S.a Margherita, No. 1118, 1816.
- Pugni, Cesare. "Passo a tre: [between 1828 and 1829?] manuscript, [1828-1829]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19890606. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Pugni, Cesare, and Giovanni Galzerani. "Terzetto ballabile: manuscript, [ca. 1828?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19890606. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Pugni, Cesare, and Jules Perrot. *Esmeralda: gran ballo [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: F. Lucca, 1844.
- Pugni, Cesare, Jules Perrot, Fanny Elssler, L. Truzzi, and Giovanni Bajetti. *Esmeralda: ballo del sig. Perrot: pezzi scelti rappresentati e danzati dall'esimia signora Fanny Elssler e dal signor Perrot [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Giovanni Ricordi, 1845.
- Ramaccini, Francesco, C. Ciardi, Luigi Laschi, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. *Fausto: ballo fantastico in tre atti [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Firenze: Niccola Fabbrini, 1850.
- Ries, Ferdinand, Gaetano Gioja, and Paolo Brambilla. *Danza cosacca per forte-piano [Variations, piano, op. 40. No. 1]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Biblioteca di musica moderna, anno 3, classe 2. Milano: Ricordi, 1822.
- Romani, Pietro, and Gaetano Gioja. *Ottavia: gran ballo tragico [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Biblioteca di musica moderna, anno 3, classe 2, fascicolo 1-2. Milano: Ricordi, 1823.

- Romani, Pietro, and Salvatore Taglioni. *2o. pot-pourri sopra talune rimembranze nel gran ballo di S. Taglioni, Amore e Psiche: gran ballabile [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), 1835.
- Rota, Giuseppe, Giuseppe Bini, and Paolo Giorza. *Bianchi e negri: ballo allegorico-fantastico in due parti e sei scene [scenari]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Torino: Giudici e Strada, 1875.
- Rota, Giuseppe, and Paolo Giorza. *Un ballo nuovo: azione mimica in quattro parti [scenari]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Paolo Ripamonti Carpano, 1856.
- Rota, Giuseppe, Paolo Giorza, and Bruno Brunelli. *Bianchi e negri: azione storico-allegorica in tre parti e sette scene [scenari]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Venezia: Teresa Gattei, 1857.
- Rota, Giuseppe, Ferdinando Pratesi, and Paolo Giorza. *La capanna di Tom: azione storica-allegorica in tre quadri e sette scene [scenari]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Bologna: Belle Arti, 1858.
- Sanelli, Gualtiero, Luigi Vacca, Carlo Scioli, Luigi Maria Viviani, Giuseppe Ghebart, Carolina Rosati, Lorenzo Vienna, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Antonio Cortesi. *Camoens: dramma lirico in tre atti da rappresentarsi nel regio Teatro il carnevale-quaresima 1852, alla presenza delle LL. SS. RR. MM [scenari]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Torino: Giuseppe Fodratti, 1852.
- Sarti, Giuseppe, and Chevalier Pierre Bressol. "Les amours de Flore et de Zephire: ballet anacreontique en deux actes / de l'invention de Monsieur de Chevalier, assesseur de College et maitre de ballets de Sa Majesté L'Empereur de toutes les Russies; la musique est de la composition de Joseph Sarti ; dediée à son cher ami l'auteur du ballet: manuscript, [1800], [1800]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20000120. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- Scaramelli, Giuseppe Alessandro. "Napoletana: ballabile a diversi caratteri: manuscript, [ca 1859?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.
- _____. "Vivandiera: ballabile: manuscript, [ca. 1859?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 19990121. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.

- Süssmayr, Franz Xaver, Salvatore Viganò, and Giulio Viganò. *Il noce di Benevento: ballo al[l]egorico* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection)Biblioteca di musica, anno 3, classe 2. Milano: Ricordi, 1822.
- Taglioni, Paul, Peter Ludwig Hertel, Amina Boschetti, Filippo Peroni, and Luigi Zamperoni. *Flik e Flok: gran ballo fantastico in due parti e sei quadri [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Per Luigi di Giacomo Pirola, 1862.
- Taglioni, Paul, Peter Ludwig Hertel, Filippo Peroni, Luigi Zamperoni, Zina Richard Mérante, and Louis Mérante. *Flik e Flok: gran ballo fantastico in due parti e sei quadri [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Tipi di Luigi di Giacomo Pirola, 1864.
- Taglioni, Paul, Cesare Marzagora, and Peter Ludwig Hertel. *Flik e Flok: ballo in due parti e sei quadri [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Venezia: Tipografia del Commercio, 1866.
- _____. *Flik e Flok: ballo in 2 parti e 6 quadri [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Torino: B. Som, 1871.
- Taglioni, Paul, José Méndez, and Peter Ludwig Hertel. *Flik e Flok: ballo in 2 parti e 6 quadri [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Torino: B. Som, 1876.
- Taglioni, Salvatore, Giuseppe Galluzzo, Michele Carafa, and Luigi Carlini. *Pas de trois: eseguito dal sigr. Hullin e le sigre. Vacque-Mulin e Sichera aggiunto nel ballo Sesostri [musica variata dal signor N. sul tema del sigr. cav. Carafa, O cara memoria; ridotto facilmente per pianoforte solo dal sigr. dilettante D. Gius. Galluzzo] [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Girard, 1823.
- Taglioni, Salvatore, Pietro Raimondi, and Luigi Carlini. *Otranto liberata: ballo storico in cinque atti [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Flautina, 1820.
- Taglioni, Salvatore, and Placido Mandanici. *Romanow: ballo storico in sei atti [scenario]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Flautina, 1832.
- Viganò, Salvatore. *Innamoramento di Eone e Lino [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milan: Ricordi, 1813.

_____. *La vestale: gran ballo tragico [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Ricordi, 1819.

_____. "Nel ballo Il Prometeo: sonata per forte-piano: Innamoramento di Eone e Lino: manuscript, [1813?]." Score; Archival Material Date of Entry: 20030825. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Cambridge.

Viganò, Salvatore, Johann Kaspar Aiblinger, Michele Carafa, Gioacchino Rossini, Louis Jansen, and F. Bonazzi. *Raccolta di varj e più applauditi pezzi del gran ballo I Titani [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Gio. Ricordi, negoziante di musica, editore del C.R. Conservatorio, e proprietario della musica del R. Teatro alla Scala, che tiene stamperia, archivio di spartiti e magazzino di cembali di Vienna e Monaco, nella cont.a di S.a Margherita, N.o 1118, 1819.

