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VIGANÒ'S 'GIOVANNA D'ARCO' AND MANZONI'S 'MARCH 1821' IN THE STORM OF 1821 ITALY

BY ALBERTO RIZZUTI

Last Saturday on this stage [La Scala] Sig. Viganò offered his newest historical ballet *Giovanna d'Arco*... It is unnecessary for me to dwell on a subject very well known in itself, and for which it will suffice to point out that the famous choreographer has kept as close as possible to Schiller's romantic tragedy, the drama that met with the greatest favour everywhere in German-speaking countries as well as in other regions of Europe.¹

THIS ANONYMOUS REVIEW sheds light on a peculiar aspect of the early reception of Schiller in Italy. First, *The Maid of Orleans* had neither been performed nor adapted 'in the way that is customary on Italian stages';² second, Schiller's only 'romantic tragedy' was reworked in Milan, the cradle of Italian Romanticism; third, the only *coreodramma* by Salvatore Viganò to play on nationalistic feelings had its debut at a moment of great political fervour.³

Considered against the background of Restoration Milan, Viganò's late works reveal strong ties with the history and culture of Romantic Europe.⁴ The survey provided in the first two sections of this article on the driving forces of the milieu in which the choreographer conceived his last creations, aims at thickening the context for a critical reading of them. The next two are devoted to the affinities in the aesthetic views of Schiller, Viganò, and Manzoni. The final three offer a close reading of *Giovanna d'Arco*, with the purpose of showing the special position held by this *coreodramma* in the history of European performing arts.⁵

¹ 'Dal sig. Viganò venne offerto su queste scene sabato scorso il nuovo ballo storico *Giovanna d'Arco*... Non sarà d'uopo, io credo, che mi diffonda intorno un argomento per sé stesso notissimo, e di cui basterà l'indicare che il prelodato compositore si è tenuto più che gli è stato possibile alla tragedia romantica di Schiller, siccome quella che si gran favore ottenne in tutta la Germania, non che in altre regioni d'Europa'. *Corriere delle dame* (10 Mar. 1821), 74. In the 18th- and 19th-c. lingua franca of ballet the terms 'compositore' and 'composizione' meant 'choreographer' and 'choreography' respectively.

² *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*. *Eine romantische Tragödie* (Berlin, 1802 [actually Oct. 1801]); first It. trans. *La Pulcella d'Orleans*. *Tragedia Romantica di Federigo Schiller, recata per la prima volta dal tedesco in italiano da Pompeo Ferrario* (Milan, 1819). The gloss 'all'uso delle scene italiane' was often appended to 19th-c. versions of foreign works.

³ The premiere of *Giovanna d'Arco*, first scheduled for mid-February, was delayed for unknown reasons until 3 Mar. 1821. After the opening night the ballet was given seventeen times until 20 Mar., thus counterpointing the bloody weeks of the constitutional uprisings in a number of Italian cities.

⁴ *The Maid of Orleans* was one of a series of great women central to works produced at La Scala which included *Mirra*, *Desdemona*, *Emilia*, and *Didone*. The series was the outcome of Viganò's association with Antonia Pallerini, a dancer who earned her fame in *Mirra* (1817), *Otello* (1818), *La vestale* (1818), *Giovanna d'Arco* (1821), and *Didone* (1821, posthumous). Two of Viganò's last great *coreodrammi* were preceded by homonymous operas, Spontini's *La vestale* (1807) and Rossini's *Otello* (1816); none of them, though, reached Milan before Viganò's *coreodrammi* appeared there. *La vestale* was performed three times in Naples (1811, 1813, and 1815, always at San Carlo and with Isabel Colbrán in the title role) before appearing elsewhere in Italy (Florence, 1817); La Scala hosted it for the first time on the inaugural night of Carnival 1825, fifteen months after Rossini's *Otello*.

⁵ When I refer to the *Maid* as a historical character I call her Joan, when I refer to Schiller's heroine I call her Johanna, and when I refer to the title role of Viganò's *coreodramma* I call her Giovanna.

If Romanticism fostered the idea of the nation, Italy was the least fertile ground for it, thanks to fourteen centuries of foreign domination over a territory divided into a myriad states. The event that allowed European ideas to cross the Alps was an article by Madame de Staël on the importance of translations. Ironically, the foundation stone of Italian Romanticism appeared, translated from the French, in the inaugural issue of the *Biblioteca italiana*, a monthly journal funded through the Austrian government then ruling Milan:

In my opinion Italians ought to translate diligently much modern English and German poetry, in order to show some contemporary writing to their fellow citizens, most of whom are content with ancient mythology; they do not understand that those fables have been obsolete for quite a long time, nay in the rest of Europe they have been abandoned and forgotten. Hence, if the intellectuals of beautiful Italy do not wish to lie idle they must turn their attention beyond the Alps... For if literature is enriched through the translation of poems, translating dramatic works would be even more useful, because theatre is the master of literature.⁶

Preceded by the translation of *De l'Allemagne*, the article had a resonance whose breadth may seem surprising for an exhortation of this kind. Pietro Giordani wrote an open letter to which Mme de Staël responded promptly; then the *Biblioteca italiana* switched to other questions, but the issue remained at the heart of the debate among Milanese intellectuals.⁷

Other cornerstones of early Italian Romanticism were Giovanni Berchet's translation of two 'medieval' Bürger ballads and Silvio Pellico's prose version of Byron's *Manfred*.⁸ The translation of another Byron work, *The Giaour*, gave Ludovico di Breme the opportunity to make some 'Observations' on the necessity of sentimental depth in modern poetry.⁹ The success of these endeavours made it clear that a wider knowledge of European literature could be a powerful means of developing a culture of opposition. Giovanni Gherardini's translation of Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* provided

⁶ 'Dovrebbero a mio avviso gl'Italiani tradurre diligentemente assai delle recenti poesie inglesi e tedesche, onde mostrare qualche novità a' loro cittadini, i quali per lo più stanno contenti all'antica mitologia; né pensano che quelle favole sono da un pezzo antiche, anzi il resto d'Europa le ha già abbandonate e dimentiche. Perciò gl'intellettuali della bella Italia, se amano di non giacere oziosi, rivolgano spesso l'attenzione di là delle Alpi... Che se le lettere si arricchiscono colle traduzioni de' poemi, traducendo i drammi si conseguirebbe una molto maggiore utilità; poiché il teatro è come il magistrato della letteratura.' Anne-Louise-Germaine Necker Madame de Staël-Holstein, 'De l'esprit des traductions', Italian trans. by Pietro Giordani with the title 'Sulla maniera e utilità delle traduzioni', in *Biblioteca italiana* (Jan. 1816), 16. A modern edition of the essay appears in *Manifesti romantici e altri scritti della polemica classico-romantica*, ed. Carlo Calcaterra, new enlarged edn. by Mario Scotti (Turin, 1979), 78–92. Meant as an introduction to a periodical committed to dealing with academic culture, essentially the article was published to pay homage to Mme de Staël, a fierce anti-Napoleonic champion.

⁷ [Pietro Giordani], 'Sul discorso di Madama de Staël—lettera di un italiano ai compilatori della *Biblioteca*', *Biblioteca italiana* (Apr. 1816), 3–14; 'Lettera di Madama la baronessa di Staël Holstein ai signori compilatori della *Biblioteca italiana*', *ibid.* (June 1816), 417–22. On the first page of Mme de Staël's 'Letter' a compiler's note declares the journal's intention of publishing the responses elicited by the baroness's new writing, but nothing appeared in the next issues. Together with the poet Vincenzo Monti and the geologist Scipione Breislak, Giordani was one of the three compilers of the *Biblioteca italiana*. The translation of *De l'Allemagne* (Paris and London, 1813) had been published with the title *L'Allemagne* (Milan, 1814).

⁸ Berchet's prose translations of *Der wilde Jäger* and *Lenore* were introduced by an essay in the form of a fictitious epistle, *Lettera semiseria di Grisostomo al suo figliuolo* (Milan, 1816). In their successful pamphlet, Berchet singles out the social class between the populace ('Hottentots') and the elite ('Parisians') as the ideal target of the 'new' poet's output. Berchet's *Letter* was reviewed in the Mar. 1817 issue of the *Biblioteca italiana* (pp. 369–88); in the issue of Aug. 1819 (pp. 262–71) *Lenore* was first translated into verse by a certain 'F. A.'. Byron's *Manfred* (London, 1817) appeared in Italian in Pellico's prose translation as *Manfredo* (Milan, 1818).

⁹ Byron, *The Giaour, a Fragment of a Turkish Tale...* (London, 1813), It. trans. *Il giavurro, frammenti da una novella turca...* (Geneva, 1814). Di Breme's 'Osservazioni' were appended to a later issue of the same translation (Milan, 1818).

solid ground for confrontation between the supporters of the new tendencies and the guardians of tradition.¹⁰

The liveliness of the debate suggested that the times were ripe for the birth of a new magazine. On 1 October 1818 *Il conciliatore* started its short-lived but remarkable attempt not to waste the energy of the Milanese intelligentsia in purely literary controversies. Apart from pleasing the Habsburg government, whose strategy of control was that of bringing every disagreement to *conciliation*, the very title of the journal was evidence of the belief shared by its contributors, namely that literary activity and civic commitment were inseparable.¹¹

A rival of the classicist *Biblioteca italiana*, *Il conciliatore* soon defined its position on artistic production in 'Elementary Ideas on Romantic Poetry', an article published over several weeks. When dealing with pantomimic dance, Ermes Visconti pointed out 'the handicap of a language of gestures, poor, undetermined, and monotone; but in recompense the language of gestures is able to express emotions with a rapidity that declamation cannot achieve; to this quality it adds a nobility and grace of steps and bearing very similar to the enchantment of dance; and it is succoured through music, the most intense of all the arts'.¹² Emotion, rapidity, nobility, grace, intensity: a single *Conciliatore* passage gathers all the ingredients of Viganò's recipe. The epoch-making success of Viganò's *coreodrammi* in post-Napoleonic Milan may also be attributed to the tension between the new aesthetics and the difficulty of making it more widespread under the Habsburg yoke. A fortunate combination of political circumstances (foreign domination, Restoration, censorship), economic resources (huge funds available at La Scala), and artistic premisses (poetics of allusion, exaltation of physical qualities, innovative shaping of dramatic rhythm) turned Viganò's great ballets into outstanding examples of mute—though not speechless—art.

A genre that marked an era in the history of the performing arts, Viganò's *coreodramma* (= 'melodramma coreutico' = 'danced opera') had the following features: pre-eminence of dramatic representation; limited employment of the decorative elements typical of the French tradition; drastic reduction of *ballabili* and solos; construction of dance units by means of operatic techniques (arias, duets, trios); pantomimization of the

¹⁰ August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1809–11); Fr. trans. *Cours de littérature dramatique* (Paris and Geneva, 1814); Eng. trans. *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* (London, 1815); It. trans. *Corso di letteratura drammatica* (Milan, 1817). A review of Gherardini's translation appeared in *Biblioteca italiana* (Sept. 1817), 402–13. On the heterogeneity of the classicist front, something often mistaken for an academic set striving to establish a bridgehead against any single instance of Romanticism, see Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Classicismo e illuminismo nell'Ottocento italiano* (2nd edn., Pisa, 1969). A remarkable controversy among classicist writers was that ignited by the performance of Viganò's *La vestale*. Davide Bertolotti's review was followed by a fictitious dialogue between two spectators with opposing opinions; after this preliminary skirmish, the debate reached its peak with the publication of the 'Lettera di un Cavaliere in risposta alle osservazioni di un antico militare sulla *Vestale*' ('A Knight's Response to an Old Soldier's Observations on *La Vestale*'): the author was Viganò's friend and collaborator Giulio Ferrario. On the whole question see Luciano Bottoni, 'L'ombra dello specchio: diacronia di una ricezione', in Ezio Raimondi (ed.), *Il sogno del coreodramma: Salvatore Viganò, poeta muto* (Bologna, 1984), esp. 115–17.

¹¹ The complete run of this journal (1 Oct. 1818–21 Oct. 1819) has been republished in a modern edition by Vittore Branca (Florence, 1948–54). All subsequent quotations refer to this edition, whose preface outlines the political and cultural process that led to the birth of the so-called 'foglio azzurro'. For a vivid picture of this milieu, investigated from a musicological perspective by means of comparisons between the aesthetic views of four writers and four composers, see Gary Tomlinson, 'Italian Romanticism and Italian Opera: An Essay in their Affinities', *19th-Century Music*, 10 (1986–7), 43–60.

¹² 'L'inconveniente d'una lingua di gesti povera, indeterminata e monotona; ma in compenso la lingua dei gesti sa esprimere le emozioni con una rapidità, di cui la declamazione non è suscettibile, vi unisce una nobiltà e una grazia di portamento e di passi molto affine alla magia della danza; ed è soccorsa dalla musica, la più veemente fra tutte le arti.' Ermes Visconti, 'Idee elementari sulla poesia romantica', issued in six parts between 19 Nov. and 6 Dec. 1818, pt. vi, §III, *Il conciliatore*, no. 28 (6 Dec. 1818), 439. The *Biblioteca italiana* (Feb. 1819, pp. 147–69) branded Visconti a supporter of 'excommunicated doctrines' ('scomunicate dottrine').

corps de ballet, with crowd scenes turning from static to dynamic events.¹³ The technique of involvement, an essential feature of bourgeois theatre, was subject to two crucial restrictions. The absence of speech required dancers endowed with gestural ability superior to that of actors in spoken drama; consisting of a patchwork of pieces, some composed ad hoc, some taken over from popular works, the musical component of a *coreodramma* was less unified than that of an opera. The relationship between music and action might be perceived either as free or as a tangle of hints giving rise to both intentional and unintentional intertextuality. The spectator might therefore either feel allowed to concentrate on an action supported by a sort of sound-track or feel compelled to solve the series of riddles proposed through the two concurring ingredients, although none of these perceptions was presumed to exist in isolation. Musical discontinuity was not sought: it was a consequence of the artistic status of a genre closer to spoken drama than to opera. In fact, in 1820s Milan *coreodramma* was a kind of spectacle that was both an alternative to opera (a genre ubiquitous on Italian stages) and a substitute for tragic plays (a genre virtually absent from them).¹⁴

The choreographer, who had had direct experience of Austrian rule during his stay in Vienna, always strove to communicate exclusively through gesture; nonetheless, synopses of his late works are often filled with descriptions, dialogues, and footnotes.

I am not determined to show an action worked out according to the strict laws of tragedy: tragic actions, among other things, must be credibly kept within a twenty-four-hour time span, whereas my story comprises a series of events that cannot happen except over the course of many years or, in the opinion of some mythologists, many centuries. Some might see in my *Prometeo* a sort of poem given meaning through pantomime. However, since I am well aware of the limits of my powers in aiming at such difficult and great conceptions of the mind, I do not intend to offer this illustrious audience more than six great tableaux that I have striven to shape as best I could and concerning only one subject, namely the regeneration of mankind.¹⁵

The summary of *Il Prometeo* is interesting for at least two reasons. First, by showing centuries of history in a poetic work, it anticipates the core thesis of Schlegel's *Lectures* a year ahead of their complete translation into Italian; second, his own declaration of inadequacy in the role of theorist displays Viganò as nothing if not a pragmatist.¹⁶ This attitude caused him to assume a pivotal role in another article by Visconti, 'Dialogue on the Dramatic Unities of Place and Time'.¹⁷

¹³ A thorough discussion of the genre is provided in Bottoni, op. cit., and in Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, 'Il ballo teatrale e l'opera italiana', in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Storia dell'opera italiana*, v: *La spettacolarità* (Turin, 1988), 175–306, esp. 252–72; the latter is now available in an updated English version, 'Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera' in *Opera on Stage* (Chicago, 2002), 177–308 (vol. 5 of *The History of Italian Opera*).

¹⁴ For a discussion of general issues concerning music adapted to or written for ballet-pantomimes, see Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (Princeton, 2000), ch. 4.