Viganò, Salvatore, Paolo Brambilla, Joseph Weigl, Louis Jansen, Dionigi Brogialdi, and Peter Lichtenthal. *Alessandro nell'Indie: gran ballo eroico [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection), Biblioteca di musica moderna, classe 2a., fascio. 5-6;. Milano: Gio. Ricordi, negoziante di musica, editore del C.R. Conservatorio, e proprietario della musica del R. Teatro alla Scala, che tiene stamperia, archivio di spartiti e magazzino di cembali di Vienna e Monaco, nella cont.a di S.a Margherita, No. 1118, 1820.

Viganò, Salvatore, Dionigi Brogialdi, Peter Lichtenthal, Johann Kaspar Aiblinger, Pietro Generali, Giovanni Paisiello, Joseph Haydn, Johann Ladislaus Dussek, and Gioacchino Rossini. *Pezzi scelti del ballo storico Giovanna d'Arco [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Biblioteca di musica moderna, anno 2o. Milano: Ricordi, 1821.

Viviani, Luigi Maria, Antonio Cortesi, and Ermanno Picchi. *Fausto: ballo fantastico [piano score]*. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Firenze: Ferdinando Lorenzi, 1852.

Weigl, Joseph, and Salvatore Viganò. *Nel ballo Prometeo: Cupido alla fucina di Vulcano [piano score]* John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Milano: Presso Gioi. Ricordi, editore del Ro. Conservatorio di Musica, nella contrada di Sta. Margheria al No. 1065, 1813.

Scores and Libretti from the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts Research Collections

Auber, D. F. E. , Eugène Scribe, and Luigi Astolfi. *La fidanzata; ossia La modista e il caporale; opera comica in tre atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Carignano nell'autunno dell'anno 1835. Torino, Presso O. Derossi [1835]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 377, 1835.

Bellini, Pio. *Iselda di Normandia; ballo fantastico di Giovanni Casati. Riduzione per Pianoforte solo di A. Raineri. Milano: G. Ricordi, [1846?].*

Bellini, Vincenzo, Carlo Pepoli, and Livio Morosini. *I Puritani e I Cavalieri; opera seria in tre parti da rappresentarsi nell'imp. reg. Teatro alla Scala, il carnevale 1835-36. Milano, G. Pirola, 1835 [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 388, 1835.

Bellini, Vincenzo, Felice Romani, Francesco Clerico, and Friedrich Horschelt. *I Capuleti ed i Montecchi; tragedia lirica di Felice Romani da rappresentarsi nell'i. r. Teatro alla Scala nel carnovale 1830-31. Milano, G. Truffi [1830] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 317, 1830.

Bellini, Vincenzo, Felice Romani, and Giacomo Serafini. *I Capuleti ed i Montecchi; tragedia lirica da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Torino nel carnovale del 1836... Torino, O. Derossi [1836] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 391, 1836.

Bellotti, Luigi. "Aroldo, ossia I templari; tragedia ball-mimica. Musica del Sigr. Luiggi Bellotti e Nicolò Mirabella." Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York. [Original housed at Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University]

Bernardi, Enrico. *Gretchen; ballo romantico fantastico del coreografo Luigi Danesi. Musica dei maestri Bernardi e Scaramelli. Riduzione per pianoforte di Ettore Contrucci. Firenze: Bratti Sciabilli, [1855?].*

_____. *Marco Visconti; ballo storico del coreografo Federico Fusco [piano score]. Milano: Tito di Gio. Ricordi, [1860?].*

Carlini, Luigi. "Sesostri; ballo in cinque atti. Musica del sigr. Luigi Carlini. Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets; Reel 4, New York. [Original housed at Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University]

Celli, Filippo, Angelo Anelli, Salvatore Viganò, and Giuseppe Villa. *La secchia rapita; dramma eroi-comico per musica in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro in Varese, l'autunno dell'anno 1830. Milano, G. Truffi [1830] [scenario] Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 314a, 1830.*

Coppola, Pietro Antonio, Jacopo Ferretti, Alexandre Soumet, and Girolamo Albini. *La pazza per amore; melodramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Varese, l'autunno dell'anno 1835. Parole di Jacopo Ferretti, musica del maestro Pietro Antonio Coppola. Milano, Stamp. Dova [1835] [scenario] Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 383, 1835.*

Coppola, Pietro, Jacopo Antonio Ferretti, and Giacomo Serafini. *La pazza per amore; melodramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nell'i. r. Teatro in via della Pergola, l'autunno 1835... Firenze, N. Fabbrini, [1835] Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 381, 1835.*

Coppola, Pietro, Antonio Ferretti Jacopo, Alessandro Manzoni, and Giuseppe Turchi. *La pazza per amore; melodramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Carcano, la primavera del 1835. Parole di Jacopo Ferretti, musica del maestro Pietro Antonio Coppola. Milano, Stamp. Dova [1835] [scenario] Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 382, 1835.*

Curci, Giuseppe, Pietro Salatino, Alexandre Soumet, and Girolamo Albini. *Il proscritto; melodramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Como, l'autunno dell'anno 1835. Como, C. A. Ostinelli [1835] [scenario] Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 384, 1835.*

Dall'Argine, Costantino. *La devâdâcy; ballo in cinque atti e sei quadri del coreografo Ippolito Monplaisir. Musica del maestro C. dall'Argine, dallo stesso ridotta per pianoforte solo. Milano: F. Lucca, [1866?].*

_____. *Brahma; ballo in sette atti e prologo del coreografo Ippolito Monplaisir. Riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio. Milano: F. Lucca, [1868?].*

_____. *Brahma; musica di C. dall'Argine; riduzione per pianoforte solo di F. Almasio [piano score]. Milano; New York: Ricordi, [1915].*

Donizetti, Gaetano, Salvatore Cammarano, and Antonio Cortesi. *Belisario; tragedia lirica in tre parti da rappresentarsi nell'i. r. Teatro alla Scala, l'autunno 1836. Milano, Presso Luigi di G. Pirola, 1836 [scenario] Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 389, 1836.*