¹⁵ 'Io non mi prefiggo di esporre un'azione condotta secondo il rigor delle leggi della tragedia: l'azione tragica, fra le altre cose, debb'essere verisimilmente circoscritta entro lo spazio di ventiquatt'ore; laddove la mia favola comprende una serie di fatti che avvenir non possono che in molti anni, e che anzi, al dir d'alcuni mitologi, occuparono più secoli. Taluno potrebbe piuttosto vedere nel mio *Prometeo* una maniera di poema significato per mezzo della pantomima. Ma io, che troppo conosco la tenuità delle mie forze per aspirare all'altezza di sì difficili e sì grandi concezioni della mente, altro di presente non intendo offerire a questo pubblico illuminato, che sei grandi quadri, ch'io mi son ingegnato di lavorare secondo la mia possibilità, e ne' quali si tratta bensì di un solo soggetto, la rigenerazione degli uomini'. *Il Prometeo / Ballo Mitologico / Milano / Primavera 1813, 'Argomento'*, p. 3; a modern edition appears in Salvatore Viganò, *Prometeo. Libretto del ballo. Con i testi della polemica*, ed. Stefano Tomassini (Turin, 1999), 37.

¹⁶ The scenarios of some subsequent *coreodrammi* make clear that Viganò never missed an opportunity to avoid theorizing and to protest that he was just a simple man of the theatre.

¹⁷ Ermes Visconti, 'Dialogo sulle unità drammatiche di luogo e di tempo', *Il conciliatore*, nos. 42 and 43 (24 and 28 Jan. 1819); modern edn. in Tomassini, op. cit., 103–21.

A well-crafted résumé of Schlegel's theory, this has four fictitious characters sharing some features with their 'originals': 'Professor Lamberti', the champion of classicist orthodoxy;¹⁸ his opponent 'Romagnosi', Visconti's alter ego;¹⁹ 'Maestro Paesiello' [*sic*], an old-fashioned composer; 'Viganò, a choreographer'. In the bitter confrontation between Lamberti and Romagnosi, Paesiello and Viganò act as 'pertichini'.²⁰ The dialogue begins with a question posed by the choreographer on the 'regularity' of his *Prometeo*. Lamberti would have had many objections if *Il Prometeo* were a tragedy, but since it is just a wonderful ('bellissimo') ballet he does not want to judge it too severely. The conciseness of Viganò's reply ('Your kindness') is typical of his gentle, non-theoretical attitude. But Romagnosi does not miss the chance to needle him: 'Listen, Viganò: if I were you, I would not be convinced by what the professor said. Either unity of time and place is a requirement for ballet too, or it is not even a rule for tragedy.'²¹ Viganò does not answer, and leaves Lamberti and Romagnosi to argue. His pragmatic stance emerges later when the debate touches on the question of verisimilitude: 'When I choreograph, my mind is totally occupied with the invention of group figures and postures; I choose, I discard, I choose again. When I sit in the stalls and give myself up to the illusion of the performance nothing like this happens.'²² The craftsman's Romantic methodology tended to give shape to the form on the basis of the plot, and not vice versa. Viganò's concrete activity fosters Romagnosi's theoretical lucubrations until the dialogue reaches a point of conciliation: in spite of its classicist origin, Romantic drama retains the unity of action thanks to its capacity to focus the spectator's attention on the moral substance of the plot.²³

'CONCILIATORE' SCHILLER

In tune with Mme de Staël's exhortation, *Il conciliatore* paid special attention to translations of foreign works. Schiller's plays were among these: Visconti reviewed *La pulcella d'Orléans* and *La sposa di Messina*, and Pellico *Maria Stuarda*. Curiously, the *Biblioteca italiana* devoted no more than twenty lines to all three together.²⁴

Pompeo Ferrario's translations allowed Italians direct knowledge of the hitherto mainly idolized Schiller, though none of his theoretical writings (such as *The Stage as Moral Institution*, *On Naive and Sentimental Poetry*; and the two essays on *The Sublime* and *The*

¹⁸ A celebrated Hellenist, Luigi Lamberti (b. Reggio Emilia, 1759; d. Milan, 1813) taught at Milan's Brera Academy. Himself a poet (*Poesie* (Parma, 1796)) and a translator of Sophocles and Tyrtæus (*Poesie di greci scrittori* (Brescia, 1808)), Lamberti helped Monti in his famous translation of the *Iliad* (1810, rev. 1812, 1820 and 1825). During Lent 1808 his 'azione scenica' *Alessandro in Amozia* (with music by Pietro Ray) was performed at La Scala.

¹⁹ The main heir to Enlightenment Milan's philosophical tradition, Giandomenico Romagnosi (b. Salsomaggiore, Piacenza, 1761; d. Milan, 1835) wrote extensively on legal philosophy and the theory of knowledge. During the French Revolution he criticized Jacobinism in two pamphlets on equality and freedom; in the Napoleonic era he taught at several Italian universities; and during the Restoration he was imprisoned because of his liberal ideas.

²⁰ In the language of opera, this term identifies characters intervening at times during the main character's number (cavatina, aria, &c.). It may be noted that Visconti's two champions of classicism had recently died (Lamberti in 1813, Paesiello in 1816) whereas the two champions of Romanticism were still alive and influential.

²¹ 'Sentite, Viganò: se io fossi in voi, non sarei persuaso di quello che ha detto il professore qui. O l'unità di tempo e di luogo è una legge anche per i balli, o non lo è nemmeno per le tragedie.' Visconti, 'Dialogo', 91.

²² 'Quando io compongo, la mia testa è tutta occupata nell'inventare de' gruppi e delle attitudini; scelgo, rifiuto, torno a scegliere. Quando sto in platea e mi abbandonano all'illusione dello spettacolo non succede nulla di tutto ciò.' *Ibid.* 103-4.

²³ *Ibid.* 116.

²⁴ *Il conciliatore*, nos. 63 and 65 (8 and 15 Apr. 1819); no. 113 (30 Sept. 1819); nos. 89 and 94 (8 and 25 July 1819); *Biblioteca italiana* (July 1819, App.), 138. See also the latter's Proemio to the year 1820 (a summary of 1819 literary events), 32-3, where the translations were judged decent ('plausibili'). Positive opinions on Schiller also came from individual exponents of the classicist party (Carlo Botta, Francesco Cherubini, Ugo Foscolo, Giovanni Gherardini, and Carlo Londonio).

Pathetic) had not yet crossed the Alps.²⁵ This circumstance was responsible for the peculiar reception of Schiller in Restoration Milan, based on Mme de Staël's and Schlegel's readings. Except for *The Bride of Messina*, which was heavily criticized by Visconti, Schiller's dramatic works appeared as models of moral theatre even if the playwright's aim had simply been the equation of good with beauty.

Schiller suffered the fate of all writers 'revealed' through Romanticism. Emphasizing the tearful component of Mary Stuart's farewell, Pellico extolled the 'pathetic' character of Schiller's play; his reading is a one-sided development of this judgement by Visconti:

In this scene [Mary Stuart's farewell] the poetry reaches that level of unusual beauty that pantomimic art can attain in Viganò's best achievement in the pathetic genre: I am talking of the Vestal's farewell, where a lofty perfection in conception and execution, joined to an irresistible musical expression, moved to tears even those spectators not used to weeping in the theatre.²⁶

Two reservations temper Visconti's enthusiasm for the historical subject of *The Maid of Orleans*. First, the heroine ought not to have been driven by supernatural forces, but by her own personal exaltation; second, death on the battlefield should not have replaced that at the stake. In Visconti's opinion this deviation from history had fractured the pact of honesty between Schiller and his audience, weakening the moral force of the play. But the subordination of a nation to its bard was no more than a Romantic paradigm.

'THE COUNT OF CARMAGNOLA'

While Milanese intellectuals were squabbling about literature and political engagement, with his work on *The Count of Carmagnola* Alessandro Manzoni was establishing a less populist and more philosophical Romantic perspective in Italian letters than Berchet's.²⁷ Manzoni's play shows how well he had assimilated the new aesthetic views; in particular, it has many elements in common with Schiller's *Maid of Orleans*: the historical era in which they take place (1425–32 and 1428–31 respectively); the use of history for dramatic effect; the effort at dramatic conciliation achieved by adhering to the five-act structure yet repudiating the unities of time and place; the poetic and moral choice of preserving the unity of action; the heroic loneliness of a leader in a fratricidal war; and so on.

Ferrario's translation of *The Maid of Orleans* did not appear until work on *The Count of Carmagnola* was nearing completion, but there are good reasons to presume that Manzoni had fully absorbed Schiller's lesson since his Paris years (1805–10). Schiller's stage works had not yet been published in French, but the translations made by Prosper

²⁵ First approached by Italian readers through Charles Villers's French translations, some of Schiller's aesthetic writings were easily misunderstood. Villers's translations appeared in various issues of the Paris journal *Archives littéraires* (1804–8). Italian translations appeared only much later.

²⁶ 'Ivi la poesia arriva a quel grado d'insolito bello a cui l'arte pantomimica poté giungere nel momento più felice di Viganò pel genere patetico: parlo dell'Addio della Vestale ove una perfezione sublime di concetto e d'esecuzione, congiunta ad un'irresistibile espressione di musica, costrinse alle lagrime anche quegli spettatori che in teatro non sogliono piangere.' Ermes Visconti, '“La Pulcella d'Orleans”. Tragedia Romantica di Federigo Schiller . . .', *Il conciliatore*, no. 63 (8 Apr. 1819), 416. Visconti is probably thinking of Emilia's farewell to her companions (Act V, no. 4, music by Carafa; cf. the keyboard reduction in *La vestale. Gran ballo tragico inventato e posto sulle scene del R. Teatro alla Scala dal Sig. Salvatore Viganò. Ridotto per cembalo solo da Gio. Moro, Ferd.o Bonazzi, P.o Piazza* (Milan, Ricordi, [1819]).

²⁷ Begun in Jan. 1816 and finished after long interruptions in the summer of 1819, *Il conte di Carmagnola* was published in Jan. 1820 in Milan by Vincenzo Ferrario, the brother of Giulio. The tragedy was provided with a 'historic notice' about the protagonist (a 15th-c. captain of fortune) and with a preface in which the author explained the reason for his rejection of the pseudo-Aristotelian rules of drama.

Brugière de Barante began to circulate quite early among Parisian intellectuals along with the German originals.²⁸

In the debate on dramaturgy inflaming Restoration Milan, Manzoni's voice was not heard. Residing alternately in the city and on his country estate at Brusuglio, he did not spend time on articles and pamphlets; instead, he wrote two major works in addition to *The Count of Carmagnola*. *Observations on Catholic Morals* and *Pentecost* sealed his conversion from an open agnosticism to fervent adherence to Catholic doctrine.²⁹ The *Observations* are a response to the Genevan historian Jean-Charles-Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, who in his *History of the Medieval Italian Republics* had singled out Catholicism as the main cause of the decay of the Italian character;³⁰ *Pentecost* is a touching image of the final reconciliation between mankind and God.

The Count of Carmagnola reveals instead the playwright's indebtedness to Schlegel's theory. Of the three pseudo-Aristotelian unities, Manzoni retains that of action, thanks to its aptness for conveying moral meaning: 'The rules intrinsic to fine arts... must be based on nature and be necessary, unchangeable, independent of the will of critics, found and not made; hence the transgression of them cannot but be unfortunate'.³¹ The plot of the play is exemplary. The action takes place over seven years in several places in the Po Valley at the time of the war between the Republic of Venice and the Duchy of Milan. A bitter dispute inflames Venice's Council of Ten: they must decide whether to entrust Carmagnola, a former *condottiere* of the Duke of Milan, with leadership of their army. The opposing parties are led by the senators Marino and Marco; at the end of the debate a favourable opinion prevails and the Count receives the command. Shortly afterwards he leaves for Maclodio, near Brescia, where he fights and defeats the Milanese. Some observers from the Most Serene Republic become suspicious because he is unwilling to chase out the enemies and inclines to freeing the prisoners. Fearing a secret agreement between their captain of fortune and his former lord, the observers inform the Council of Ten. Alarmed, the Senate recalls Carmagnola and sends Marco to fight in Salonika. The Count returns to Venice, but instead of being honoured he finds that

²⁸ In France, Manzoni had the chance to become acquainted with the Danish poet Jens Baggesen, a patron of Schiller's who had lived close to his protégé at Weimar, and with Benjamin Constant. Turning a philosophical tragedy into a historical one, in 1809 Constant reworked, and wrote a preface for, Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager*, provoking a huge discussion in French literary circles. See Carlo Cordié, 'Alessandro Manzoni tra Schiller e Constant', in *Ideali e figure d'Europa*, ed. id. (Pisa, 1954), 181–200. Brugière de Barante's translations appeared in print only some years later, in *Théâtre de Schiller*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1821).

²⁹ Written in 1818–19, *Osservazioni sulla morale cattolica* remained incomplete: the first part was published at once (*Sulla morale cattolica. Osservazioni*, Part I (Milan, 1819)); interrupted at its eighth chapter, the second part remained unpublished. The circumstances of the creation of *Observations* is outlined by Antonio Cojazzi in his edition of this unfinished essay (3rd edn., Turin, 1945). The most impressive of the six *Sacred Hymns* (*Inni sacri*), *Pentecost* had a tormented gestation: Manzoni began a first draft on 21 June 1817, but it did not satisfy him and he interrupted work on it until 17 April 1819, only to abandon his project after a while. Finally completed between 26 Sept. and 2 Oct. 1822, the hymn was published as a separate item and printed in a small number of copies (Milan, 1822). Likewise, *The Count of Carmagnola* took Manzoni several years of work (see below). Crucial to his human and artistic maturation, his conversion to Catholicism was a gradual and complex phenomenon.

³⁰ Jean-Charles-Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du Moyen-âge*, 16 vols. (Zurich, 1807–24). The work was reviewed by Pietro Borsieri in *Il conciliatore*, no. 14 (18 Oct. 1818), 223–34. The article had been approved by the future producers of the journal on 15 Aug; the delay in its appearance and the publication of only its first part suggests the existence of contrasting opinions among the 'Conciliators', possibly nurtured by Manzoni's perplexity. The difficulties were increased by the fact that Sismondi was a regular contributor to the journal.

³¹ 'Le regole intrinseche alle arti del bello... devono essere fondate sulla natura, necessarie, immutabili, indipendenti dalla volontà de' critici, trovate, non fatte; e quindi la trasgressione di esse non può essere altro che infelice.' Alessandro Manzoni, preface to *Il conte di Carmagnola*, in id., *Liriche e tragedie*, ed. Vladimiro Arangio-Ruiz (Turin, 1949), 114; all subsequent quotations from Manzoni refer to this edition. Announced towards the end of the work, a fuller discussion of a dramatic system capable of strongly conveying moral meaning never materialized. Some autograph materials filed under the title *Della moralità delle opere tragiche* (On the Morality of Tragic Works) were published posthumously by Ruggero Bonghi in *Opere inedite o rare di Alessandro Manzoni* (Milan, 1887), vol. 3.

the Council is ready to indict him as a traitor. He protests his innocence but cannot avoid the death sentence. The work ends with the hero's moving monologue.

The 'historical notice' appended to the preface displays Manzoni's ideas on the relationship between history and fiction. He vigorously refutes the thesis of the Count's unfaithfulness. In his opinion the loyal Carmagnola had been the victim of the corrupt and suspicious Venetians. Even if modern historians tend to disparage every attempt to defend him, the story of the Count was an excellent subject for a tragedy aimed at conveying moral meaning.

MANZONI, VIGANÒ, AND THE LIBERAL UPRISINGS OF 1820–1821

The most important product of the debate on drama in Restoration Milan, *The Count of Carmagnola* appeared three months after the Habsburg censors had closed down *Il conciliatore*.³² In the spring of 1820 Manzoni's play was reviewed by the French poet and essayist Joseph-Joachim-Victor Chauvet.³³ After praising it lavishly, he pointed out how the search for freedom had weakened the structural power of the only unity that Manzoni had retained, that of action. Manzoni responded at once, but his open *Letter on the Unities of Time and Place in Tragedy* (*Lettre sur l'unité de temps et de lieu dans la tragédie*), though completed by 24 July 1820, was not published until 1823.³⁴ Far from compromising its efficacy, time allowed the *Letter* to escape the bonds of personal controversy and turned it in a wide-ranging document. It became a cornerstone of the debate on Romantic drama and gave rise to a new aesthetic: this asserted that since the arts have the moral and social function of opening the human heart, the only way to obtain it was by keeping close to 'truth' and not to any fictitious reality made up of 'rules'.