- Donizetti, Gaetano, Domenico Gilardoni, and Giuseppe Villa. *Fausta; melodramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Nuovo Teatro in Padova, la fiera del santo 1835. Padova, Tip. Penada, 1835 [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 375, 1835.
- Donizetti, Gaetano, Felice Romani, and Louis Henry. *Anna Bolena; tragedia lirica in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Carcano, il carnevale 1830-31* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo, no. 316. Milano: A. Fontana, 1830.
- Donizetti, Gaetano, Felice Romani, Thomas Moore, Lalla Rookh, and Antonio Monticini. *La rinegata; dramma lirico in tre atti da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro, il carnevale del 1846-47...Torino, Tip. dei Fratelli Favale [1846?] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 575, 1846.
- Gallenberg, Robert Graf von. "Il figlio del mistero; ballo in quattro atti. Musica del Conte Gallenberg. Composizione di P. Hus fils. Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York. [Original housed at Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University]
- _____. "La barba bleu; musica in 5 atti, del signor conte Gallenberg. Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York. [Original housed at Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University]
- _____. *L'ingegno supera l'età [ossia, L'eredità rapita e riacquistata] Ballo di mezzo carattere in tre atti. Musica eseguita nel Nobile Teatro di Torre' Argentina il carnevale dell'anno 1821. Tradotta per il piano forte dal Mro. sig. Gaspare Frattesi [sic?]. [Rome?], [1821?].*
- Galzerani, Giovanni. *Diversi pezzi scelti dal ballo Amore e dovere, composto nel R. Teatro alla Scala dal Sig. Giovanni Galzerani e ridotti per cembalo solo dal Sig. r. Ab. te Gio. i Moro.* Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1820?].
- Garzia, Urbano. "Federico secondo, re di Prussia; ballo in cinque atti composto dal Sigr. Urbano Garzia. Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York. [Original housed at Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University]
- Gioja, Gaetano. *Nel balletto: L'allievo della natura; diversi pezzi ridotti per forte-piano [piano score].* Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1816?].
- Giorza, Paolo. *La contessa d'Egmont; ballo in cinque atti di G. Rota.* Milano: F. Lucca, 1861.

_____. *Bianchi e negri; azione coreografica di G. Rota. Musica di Paolo Giorza ed altri autori [piano score].* Milano: F. Lucca, [1853?].

_____. *Shakspeare; ovvero, Il sogno di una notte d'estate. Ballo in tre parti del coreografo Giovanni Casati. Riduzione per pianoforte di P. Truzzi e G. Toja.* Milano: Tito di Gio. Ricordi, [1855?].

_____. *Un ballo nuovo; azione coreografica di G. Rota. Pianoforte solo dall'autore.* Milano: F. Lucca, [1856?].

_____. *Uno spirito maligno; ovvero, Metempsicosi di una farfalla. Ballo del coreografo G. Rota, rappresentato per la prima volta al Teatro Carlo Felice in Genova la primavera 1858. Musica del maestro Paolo Giorza e dallo stesso ridotta per piano forte solo.* Milano: F. Lucca, [1858?].

_____. *Nicolò de' Lapi; ballo storico in 6 atti del coreografo F. Fusco. Musica di Paolo Giorza e dallo stesso ridotta per piano-forte solo.* Milano: F. Lucca, [1860?].

_____. *Folgore; ballo fantastico in tre parti. Posto in scena dal coreografo Antonio Pallereni al Teatro Carlo Felice di Genova, la primavera del 1862. Musica composta e ridotta per pianoforte da Paolo Giorza.* Milano: Tito di G. Ricordi, [1862?].

_____. *L'anello infernale; ballo fantastico in sei parti del coreografo Antonio Pallerini. Rappresentato nel R. Teatro alla Scala in Milano l'autunno 1862. Musica composta e ridotta per pianoforte da Paolo Giorza.* Milano: Tito di G. Ricordi, [1862?].

Giosa, Nicola, Almerino de Spadetta, Filippo Izzo, and Gaetano Neri. *Elvina; melodramma semiserio in tre atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Carignano, l'autunno del 1847. Torino, Tip. dei Fratelli Favale [1847] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 582, 1847.

Granara, Antonio, Agostino Pendola, and Antonio Cortesi. *Giovanna Prima di Napoli; melodramma in quattro parti, parole di Agostino Pendola, musica del maestro Antonio Granara, appositamente composta da rappresentarsi nel Gran Teatro La Fenice nel carnovale e quadragesima 1835-36. Venezia, Tip. di Commercio, 1835 [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 387, 1835.

Hertel, Peter Ludwig. *Flik e Flok; ballo fantastico del coreografo P. Taglioni. Rappresentato nel regio Teatro alla Scala [piano score]*. Milano: Tito di G. Ricordi, [1862?].

"La Niobe; gran ballo in sei atti. Musica di diversi autori, manuscript full score. Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York. [Original housed at Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University]

Manzotti, Luigi. *Sieba; o La spada di Wodan, azione coreografica in sette atti e nove quadri di Luigi Manzotti, musica di Romualdo Marengo. Teatro alla Scala, stagione 1880-81* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 962. Milano: Ricordi, 1880.

Manzotti, Luigi, and Carlo Coppi. *Sieba; o La spada di Wodan, azione coreografica in sette atti e nove quadri di Luigi Manzotti, musica di Romualdo Marengo, riprodotta da Carlo Coppi. Regio Teatro Municipale, Torino, carnevale-quaresima 1882-83...* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 967a. Milano: Ricordi, 1882.

Manzotti, Luigi, Raffaele Rossi, and Rinaldo Rossi. *Sieba; o La spada di Wodan, azione coreografica in sette atti e nove quadri di Luigi Manzotti, musica di Romualdo Marengo, riprodotta dagli artisti Raffaele e Rinaldo Rossi al Teatro Costanzi, autunno 1882.* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 964c. Milano: Ricordi, 1882.

Marengo, Romualdo. *Dai Natha; ballo romantico fantastico del coreografo Cesare Marzagora. Riduzione per pianoforte dell'autore.* Torino: Giudici e Strada, [1882?].

_____. *L'astro degli Afghan; ballo in sei atti del coreografo Ferdinando Pratesi [piano score]*. Milano: F. Lucca, [1883?].

Mercadante, Saverio, Felice Romani, Antonio Monticini, and Domenico Rossi. *Uggero il Danese; melodramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro del Comune di Reggio, la fiera dell'anno 1835, musica di Saverio Mercadante. Reggio, Torreggiani [1835] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 386, 1835.

Mercadante, Saverio, Felice Romani, Fabrizio Sevesi, Luigi Vacca, and Ferdinando Gioja. *Francesca Donato, ossia, Corinto distrutta: melodramma in tre parti da rappresentarsi nel regio Teatro di Torino nel carnevale del 1835 [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 378. Torino: Presso Onorato Derossi stampatore e librajo del r. teatro, 1835.

- Mirabella, Nicolò. "La vestale; ballo tragico. Musica de piu rinomati e celebri autori. Tradotta, e strumentata da Nicolò Mirabella, [1828]." Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York. [Original housed at Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University]
- Monticini, Antonio, Victor Ducange, and Giuseppe Villa. *L'orfana della Svizzera; ballo composto da Giuseppe Villa da rappresentarsi nel Nuovo Teatro in Padova, la stagione del santo 1835. [Padova] Tip. Penada [1835] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 380, 1835.
- Morlacchi, Francesco, and Giovanni Galzerani. *Tebaldo e Isolina; melo-dramma eroico da rappresentarsi nel Teatro dell'illustrissima comunità di Reggio, il maggio del MDCCCXXII. Reggio, G. Davolio [1822] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 227, 1822.
- Mosca, Giuseppe, Romanelli Luigi, Jean d. Racine, and Francesco Clerico. *La dama locandiera; ossia L'albergo de'Pitocchi; melodramma giocoso del sigr. Luigi Romanelli da rappresentarsi nell'i. r. Teatro alla Scala, la primavera dell'anno 1822. Milano, Stampe di G. Pirola [1822] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 224, 1822.
- Msaldinàdegen. "La donna del bosco; ballo in cinque atti. Musica del Sigr. Msaldinàdegen. Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York. [Original housed at Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University]
- Nicolini, Giuseppe, and Giovanni Galzerani. *Annibale in Bitinia; dramma eroico in 2 atti. Musica del Giuseppe Nicolini. [Elisabetta, Regina d'Inghilterra, al castello di Kenilworth. Ballo tragico in cinque atti, composto da Giovanni Galzerani, tratto dal romanzo Walter-Scott]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 228: Bologna, 1823.
- Pacini, Giovanni. "La fata malvagia; ballo in 5 atti del Sigr. Ermando Vestris. Musica del Sigr. Maestro Pacini," [manuscript score]New York.
- _____. "Gaudemberga; ballo in sei atti. Musica di diversi celebri autori, [1825?]." Collection of manuscript scores of early 19th century Italian ballets, New York. [Original housed at Boston Symphony Orchestra Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University]

- Pacini, Giovanni, Gaetano Rossi, and Antonio Monticini. *Adelaide e Comingio; melodramma semiserio da rappresentarsi nell'i. r. Teatro alla Canobbiana, la primavera del 1831. Milano, G. Truffi [1831]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 320, 1831.
- Panizza, Giacomo. *Faust; pezzi scelti del gran ballo fantastico, di Giulio Perrot ridotti per pianoforte e dedicati al distintissimo compositore di musica, Maurizio Levi, dall'autore. Milano: G. Ricordi, [1848?]*.
- Persuis, Louis-Luc Loiseau de. *[Noverre and Viganò ballets: librettos and scores] [contents include: libretto for Salvatore Viganò's ballet, Il principe Fortunio (Milano, G. Pirola, 1817); and piano scores for Viganò's ballets I giuochi istmici and Der Spanier auf der Insel, music by J. Weigl (Vienna, n.d.)]* Cia Fornaroli Collection. Paris, Chez Boieldieu, jeune [1818?]: Chez Boieldieu, [ca. 1762-ca. 1817].
- Piglia, Giacomo. *Il pirata; ballo tragico in cinque atti, composto e diretto dal sig. Giacomo Piglia da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Comunale di Ferrara, il carnevale dell'anno 1830 [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 314, 1830.
- Priora, Egidio. *Gli Afghani; ballo storico in cinque atti di Egidio Priora da rappresentarsi nell'i. r. Teatro alla Scala, l'autunno 1847. Milano, Tip. Valentini [1847] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 576, 1847.
- Pugni, Cesare. *Esmeralda; gran ballo composto dal Sr. Perrot pel Reale Teatro di Londra e riprodotto dallo Stesso sulle Scene dell'I. R. Teatro alla Scala [piano score]. Milano: F. Lucca, [1854?]*.
- _____. *Caterina, ossia, La figlia del bandito : ballo grande, musica de maestri Cesare Pagni e Giovanni Bajetti ; ridotta per pianoforte solo da E. Muzio [piano score]. Milano: Ricordi, [1847?]*.
- _____. *Caterina; ou La fille du brigand. Ballet composé par Jules Perrot et reproduit par lui au Théâtre I. R. à la Scala à Milan [piano score]. Milan: F. Lucca, [1847?]*.
- _____. "La Esmeralda, [ca. 1850]." [manuscript score] New York.
- Rossini, Gioacchino. *Acbar, gran mogul; ballo inventato e posto sulle scene del R. Teatro alla Scala dal coreografo sigr. Gaetano Gioja (Musica di diversi rinomati autori) Ridotto per cembalo solo. Milano: G. Ricordi, [1819?]*.

- Rossini, Gioacchino, Jacopo Ferretti, and Antonio Monticini. *La Cenerentola; melodramma giocoso da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Carignano nella primavera del 1836. Torino, Tip. Favale [1836] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 392, 1836.
- Rossini, Gioacchino, Ferretti Jacopo, Pierre Laurent Buyrette de Belloy, and Gaetano Gioja. *Matilde Shabran; o sia Bellezza e Cuor di Ferro; dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nell'i. r. Teatro alla Scala, l'autunno 1822. Milano, Stampe di G. Pirola [1822] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 226, 1822.
- Rossini, Gioacchino, Gaetano Rossi, and Giulio Viganò. *Tancredi; dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Torino nel carnevale del 1830... Torino, O. Derossi [1829. 8] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 315, 1829.
- Rossini, Gioacchino, Cesare della Valle duca di Ventignano, Voltaire, and Francesco Clerico. *Maometto secondo; melo-dramma eroico [da rappresentarsi nel gran Teatro La Fenice, nel carnevale 1822-23, musica di Rossini] Venezia, Tip. Casali [1822] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 227a, 1822.
- Rota, Giuseppe. *Giorgio il negro; ballo allegorico fantastico in tre parti e sei scene di Giuseppe Rota da rappresentarsi al Teatro di Apollo nel carnevale 1858 in 1859. [scenario]* Cia Fornaroli Collection. Roma: G. Olivieri, [1858?]
- _____. *La capanna di Tom; azione storica-allegorica in tre quadri e sette scene del coreografo Giuseppe Rota da rappresentarsi nel gran Teatro Comunale di Bologna, l'autunno 1858. Posto in iscena e diretto dal coreografo Ferdinando Pratesi. [scenario]* Cia Fornaroli Collection. Bologna: Tip. delle Belle Arti, [1858].
- _____. *I bianchi ed i negri; azione storica-allegorica in tre quadri e sette scene del coreografo Giuseppe Rota, riprodotta dal coreografo Ferdinando Pratesi nel regio Teatro della Scala nell'autunno 1863 [scenario]* Cia Fornaroli Collection. Milano: Luigi di G. Pirola, [1863].
- _____. *Bianchi e negri; ballo allegorico-fantastico in due parti e sei scene di Giuseppe Rota, riprodotto da Giuseppe Bini, al Teatro Regio di Torino nella quaresima 1875...[scenario]* Cia Fornaroli Collection. Torino: Giudici e Strada., [1875].