While Manzoni's *Letter* was maturing in Fauriel's drawer, Viganò composed his last *coreodrammi*. A lack of critical pamphlets for these last works—such as had followed the performances of *Mirra*, *Otello*, and *La vestale*—has led two scholars to identify his golden age with the years 1816–19.³⁵ While they rightly point out the waning of critique of his work after *I titani*, they go astray in viewing the absence of literary debate about his work as signifying a decline in his craftsmanship.³⁶ Though the closure of *Il conciliatore* had repercussions for him, to conclude that Viganò was therefore 'possibly inclined to

³² A limiting judgement of *The Count of Carmagnola* appeared in the Feb. 1820 issue of *Biblioteca italiana*. On page 237 the reviewer named a little poem in dialogue, divided into five cantos, made up of either good or bad verses and containing the history of Carmagnola's last eight years. The main accusation was that, in spite of all Manzoni's efforts, unity of action had not been preserved; hence, the tragedy was incapable of arousing any real interest for the tormented figure of the protagonist.

³³ Joseph-Joachim-Victor Chauvet, review of *Le Comte de Carmagnola*, in *Lycée français ou mélanges de littérature et de critique*, 4 (May 1820), 61–76.

³⁴ The letter appeared in a miscellaneous volume, *Le Comte de Carmagnola et Adelghis. Tragédies d'A. Manzoni traduites de l'italien par M. Cl. Fauriel; suivies d'un article de Goethe et de divers morceaux sur la théorie de l'art dramatique* (Paris, 1823). A major figure of early Romanticism and Manzoni's intimate friend, Claude Fauriel was entrusted with the revision of the *Letter*, and therefore with the translation of the tragedies (even though Manzoni could read French well, he felt compelled to have someone go over his written French). First published in the German periodical *Über Kunst und Alterthum* (2 (1820), fasc. 3, pp. 35–65), Goethe's review was translated under the title 'Examen de la tragédie de M. Manzoni intitulée *Il Conte di Carmagnola*'. Of the 'various writings on the theory of dramatic art' announced in the title, only Visconti's 'Dialogue' was included in the volume. The affinities between the historical destinies of Carmagnola and Egmont were responsible for Goethe's interest in Manzoni. Goethe started a translation of the play but only got as far as the opening section of the Count's first speech (I, ii, ll. 81–96). Dealing with the Frankish–Longobard fight for control over northern Italy, Manzoni's second tragedy, *Adelchi*, was begun in 1820. It was published two years later along with a *Discourse on Some Aspects of Longobard History in Italy* (*Adelchi*. Tragedy, with a *Discorso sopra alcuni punti della storia longobardica in Italia* (Milan, 1822)). In his essay Manzoni argued that, since no fusion had taken place between Longobards and Latins, the Frankish invasion of the peninsula invoked by Pope Hadrian I had not stopped the process of unification.

³⁵ Anna Laura Bellina and Gilberto Pizzamiglio, 'Belli scaligeri e polemiche romantiche nella Milano del *Conciliatore*', *Lettere italiane*, 33/3 (1981), 350–84.

³⁶ '*I Titani* [1819] [fu] il suo ultimo ballo di un certo rilievo' ('*I Titani* [was] his last ballet of a certain importance'); *ibid.* 381.

resume his old poetic ambitions rather than to face new romantic battles' rings false.³⁷ In the Milan of 1820–1, choreographing a ballet after Schiller on Joan of Arc indeed meant facing a 'new romantic battle'. In fact, Viganò's only attempt at a patriotic subject happened at the end of an extremely turbulent season in European politics, marked by the constitutional revolts in Cadiz, Lisbon, Palermo, Naples, and Turin.

When the insurrection took place in this last city (on 12 March, hence during the staging of *Giovanna d'Arco* at La Scala) Vittorio Emanuele I abdicated the throne and appointed Carlo Alberto as regent. The first action of the young prince was to grant the Cadiz constitution. The enthusiasm stirred by this decision was marked by Manzoni's drafting of the ode recalled in the title of the present article.

Written effortlessly between 15 and 17 March, *Marzo 1821* reflects not only Manzoni's support of the hope raised by the events in Piedmont, but also the basic qualities of the insurrectionists' programme. Though striving towards an ideal association in the name of freedom, Italian patriots could never agree on a concrete political project. As much emerges from the ode's fourth stanza:

A people that frees every people,
Or shall be slave between the Alps and the sea;
One in arms, in language, in faith,
In remembrance, in blood, and in heart?³⁸

With the partial exception of religion, nothing was further from reality: divided into eight states, Italy was swarming with troops obedient to the most disparate authorities; dialects were more numerous than the colours of the rainbow; cultural heritage was and still is very different through the Italian peninsula and in the islands (Sicily alone is still a mixture of Phoenician, Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, Saracen, Norman, Swabian, Angevin, and Aragonese blood). A most mysterious object, 'the heart', is a traditional symbol for will; yet the failure of the project demonstrated a substantial lack of unity in the hearts of the patriots.

Manzoni's enthusiasm was sincere but short-sighted. The negative outcome of the uprising became an insurmountable obstacle to the publication of the ode. In fact, when on 23 March Neapolitan and Piedmontese insurrections were defeated, Manzoni destroyed his manuscript.³⁹

Victory allowed Austria to restore its control over Italy. Many patriots emigrated to France, Switzerland, and England. A refugee in London, Santorre di Santarosa—the leader of a revolt at Alessandria a few days before that in Turin—was hailed as the prospective editor-in-chief of a new *Conciliatore*, but the project foundered when the rumour of Pellico's release from Spielberg prison was denied.⁴⁰ Santarosa went on to fight for the independence of Greece: his name lengthened the list of those who gave their life for a truly Romantic idea of freedom.

³⁷ '[Viganò era] plausibilmente incline a riprendere sue antiche ambizioni poetiche piuttosto che affrontare nuove battaglie romantiche'; loc. cit.

³⁸ Manzoni, *Marzo 1821*, ll. 29–32: 'Una gente che libera tutta, / o fia serva tra l'Alpe ed il mare; / una d'arme, di lingua, d'altare, / di memorie, di sangue e di cor.' My thanks go to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for the translation.

³⁹ He allegedly continued to know his ode by heart until 1848, when he transcribed it for the Milan Fundraising Committee for the National Cause: *Marzo 1821* was published in *Pochi versi inediti* (Milan, 1848), a volume funded through this Committee—Commissione delle offerte per la causa nazionale—and including another patriotic fragment, *Il proclama di Rimini* ('The Rimini Proclamation'), of 1815. The book was issued in support of Venetian refugees, and 4,000 copies were printed.

⁴⁰ In this Habsburg political jail Pellico conceived *Le mie prigioni* ('My Prisons') (Turin, 1832), a best-seller to which Maroncelli soon appended some of his own 'additions' (*Alle Mie prigioni di Silvio Pellico. Addizioni di Pietro Maroncelli . . . seguite dalle due tragedie* [by Pellico] *Francesca da Rimini ed Eufemio da Messina* (Paris, 1833).

Viganò was aware of the criticism that *Giovanna d'Arco* would face, yet the challenge of a *coreodramma* involving history, fiction, and the supernatural was appealing. The idea for a ballet on Joan of Arc dated back to the Napoleonic era: when Bonaparte became emperor, Viganò was said to have envisaged composing a celebratory work made up of three tableaux: the victory and the torment of Joan of Arc, the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, and the horrors of the Revolution.⁴¹

Had Viganò really projected a ballet devoted to the triumph *and the torment* of the Maid of Orleans, he would have chosen to ignore fiction and rely on history, or at least on the most widespread version of Joan's story. It must be pointed out, though, that in 1804 he was probably ignorant of the existence of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*: since 1793 Schiller's works had been banned in Austria, the country in which Viganò had been active from 1798 to 1803, and were unknown in Italy, where he had returned after the success of *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* in the spring of 1803.⁴² In any case, the trilogy as a whole came to naught, nor are any of its tableaux known to have been realized.