Somma, Luigi, Giuseppe Sapio, and Carlo Blasis. *Ildegonda e Rizzardo; tragedia lirica di Giuseppe Sapio da rappresentarsi nell'i. r. Teatro alla Canobbiana, la primavera 1835*. Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 379. Milano: Luigi di G. Pirola, 1835.

Taglioni, Salvatore. *Otranto liberata; ballo storico in cinque atti di Salvatore Taglioni... Rappresentato la prima volta in Napoli nel real Teatro S. Carlo, a 4. ottobre 1820... Napoli, Tip. Flautina, 1820*. Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 204, 1820.

Vaccai, Nicola, Andrea Leone Tottola, and Antonio Cherubini. *Zadig ed Astartea; melodramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Filarmonico in carnevale 1830-31. Verona, P. Bisesti [1830?] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 318, 1830.

Verdi, Giuseppe, Salvatore Cammarano, and Jules Perrot. *Alzira; tragedia lirica di Salvatore Cammarano, divisa in un prologo e due atti, posto in musica dal M. Giuseppe Verdi da rappresentarsi nell'imp. regio Teatro alla Scala, il carnevale 1847. Milano, Tip. Valentini [1847] [scenario]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 577, 1847.

Viganò, Salvatore. *La vestale; ballo tragico di Salvatore Viganò da rappresentarsi sulle scene dell'i. r. Teatro alla Scala nella primavera dell'anno 1818* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 195e. Milano: G. Pirola, 1818.

_____. *Giovanna d'Arco ballo storico in cinque atti* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo; no. 213a. Milano: Stamp. di G. Pirola, 1821.

_____. *La vendetta di Venere; gran ballo composto e diretto al R. Teatro alla Scala, dal Sigr. Salvatore Viganò; (musica di diversi rinomati autori). Ridotto per cembalo solo dal Sig.r Ferd.o Bonazzi* Cia Fornaroli Collection. Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [ca. 1820].

_____. *Pezzi scelti del ballo storico Giovanna d'Arco, espressamente composto per L. R. Teatro alla Scala dal celebre coreografo Salvatore Viganò. Musica di diversi rinomati autori ridotti per cembalo solo dal Sigr. Dionigi Brogialdi*. Milano: G. Ricordi, [182- ?].

_____. *Raccolta di varj e migliori pezzi di musica per forte piano del ballo, Prometeo. Inventato e posto sulle scene del Ro. Teatro alla Scala [piano score]*. Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1813?].

_____. *Dedalo; gran ballo inventato e posto sulle scene del R. Teatro alla Scala. Ridotto con accompto. di forte-piano*. Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1818?].

- _____. *La vestale; gran ballo tragico inventato e posto sulle scene del R. Teatro alla Scala dal Sigr. Salvatore Viganò. Ridotto per cembalo solo [dal Sigr. Po. Piazza].* Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1818?].
- _____. *Otello: gran ballo tragico dal Salvatore Viganò; musica di diversi rinomati autori; ridotto per cembalo solo.* Milano: G. Ricordi, [1818?].
- _____. *Psammi re d'Egitto; gran ballo composto al R. Teatro alla Scala [piano score].* Milano Gio. Ricordi, [1818?].
- _____. *La vestale; gran ballo tragico inventato e posto sulle scene del R. Teatro alla Scala [piano score].* Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1819?].
- _____. *Alessandro nell' Indie; gran ballo eroico espressamente composto pel R. Teatro alla Scala dal celebre coreografo Salvatore Viganò. Musica di diversi rinomati autori. Ridotta per forte-piano.* Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1820?].
- Viganò, Salvatore, Friedrich Schiller, and Giulio Viganò. *Giovanna d'Arco; ballo storico in cinque atti composto da Salvatore Viganò, riprodotto e diretto da Giulio Viganò, rappresentato la prima volta in Napoli nel real Teatro di S. Carlo a' 4 ottobre 1826* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 263a. Napoli: Tip. Flautina, 1826.
- Viganò, Salvatore, Giulio Viganò, and Filippo Bertini. *La vestale; ballo tragico di Salvatore Viganò, posto in iscena da suo fratello Giulio da rappresentarsi nel gran Teatro La Fenice, il carnevale dell'anno 1828* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 293a. Venice: Casali, 1828.
- Viviani, Luigi Maria. *Fausto; ballo fantastico del coreografo A. Cortesi. Rappresentato nell S. e R. Teatro della Pergola. Con musica composta dal Mo. L. M. Viviani. La riduzione per piano del Mo. E. Picchi [piano score]* Gift of Lillian Moore. Firenze: F. Lorenzi, [185-?].
- Zannini, Gaspare. *La donna del bosco; ballo di mezzo carattere composto e diretto dal Signor Gaspare Zannini da rappresentarsi nella stagione d'estate 1821 nel Teatro Contavalli di Bologna. [Bologna] Tip. Parmeggiani e Gamberini [1821]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 209, 1821.
- Zingarelli, Niccolò, Giuseppe Antonio Foppa, and Girolamo Albini. *Giulietta e Romeo; melodramma tragico in tre atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Filarmonico in carnevale 1830. Verona, P. Bisesti [1830]* Toscanini, Walter, 1898-1971, collector. Libretti di ballo. no. 313, 1830.

Theatre Chronologies and Related Reference Works

50 anni di ballo al Teatro civico di Vercelli. [S.l.]: Edizioni della danza, 1900.

Ademollo, A. *Bibliografia della cronistoria teatrale italiana*, 1888.

_____. *I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo; memorie sincrone, inedite o non conosciute, di fatti ed artisti teatrali, "librettisti," commediografi e musicisti, cronologicamente ordinate per servire alla storia del teatro italiano.* Roma: L. Pasqualucci, 1888.

Ajello, Raffaele, and Carlo Marinelli. *Il Teatro di San Carlo.* 2 vols. Napoli: Guida, 1987.

Angelis, Alberto de. *Il Teatro Alibert o delle dame (1717-1863) Nella Roma Papale.* Tivoli: A. Chicca, 1951.

Bassi, Calisto. "A Fanny Elssler questo tributo d'estasi." In *La Scala 1778-1906*, ed. Pompeo Cambiasi, 119. Milano, 1906.

Basso, Alberto, Marie-Thérèse Bouquet-Boyer, Valeria Gualerzi, and Alberto Testa. *Storia del Teatro regio di Torino: Chronologie.* Vol. 5 Istituzioni culturali piemontesi, ed. Alberto Basso. [Torino]: Cassa di risparmio di Torino, 1988.

Bignami, Luigi. *Cronologia di tutti gli spettacoli rappresentati nel gran teatro comunale di Bologna dalla solenne sua apertura 14 maggio 1763 a tutto l'autunno del 1880 con introduzione compilata dall' ex artista cantante Luigi Bignami, e annotazioni storiche sull' arte musicale e della danza di Felice Romani.* Bologna: Presso l'Agenzia commerciale, 1880.

Bignami, Luigi, and Felice Romani. *Cronologia di tutti gli spettacoli rappresentati nel gran Teatro comunale di Bologna dalla solenne sua apertura 14 maggio 1763 a tutto l'autunno del 1880 con introduzione compilata dall' ex artista cantante Luigi Bignami e annotazioni storiche sull' arte musicale e della danza.* Bologna: Presso l'Agenzia commerciale, 1882.

Breggi, Paolo (comp and ed.) *Serie degli spettacoli rappresentati al Teatro regio di Torino dal 1688 al presente, coi nomi dei poeti, dei maestri compositori, dei coreografi e degli artisti.* Torino: Derossi, 1872.

- Brighenti, Giacomo, Gasparo Angiolini, Onorato Viganò, José Sasportes, Elena Ruffin, Giovanna Trentin, and Alessio Rasetti. *Balli teatrali a Venezia (1746-1859): partiture di sei balli pantomimici* Drammaturgia musicale veneta. Milano: G. Ricordi, 1994.
- Brocca, Ambrogio. *Il Teatro Carlo Felice. Cronistoria dal 7 aprile 1828 al 27 febbraio 1898*. Genova: Stab. tip. lit. ditta A. Montorfano, 1898.
- Cambiasi, Pompeo. *La Scala 1778-1906*. 5. completamente rifusa, accresciuta e corretta contenente 350 illustrazioni ... ed. Milano [etc.] G. Ricordi & c.; New York: Boosey & Co., 1906.
- _____. *Rappresentazioni date nei reali teatri di Milano, 1778-1872*. 2 ed. Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis, Sezione 3, no. 33. Bologna: Forni, 1969.
- Cametti, Alberto. *Il Teatro di Tordinona poi di Apolla*. 2 vols. Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di S. Cecilia. Tivoli: A. Chicca, 1938.
- Cervetti, Valerio, Claudio Del Monte, and Vincenzo Segreto. *Cronologia degli spettacoli lirici*. 4 vols. Parma: Grafiche STEP, 1981-1982.
- Comuzio, Ermanno. *Il teatro Donizetti*. 2 vols. Bergamo: Lucchetti editore, 1990.
- Croce, Benedetto. *I Teatri di Napoli, secolo XV-XVIII*. Napoli: presso L. Pierro, 1891.
- Cronologia drammatica, pantomimica del R. Teatro alla Scala in Milano. Almanacco per l'anno 1817-[1818]*. Milano: G. Maspero, 1817.
- Donati, Paolo (supposed author). *Cronologia drammatica, pantomimica e comica del Ducale Teatro di Parma, compilata da P. D. Opera completa*. Parma: Per Giuseppe Paganino, 1830.
- Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*. 9 vols. Roma: Casa editrice Le Maschere, 1954.
- Fabbri, Paolo, and Roberto Verti. *Due secoli di teatro per musica a Reggio Emilia: repertorio cronologico delle opere e dei balli 1645-1857*. Reggio Emilia: Teatro Edizioni del municipale Valli, 1987.
- Ferrari-Moreni, conte Giorgio, and Vincenzo Tardini. *Cronistoria dei teatri di Modena dal 1873 a tutto il 1881*. Modena: Tipografia Legale, 1873.
- Filippis, Felice, and Raffaele de Arnese. *Cronache del Teatro di S. Carlo (1737-1960)*. 2 vols. Napoli: Edizioni Politica popolare, 1961.

- Gandini, Alessandro, Francesco Valdrighi Luigi, and conte Giorgio Ferrari-Moreni. *Cronistoria dei teatri di Modena dal 1539 al 1871*. Modena: Tipografia sociale, 1873.
- Gandini, Alessandro, Luigi Francesco Valdrighi, and Giorgio Ferrari-Moreni. *Cronistoria dei teatri di Modena dal 1539 al 1871, del maestro Alessandro Gandini. Continuazione ...Aggiunta al capitolo IX che tratta del Teatro comunale*. Modena: Tipografia sociale, 1878.
- Gatti, Carlo. *Il teatro alla Scala nella storia e nell'arte, 1778-1963*. 2 vols. 2 ed. Milano: Ricordi, 1964.
- Indice o sia catalogo dei teatrali spettacoli musicali italiani di tutta l'Europa*. Saggi e fonti, 2. Pesaro [Italy]: Fondazione Rossini, 1820-23.
- Morini, Mario, Nandi Ostali, and Piero Ostali. *Casa musicale Sonzogno: cronologie, saggi, testimonianze*. 2 vols. Milano: Casa musicale Sonzogno, 1995.
- Rinaldi, Mario. *Due secoli di musica al Teatro Argentina*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Storia dei teatri italiani. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1978.
- Romani, Luigi. *Teatro alla Scala: cronologia di tutti gli spettacoli rappresentati in questo teatro dal giorno del solenne suo aprimento sino ad oggi*. Milano: Coi tipi di Luigi di Giacomo Pirola, 1862.
- Sacerdote, Giacomo. *Teatro regio di Torino: cronologia degli spettacoli rappresentati dal 1662 al 1890 corredata da brevi cenni storici intorno al teatro*. Torino: Tip. L. Roux e c., 1892.
- _____. *Teatro regio di Torino cronologia degli spettacoli rappresentati dal 1662 al 1890 corredata da brevi cenni storici intorno al teatro*. Torino: Tip. L. Roux, 1900.
- Salvioli, Giovanni. *La Fenice, gran teatro di Venezia. Serie degli spettacoli dalla primavera 1792 a tutto il carnevale 1876*: Milano [etc.] Ricordi, 1876.
- Sartori, Claudio. *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800, Ind. 2, Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*. Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1994.
- Tintori, Giampiero. *Cronologia: opere, balletti, concerti 1778-1977*. Vol. 2 Duecento anni di Teatro alla Scala. Gorle: Grafica Gutenberg editrice, 1979.