When in 1820 Viganò 'resumed one of his old ambitions', his basic source was indeed Schiller's play.⁴³ Agnes Sorel, Philip the Good, the Archbishop of Reims, Châtillon, Raoul, Montgomery, the English Herald, and the family of charcoal-burners do not appear. These absences were entailed by the psychological simplification of the king's character and the curtailing of the process ending in the Maid's leading of the French (long and exquisitely verbal, this process was unsuitable for a 'mute drama'). As for Joan's visions, rather than the Virgin Mary Viganò's autograph shows Giovanna visited by a little shepherdess, while the libretto has instead the Spirit of France.⁴⁴ Based on an

⁴¹ See Carlo Ritorni, *Commentarii della vita e delle opere coreodrammatiche di Salvatore Viganò e della coreografia e de' corepei* (Milan, 1838), 329. Ritorni maintains, without giving further details, that his information came 'from a paper' ('da un foglio').

⁴² A performance of Schiller's play under strong censorial pressure had taken place in Vienna at the beginning of 1802. Restrictions were heavy: the title became *Johanna d'Arc*; the name of the playwright was left out; the ill-famed writer J. Escherich carried out a reworking in which places and names were changed, various passages crossed out, and several lacunae filled in. Fearing Schiller's and Unger's (his publisher's) anger, the police wanted Escherich's name to appear on the placard, but the writer shrewdly managed to avoid it. Yet even in such conditions the play achieved the honour of being printed: [J. Escherich] *Johanna d'Arc, romantische Tragödie in sechs Aufzügen* (Friedrich von Schiller). Für die Vorstellung des k.k. Nationaltheaters eingerichtet (Vienna, 1802). The story became that of a war between two fabled countries: a certain Charles reigned over a remote moon-kingdom, attacked by the inhabitants of an unspecified island; Montgomery disappeared from the plot, Isabeau became Charles's sister, and Agnes his wife. *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* was not revived in Vienna's court theatres until 14 Nov. 1820, when it appeared with its original title and with lighter censorial intervention: cf. Franz Hadamowsky, *Die Wiener Hoftheater (Staatstheater) 1776—1966* (Vienna, 1966–75).

⁴³ Announcing to a friend the title of the inaugural ballet of La Scala's 1821 carnival season, Stendhal (to Adolphe de Mareste, Milan, 22 Dec. 1820, in id., *Correspondance*, edn. established and annotated by Henri Martineau and Victor Del Litto (Dijon, 1968), i. 1049) sheds some light on the limits within which Viganò was to work: 'Viganò voulait faire *Ebrea di Toledo*, sujet à la Walter Scott, et qui, dans le goût d'*Ivanhoe*, finit par le brûlement de l'héroïne: *veto*. Il fait platementment *L'enlèvement des Sabines*' ('Viganò wanted to compose l'*Ebrea di Toledo*, a subject à la Walter Scott which, similar in style to *Ivanhoe*, ends with the heroine burnt: *veto*. He dully makes *The Abduction of the Sabine women* [*Le Sabine in Roma*]'). In the preparation of the scenario for *Giovanna d'Arco* Viganò was assisted by Giulio Ferrario, then second sublibrarian at Milan's Biblioteca Braidense, which he was to direct from 1838 to 1847. This is why many materials for this *coreodramma* are preserved there (Carte Ferrario—AG. XIII. 7): Ferrario's draft of the Argomento; Viganò's autograph scenario with Ferrario's corrections in Acts I, II, III, and V, plus Ferrario's redraft of the original version of Act IV; galley proofs for the printed scenario with Ferrario's corrections (Act III lacking); an autograph note of Viganò's concerning characters, interpreters, scenery, etc. Together with the printed libretto, these materials help one understand the balletic reconfiguration of the tragedy. Ferrario's corrections of Viganò's draft are essentially aimed at improving the choreographer's prose: they never alter the plot except for cutting the last part of the love scene at the point where Giovanna realizes the infringement of her vow. Viganò had initially taken over Schiller's scene (III, x) in its entirety, but Ferrario's solution prevailed. Lionel's attempt to convince Johanna to abandon her arms and to flee with him was thus eliminated. Ferrario was also responsible for the insertion—in the scene of the encounter with the Black Knight—of a footnote making reference to the translation by his homonymous Pompeo. On the other hand, Viganò shows that he himself did not feel compelled to acknowledge his frequent borrowings from this edition.

⁴⁴ Schiller (I, x) has Johanna narrate her encounter with the Virgin, reported to have appeared dressed as a shepherdess.

outward projection of the protagonist, the idea of a shepherdess talking to a shepherdess would have better fitted Visconti's wish to have the Maid inspired by her own fancy. But, thanks to its greater visual effect, the descent of the national Spirit prevailed.

A STRUCTURAL AFFINITY WITH AUMER'S 'JOHANNA D'ARC'

Viganò was not the first choreographer to adapt Schiller's play: three weeks before the premiere of *Giovanna d'Arco*, the Viennese attended that of Jean-Pierre Aumer's *Johanna d'Arc*, a four-act pantomime ballet with music composed by Wenzel Robert von Gallenberg.⁴⁵ There is no evidence that Viganò was acquainted with his colleague's ballet. Nonetheless, ties between Vienna and Milan were strong (in January 1821 La Scala made efforts to engage Aumer for the autumn season, when Viganò would be working at Bologna's Teatro comunale), hence a quick glance at *Johanna d'Arc* seems advisable. The lists of characters are virtually identical. The only difference is that Aumer retains Agnes Sorel and cuts Queen Isabeau, while Viganò does the opposite.⁴⁶ Both choreographers postpone Johanna's encounter with the Black Knight until after the trial; the difference is that Aumer moves only this scene ahead, while Viganò transplants into his fourth act the love-and-death duet as well. The function of Aumer's manoeuvre is to have the Black Knight announce to Johanna her capture and death.⁴⁷ By having Giovanna put on trial *before* her momentous yielding to Lionel, Viganò tends instead to endow her with the character of a martyr.

No set descriptions or costume designs for Aumer's ballet survive, but we do have a report about Mme Stich's clothes: 'Madame Stich, whose performance in the role of Johanna was warmly received, was wrongly attired. Instead of the white dress of an innocent shepherdess, she was clad entirely in a fiery red one, so that she could easily have been mistaken for a witch or a fury.'⁴⁸ On the other hand, the work of the costume designers at La Scala was effective. The scene exalts the features of Joan as sacrificial victim, a role typically ascribed to dangerous women. Lionello's crest is off; Giovanna's right arm brandishes a sword pointed up to the sky, not to her enemy's heart. The Maid's arms and hands are bare, while her opponent's body is encased in fully protective armour. A long white skirt and a light helmet only partly hiding her long, curly hair lend Giovanna a loveliness whose innocence is enhanced through the lilies embroidered on her clothes. Her shield, similarly adorned, lies face up, whereas the Englishman's lies face down next to his helmet and broken sword.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ It was given at the Kärntnerthortheater on 12 Feb. 1821, and the text was published in Vienna in that year; Hadamowsky (*Die Wiener Hoftheater*, ii. 227) records the existence of a score (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS KT 238), but the music librarian there was unable to locate it for me. Wenzel Robert von Gallenberg, *Jeanne [sic] d'Arc, gran balletto storico in tre [sic] atti, riduzione per pianoforte di Maximilian Joseph Leidesdorf* (Vienna, n.d.). The reduction includes no stage directions; combined with the lack of reviews, this prevents us from establishing clear links between music and choreography.

⁴⁶ In spite of her inclusion in the list, Agnes Sorel is never cited in the synopsis of Aumer's libretto. Therefore, she must have taken part only in ensembles, without performing a pas de deux with Johanna in the scene after the farewell (*Jungfrau*, IV, ii).

⁴⁷ In fact, shortly afterwards Lionel appears with some English soldiers and arrests her. Then he invites her to lead the English army against France. Disgusted, she refuses with disdain; Lionel leaves her in chains and rushes to fight. In Schiller, where the two scenes are two acts apart (III, ix and V, ix), Lionel offers Johanna his love and protection.