Theatre Almanacs from the New York Public Library, Harvard Theatre Collection and Elsewhere

[Almanacco 1821]- ; anno I. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1820, 1821 (NYPL).

Almanacco de' reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo dell'annata teatrale. Napoli: Flautina, 1835 (KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK).

Almanacco de' reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo dell'annata teatrale 1834. John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection (Harvard Theatre Collection). Napoli: Flautina, 1835 (HTC).

Almanacco de' reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo dell'annata teatrale 1834. Napoli: Flautina, 1835 (NO LIBRARY GIVEN).

Almanacco de' reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo, dell'annata teatrale 1834. Napoli, : Tip. Flautina, 1835 (NYPL).

Almanacco dei reali teatri S. Carlo e Fondo, introduzione di Francesco Canessa. Roma: G. e M. Benincasa, 1835, 1987 (NO LIBRARY GIVEN).

Almanacco dei teatri di Torino per l'anno. Torino: Presso Onorato Derossi, 1800-? (U. of CHICAGO, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK).

Almanacco dei teatri di Torino per l'anno 1820. Contenente la serie dei drammi rappresentati nel Regio Teatro ... una nozione sui teatri in generale, descrittiva di quelli di Torino, la pianta del Regio Teatro col suo indice, la veduta del sipario del R. Teatro colla sua descrizione, e la destinzion de' palchi del R. Teatro. Torino: Presso Onorato Derossi stampatore, e librajo dei teatri, 1819 (COLUMBIA U.).

Almanacco dei teatri di Torino per l'anno 1830. Torino: Derossi, e Lib. dei Teatri, 1830 (NYPL).

Almanacco dei teatri di Torino per l'anno 1833: contenente la serie dei drammi rappresentati nel Regio teatro dal 1700, e quelli rappresentati nel Teatro Carignano dal 1765 a tutto il carnovale del corrente anno. 1 vols. Torino: Onorato Derossi, 1832 (GETTY RESEARCH INST.).

Almanacco del teatro di Reggio per l'anno. Bologna: Coi Tipi del Nobili, 1830s (HTC).

Almanacco del Teatro di Reggio per l'anno MDCCCXXXV. Bologna: Nobili e Comp., 1834 (NYPL).

Almanacco teatrale per l'anno 1829. Milano: Ubicini, 1828 (NYPL).

Almanacco teatrale per l'anno 1829. Cia Fornaroli Collection. Milano, [1828]: Fratelli Ubicini, 1828, 1829 (NYPL).

Almanacco teatrale, dedicato alle dame, per l'anno 1818, con figure. 1. anno. P. e G. Vallardi, 1818 (NYPL).

Annali del teatro della città di Reggio. Bologna: Coi Tipi del Nobili, 1825-30 (HTC).

"Antigone." In *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1826 [1825]*, 97-98. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1826 (NYPL).

"... Baiazet, ballo tragico del sig. Galzerani." In *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1831*. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini [1830], 1831 (NYPL).

Blasis, Carlo. *Lezioni di ballo giusto l'uso delle civili conversazioni. [Almanacco per l'anno 1831]*. Milano: Giuseppe Crespi, 1830 (NYPL).

_____. *Lezioni di ballo giusta l'uso delle civili conversazioni: (tratte dalla ... opera del signor Blasis intitolata: Code complet de la danse [itself extracted from The code of Terpsichore])*. *Almanacco per l'anno 1833*. Milano: Giuseppe Crespi, 1832. (NYPL)

"[Carlotta Grisi]." In *Almanacco de' reali teatri San Carlo e Fondo*, 1834 (NYPL).

"[Clerico ballets]." In *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1826 [1825]*. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini 1826 (NYPL).

"[Coralli ballets]." In *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1826 [1825]*. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1826 (NYPL).

"[Cortesi ballets]." In *Almanacco teatrale per l'anno 1829 [1828]*. Milano: Ubicini, 1828 (NYPL).

Cronologia drammatica, pantomimica del R. Teatro alla Scala in Milano. Almanacco per l'anno 1817-[1818]. Milano: G. Maspero, 1817 (NYPL).

"[Fanny Cerrito]." In *Almanacco de' reali teatri San Carlo e Fondo*, 1834 (NYPL).

"[Gioja ballets]." In *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1824 [1823]*. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1824 (NYPL).

- I R. Teatro alla Scala almanacco.* Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1800-? (KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK).
- I teatri di Milano. Almanacco 1836, Almanacco del Teatro di Reggio per l'anno MDCCCXXXV.* Milano, Bologna: Milano, Fratelli Ubicini (1835), Bologna, Nobili e Comp (1834), 1835, 1836 (NYPL).
- I.R. Teatro alla Scala Almanacco 1823.* Milano: Presso Li Fratelli Ubicini, 1823 (U. ILLINOIS at URBANA-CHAMPAIGN, SAN FRANCISCO STATE U.).
- "[Il castello degli spiriti]." In *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1824 [1823]*, [100]-103. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1824 (NYPL).
- Il Nuovo gran teatro di Genova: con rami. Almanacco per l'anno 1827: contenente l'indicazione delle ferie dei tribunali di Torino e di Genova, e dell'arrivo e partenze dei corrieri, e della diligenza.* Genova: Presso Carlo Domenico Benferreri, 1827 (CANADIAN CENTRE for ARCHITECTURE).
- Indice o sia catalogo dei teatrali spettacoli musicali italiani di tutta l'Europa.* Saggi e fonti, 2. Pesaro [Italy]: Fondazione Rossini, 1820-23 (INDIANA U.).
- "La virtù premiata (Giannini)." In *Almanacco teatrale per l'anno 1829 [1828]*, 55-56. Milano: Ubicini, 1828 (NYPL).
- "[Leopoldo Adice]." In *Almanacco de' reali teatri San Carlo e Fondo*, 20. Napoli, 1834 (NYPL).
- "[Luigi Henry ballets]." In *Almanacco teatrale per l'anno 1829 [1828]*. Milano: Ubicini, 1828 (NYPL).
- "[Luigi Henry ballets]." In *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1831 [1830]*. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1831 (NYPL).
- "[Maometto [e] Adelaide di Guesclino]." In *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1824 [1823]*, [5]-24 and [111]-112. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini 1824 (NYPL).
- "Ottaviano in Egitto." In *Milan. La Scala. Almanacco 1831*. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1831 [1830] (NYPL).
- Regli, Francesco. *Galleria teatrale d'Italia. Almanacco per l'anno 1833-[35]*. Milano: C. Canadelli, 1833 (NYPL).
- Rossini e la musica; ossia, Amena biografia musicale, Almanacco galante, dedicato alle dame.* Milano, A. F. Stella [1827] Venezia, G. Orlandelli [1826?]: (NYPL).