⁴⁸ 'Madame Stich, welche die Johanna mit vielem Beifalle gab, war falsch costumiert. Statt in die weiße Tracht einer schuldlosen Hirtin, war sie ganz feuerfarbig gekleidet, so dass man sie füglich für eine Hexe oder Furie hätte ansehen können.' *Aus dem Burgtheater 1818–1837. Tagebuchblätter des w. k. Hofschauspielers und Regisseurs Carl Ludwig Costenoble*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1889), 104.

⁴⁹ Costume design for Viganò's *Giovanna d'Arco* (Milan, La Scala, 3 Mar. 1821). Published in [Anon.], *Raccolta di figurini ad uso dei teatri giusta il costume di tutti i tempi e di tutte le nazioni* (Milan, n.d.), i, no. 17. The collection, at Milan, Biblioteca teatrale 'Livia Simoni', includes two more plates from *Giovanna d'Arco*, showing respectively Charles VII (no. 18) and Talbot (no. 26). Owing to the return of this library to its historical site next door to the Teatro alla Scala, the costume design described above could not be reproduced in time for the publication of the present article.

While Aumer postpones the encounter with the Black Knight simply to separate two scenes too similar to each other, Viganò's decision to move it ahead aimed at shaping a virtuous portrait of the Maid. By depriving her of part of that aspect of humanity with which Schiller invested her, Viganò imbued her with a greater, if more frigid, authority. The value of the (neo)classical glaze spread over her can be measured in Giovanna's achievement of the status of monument, in the etymological meaning of the word 'monumentum' (Latin for 'memory', derived from 'monere', 'to remind'; hence 'instrument to remind').

'GIOVANNA D'ARCO', OR THE AUTUMN OF 'COREODRAMMA'

While *Johanna d'Arc* was set to a new score by a single composer, *Giovanna d'Arco* was accompanied by a patchwork of pieces adapted from works by different composers. The seventeen items printed by Ricordi were selected from all acts except the middle one (see Table 1).⁵⁰ Act I is well represented in the table: the names of the composers of its eight pieces are known for all but one of them. The only composer mentioned in Act II is Rossini, while no names emerge in Acts IV and V, nor have I been able to identify any of the anonymous pieces. The lack of evidence for Act III prevents one from hypothesizing how Viganò's mute drama resolved the accusation scene, hinging on Giovanna's stubborn silence. The case is surprising also because Act III includes the coronation scene: a type of scene often exploited by composers of incidental music, the spectacular bombast of the procession seems to have been disregarded by Viganò.⁵¹

The main obstacles to a thorough dramatic analysis of the work are the absence of stage directions in the keyboard reduction and the fact that the latter is a selection. Nonetheless, the pictorial nature of some of the pieces allows a critical reading of them. After ten bars, the first number displays the only exception: 'Giovanna d'Arco esce dalla sua capanna' ('Giovanna d'Arco comes out of her hut'). Thus, the exegesis must be entrusted to music alone: this suggests the Maid's agitation during her walk to the oak (bb. 19–29) and the nocturnal atmosphere of the prayer (a triplet melody in bb. 30 ff.).

⁵⁰ *Pezzi scelti del ballo storico 'Giovanna d'Arco' espressamente composto pel I.R. Teatro alla Scala dal celebre coreografo sig.r Salvatore Viganò. Musica di diversi rinomati autori ridotti [sic] per cembalo solo dal sig.r Dionigi Brogialdi* (Milan, pl. nos. 1043–7 (May 1821); all pieces pertaining to a single act were inventoried with an identical plate number; since no music from Act III was printed, no published piece bears the number 1045). The libretto (Milan, 1821) contains a slightly different statement: 'La musica è parte espressamente composta e parte presa dai migliori Maestri da P. Lichtenthal e dal Maestro G. Brambilla, e adattata da S. Viganò' ('The music is partly new and partly taken from the best composers by P. Lichtenthal and G. Brambilla and adapted by S. Viganò'), yet neither Lichtenthal nor Brambilla appears in the Ricordi selection. The libretto for the Scala revival of 15 August 1821 (a performance meant to honour the memory of Viganò, who died suddenly five days before) puts it yet another way: 'Musica in parte composta da Lichtenthal in parte presa dai migliori maestri e adattata da S. Viganò' ('Music partly composed by Lichtenthal and partly taken from the best authors and adapted by S. Viganò'). Librettos of subsequent performances display small variants on these credits: these may result from editorial sloppiness or from real changes in the music employed. As for the identity of the adapters, Lichtenthal was a well-known composer, theorist, and journalist, but the other is a more elusive figure, since Brambilla is a very common Milanese surname; the musician of this name known to have often worked with Viganò is Paolo, so the 'G.' could be a misprint. Finally, Dionigi (Dionisio) Brogialdi's only known original work is *I due Figaro, o sia Il soggetto di una commediola* (Barcelona, Santa Creu, 1825), a comic opera to an earlier libretto by Felice Romani (written for Michele Carafa, *I due Figaro*, Milan, La Scala, 6 June 1820). There seems to be no other way to establish more precisely what the music for *Giovanna d'Arco* amounted to and who really arranged it: regrettably, all trace of a complete manuscript score preserved in the Ricordi archives vanished before the end of the 19th c.

⁵¹ As for the sets of incidental music written for Schiller's play, I take the liberty of referring to chapter 2 of my Ph.D. dissertation, 'Music for a Risorgimento Myth: Joan of Arc 1789–1849' (University of Chicago, 2001). An opinion on Viganò's Act III comes from Ritorni's review of the performance at the Reggio Emilia fair of 1826: 'Nell'atto terzo nulla v'ha che interessi, non la magnifica marcia della corte che s'avvia all'incoronazione, non l'accusa di fatucchiera [sic] data a Giovanna' ('In Act III nothing is of interest, neither the magnificent coronation march, nor the accusation of Joan's witchcraft'). *Annali del Teatro della città di Reggio. Anno 1826* . . . (Bologna, 1827), 59. Compiled with slightly different titles by Ritorni from 1825 to 1840, the *Annali* were the basis for his 1838 monograph on Viganò: see n. 41 above.

TABLE 1. *Contents of Giovanna d'Arco*

Act	Plate no.	Number	Composer		
I	1043	1	Aiblinger		
		3	?		
		4	Generali		
		6	Paisiello		
		7	Haydn		
		8	Viganò		
		9	Dussek		
		10	Dussek		
		II	1044	1	?
				2	?
8	Rossini				
9	?				
III	1045				
IV	1046	1	?		
		4	?		
		5	?		
		8	?		
V	1047	3	?		

The piece supporting the dialogue with the Spirit of France is lacking. In the subsequent Tempo di Marcia (no. 3) the men betrothed to Giacomo's daughters surround the house of the wealthy farmer accompanied by a group playing country instruments. Their goal is to obtain permission to marry from him. Giacomo's clumsiness is suggested through an awkward piece by Generali (no. 4):

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.⁵²

The scene in which the old man reproaches his daughter because of her coyness corresponds to no. 5, omitted in the selection. The *Ballabile* with five variations (no. 6) was meant to accompany the most old-fashioned tableau of the *coreodramma*, the set of dances that follows the encounter between the girls and their fiancés. By resorting here to the music of 'Maestro Paisiello', Viganò paid a gentle, maybe ironic homage to his companion 'pertichino'.⁵³

In spite of the libations, Giovanna remains seated under the sacred tree while the orchestra plays a mincing Haydn Allegretto (no. 7). Giacomo tries to introduce Raimondo to her, but she remains listless until the arrival of an unknown 'Flemish' man:

⁵² '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'. *Annali* . . . 1826, 56.

⁵³ See the reading of Visconti's 'Dialogo' on p. 190 above. This *Ballabile* is the only Paisiello piece ever included in a Viganò ballet. Cf. Rossana Dalmonte, "Une écriture corporelle": la musica e la danza', in Raimondi (ed.), *Il sogno del coreodramma*, 199.

This man too is a picturesque Flemish character, both in the rough and jolly look of his face and in his rustic gestures and movements; the crowding of the peasants around him and the questions [about the course of the war] asked by the country girls are curious. One ought not to pass over in silence the very well-crafted rustic feature of these scenes. . . . Viganò has given these actors a kind of pantomime that would be inappropriate were it not performed by country people.⁵⁴

To portray country people in their characteristic pose Viganò took upon himself the composition of a rustic dance, a Furlana that won him enormous success.⁵⁵ The last scenes of Act I use music by Dussek. The first piece (no. 9) depicts the moment at which Giovanna snatches the helmet from Bertrand's hands while he is retelling how he got it from an ugly old woman. The last piece (no. 10) accompanies Giovanna's resolution to lead France.