"[Salvatore Taglioni ballets]." In *Almanacco teatrale per l'anno 1829 [1828]*. Milano: Ubicini, 1828 (NYPL).

Tersicore citareda; almanacco per l'anno 1837. Cia Fornaroli Collection. Venezia,: G. Antonelli, 1837? (NYPL).

"Venere ed Adone [e] Elina." In *I teatri di Milano. Almanacco 1836*. Milano: Fratelli Ubicini, 1836 [1835] (NYPL).

Verti, Roberto. *Un almanacco drammatico: l'Indice de' teatrali spettacoli: 1764-1823*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Saggi e fonti. Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, Volume: Per il carnevale dell'anno 1764-dalla primavera 1785 a tutto il carnevale 1786; dalla primavera 1786 a tutto il carnevale 1787-dalla primavera 1808 a tutto il carnevale 1809; incominciando dalla quaresima 1819 a tutto il carnevale 1820-incominciando dalla quaresima 1822 a tutto il carnevale 1823., 1996.

[*Viganò ballets*]. Milan. La Scala. [Almanacco 1821] Milano, Fratelli Ubicini [1820] plates., 1821 (NYPL).

"Zeffiro (Guerra)." In *Almanacco teatrale per l'anno 1829 [1828]*. Milano: Ubicini, 1828 (NYPL).

Nineteenth-century Press Relating to Italian Opera and Ballet Theatre

[Battista, Giovanni]. "Milano." *Teatri, arti e letteratura* 28 (1837): 15.

Annali del teatro della città di Reggio. Bologna: Coi Tipi del Nobili, 1825-30s.

Anno nuovo teatrale. Torino: Presso Michel' Angelo Morano, 1816-1821.

Anno teatrale. Teatro moderno applaudito (Venice, Italy: 1796). Venezia: Presso Antonio Rosa, 1804-1806.

Comandini, Alfredo. *1801 - [18]25*. Vol. 1, Part 2. 5 vols. L'Italia nei cento anni del secolo XIX: 1801 - 1900, giorno per giorno illustrata: Vallardi, 1900 / 1901.

_____. *1826 - [18]49*. Vol. 2. 5 vols. L'Italia nei cento anni del secolo XIX: 1801 - 1900, giorno per giorno illustrata: Vallardi, 1902.

Comandini, Alfredo, and Antonio Monti. *1861 - [18]70*. Vol. 4. 5 vols. L'Italia nei cento anni del secolo XIX, 1801-1900, giorno per giorno illustrata Vallardi, 1918.

Croce, Benedetto. *I Teatri di Napoli, secolo XV-XVIII*. Napoli: presso L. Pierro, 1891.

Fortis, Leon "Doctor Veritas". "Conversazione." *L'Illustrazione italiana*, no. 2 (1877): 22-23.

Fortis, Leone ("Doctor Veritas"). *L'Illustrazione italiana*. Anno 3, n. 1 (1. nov. 1875)-anno 89, n. 12 (dic. 1962) ; Nuova ser. n. 1 (oct./nov. 1981)-; vols. Milano: Editore Garzanti, 1877.

Gazzetta musicale di Milano. Milano: G. Ricordi, 1842-1902.

I Teatri. Milano: G. Ferrario, 1827-1831.

I teatri giornale drammatico, musicale e coreografico. Milano: Tip. del Dott. Giulio Ferrario, 1827-1831.

Il Caffè Pedrocchi. Padova: Crescini, 1846-1848.

Il Figaro. Milano: G. Pirotta, 1833-?

Il Mondo artistico. Milano, 1867-1914?

Il Pirata. Milano, 1835-1891.

Il Trovatore. Milano, 1854-1913?

L'Arpa. Anno 1, no.1 (20 agosto 1853) Bologna: Carlo Gardini [etc.], 1853-?

L'Italia nei cento anni del secolo XIX, 1801 - 1900, giorno per giorno illustrata Vol. 3, 1850 - [18]60.

L'Italia nei cento anni del secolo XIX, 1801 - 1900, giorno per giorno illustrata 1850 - [18]60. Vol. 3, 1907.

La Scena giornale di musica, drammatica e coreografia. Trieste, [1865-67].

Le muse. Milano: Le Muse, 1865-?

Lucca, Francesco. *L'Italia musicale*. 11 vols. Milano: F. Lucca.

Masutto, Giovanni. *Maestri di musica italiani del nostro secolo; ricordi e cenni biografici*. 2 ed. Venezia: Stab. Tip. Lit. M. Fontana, 1880.

Memorie de'spettacoli rappresentati in Reggio. Bologna: Coi Tipi del Nobili, 1807-1824.

Rivista teatrale melodrammatica. Milano, [1860s].

Rosteri, P. L. *Dialoghi, lettere, racconti, aneddoti e descrizioni, ad uso dei principianti nello studio della lingua italiana.* Londra: Rolandi, 1839.

Scott, John, and John Taylor. "Scraps from the Correspondence of a Musical Dilettante Travelling in Italy." *The London Magazine* 12 (June 1825): 204-208.

Strenna teatrale. Milano, 1838-1848.

Strenna teatrale europea. [Anno 1] (1838) - anno 11 (1848).; 11 vols. Milano: 1839-48.

Teatri, arti e letteratura. Vol. 28-30, Bologna: Gov. della Volpe al Sassi, 1824-1854.

Teatro moderno applaudito: ossia raccolta delle più scelte tragedie, commedie, drammi e farse, corredate di notizie storico-critiche. Venezia: Giuseppe Gattei, 1838-?