The selection from Act II comprises two pairs of adjacent numbers. The first section (nos. 1 and 2) acts as the background for the opening tableau. Frightened by the rumour of the Maid's brave deeds, many English soldiers refuse to attack Orleans and are mocked by Talbot and the queen. The first item in the second section (no. 8) is a Rossini Andante likely to be related to the trio 'Cruda sorte' in *Ricciardo e Zoroide* (1818), here meant to suggest Giovanna's presentation to the king. After a G major introduction (bb. 1–8), a 'parlante' melody in G minor accompanies the narration (bb. 8 ff.). The enthusiasm raised by the girl leads to a dance underlined by martial sonorities (no. 9).

In the absence of evidence for Act III we go straight to Act IV. Once again, the selection includes the opening piece (no. 1): an expressive 6/8 Lento marks the scene in which Raimondo helps Giovanna recover after the shock of the trial. After two missing numbers (2 and 3) we reach the stormy episode foretelling the apparition of the Black Knight (nos. 4 and 5). A negative critique allows one to identify the music associated with this moment:

To express his feelings, the Knight always makes use of a trombone. Bernardi's instrument carries out its task very well, imagining in good faith that *tru tru tru tru tru* is equivalent to Schiller's concepts; it makes itself understood almost as well as the person who claims that *sentences, phrases, words, images, concepts*, etc. can be expressed in pantomime exactly as in speech.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ 'Anche costui è una figura pittoresca e fiamminga, nel grossolano, e ridente atteggiarsi del suo volto, e de' suoi rustici gesti, e movimenti; e curioso intorno a lui è l'affollarsi raggruppato de' contadini, e l'interrogare che fanno le villanelle. E non è da tacere che si bene espresso è il carattere villereccio in queste scene. . . . Viganò ha data a questi attori una pantomima che non sarebbe più opportuna ove non fosse eseguita da' contadini'. *Annali* . . . 1826, 57.

⁵⁵ An individual indication of its price in the top right-hand corner of the first leaf and the title of the ballet, stated in full only in this piece, suggests that Viganò's Furlana also enjoyed success as an independent item. A further clue to its popularity is its dissemination in manuscript: a copy bearing exactly the same title as the print was in Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek (Mus Ms 2804) before the music collection of this library was dispersed in 1998; another one, preserved at Berkeley, University of California, Music Library (MS 509), has a title reading *Furlana / nel Ballo / La / Giovanna d'Arco* (RISM A/II wrongly calls it part of Gaetano Andreozzi's *dramma per musica* of that name to Simeone Antonio Sografi's libretto, Vicenza, Eretenio, 27 June 1789). Liveliness and gaiety are the features traditionally ascribed to the furlana, a dance originating in a rural area in north-east Italy and elevated to the rank of society dance through the *galant* style. Associating its mood with that of some English country dances, in his *Estetica ossia Dottrina del bello e delle arti belle* (Milan, 1831), 412, Peter Lichtenthal confirms the rescue of the Furlana from a purely local connotation. An entire conference has recently been devoted to this dance ('Le strade della Furlana', Fagagna (Udine), Dec. 1998); for a study of the fortunes of the dance in the 18th c., see Daniel Hertz, 'A Venetian Dancing Master Teaches the Forlana: Lambranzi's "Balli Teatrali"', *Journal of Musicology*, 17 (1999), 136–51.

⁵⁶ 'Il cavaliere, per esprimere i suoi sentimenti, si serve sempre dell'unico ministero d'un trombone; e l'istromento del prof. Bernardi che disimpegna benissimo questa parte, credendo in buona fede che *tru tru tru tru tru* equivalga ai concetti di Schiller, è un istromento che si spiega presso a poco come quello, il quale pretende che in pantomima si possano esprimere *frasi, locuzioni, parole, immagini, concetti*, etc., come si farebbe parlando.' *Gazzetta di Milano*, 6 Mar. 1821, p. 2. The author of the review was Francesco Pezzi, the compiler of the *Gazzetta*. On the context of his activities see Marino Berengo, *Intelletuali e librai nella Milano della Restaurazione* (Turin, 1980).

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.

The love-and-death duet corresponds to the next published item (no. 8). The piece is finely structured: the first bars introduce the duel with a nostalgic D minor theme that foretells the mood of the emotional climax; an acceleration and a sharpening of the melodic curve suggest the clash, suspended on the dominant, when Lionello loses his crest. On the exchange of glances the music switches to a D major passage of pure *Liebeszaubermusik*. The return to the theme in D minor marks the resumption of the fight. The nostalgic mood is justified by the preceding enchanted episode (Lionello wants Giovanna to kill him, but she cannot). A new suspension on the dominant signals Giovanna’s paralysis. The main theme reappears, but its D major reformulation underlines the Englishman’s outburst of love. The lack of praise for this wonderful scene possibly stemmed from the modest performance by its first male interpreter.⁵⁷ The only printed item in Act V is a *Danza mimica scozzese* (no. 3), a martial piece suggesting a connection to the final battle.

Stendhal found ‘Act I... divine, all the rest confused and boring’.⁵⁸ He had probably been sitting in Ludovico di Breme’s box on a night on which La Scala hosted a performance of *Giovanna d’Arco* together with a revival of *La donna del lago*. No matter how fortuitous, the joint offering of Viganò’s *coreodramma* and Rossini’s opera was a significant event.⁵⁹ If the operatic reformulation of *The Lady of the Lake* had in actual fact been the first translation of Scott into Italian, the staging of Viganò’s *Giovanna d’Arco* was the first Schiller performance in Italy.⁶⁰

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.⁶¹ 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.

After a season of remarkable fortune, the art of Terpsichore was to step back again to an ancillary role. It continued serving both literature and the performing arts, primarily

⁵⁷ Once again exalting Pallerini, a reviewer of the autumn 1821 revival (*Corriere delle dame*, 18 Aug. 1821, p. 258) praised the new interpreter of Lionello’s role (Nicola Molinari) because ‘he is able to give new life to act IV’ (‘il quale dà nuova vita a quell’atto 4^o’; the first performer had been Domenico Rossi). Ritorni too was disappointed with the last two acts: after the Furlana, he writes, ‘finisce tutto ciò che di felice è nel ballo’ (‘all that is worthy in the ballet ends here’); *Annali... 1826*, 57 ff.

⁵⁸ Stendhal to Adolphe de Mareste, Milan, 1 Apr. 1821: ‘Le premier acte est divin, le reste embrouillé et ennuyeux’; id., *Correspondance*, i, 1060.

⁵⁹ *La donna del lago* began its run at La Scala on 8 Feb.; on 6 Mar. it was followed by Giuseppe Mosca’s *Emira, regina d’Egitto*, but the lack of success that greeted this work caused it to disappear after the third night; thus, when Rossini’s opera was performed again up to 20 Mar., it was always paired with *Giovanna d’Arco*. Even if in his *Vie de Rossini* Stendhal pretends to refer to the Naples premiere, he first saw the composer’s ‘Ossianic’ masterwork at La Scala.

⁶⁰ Stefano Castelvocchi, ‘Walter Scott, Rossini e la “couleur ossianique”’: il contesto culturale della “Donna del lago”’, *Bollettino del Centro Rossiniano di Studi*, 33 (1993), 60. The most recurring objection to Schiller’s dramas, their unsuitability to the stage, is often charged to *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*. Even the Germanophile *Biblioteca italiana* declared that Schiller’s plays were more suitable for reading than for staging. No Schiller operas or ballets were performed in Italy before 3 Mar. 1821.

⁶¹ ‘Il che succede quantunque volte trasportasi sulle scene intero romanzo, non drammatico episodio di esso’ (‘this happens each time one pretends to bring to the stage a whole novel, and not a dramatic episode of it’); Ritorni, *Annali... 1826*, 319.

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 to form a dialogue with the leading centres of Romantic Europe was in fact a Northern one, the novel.

At the outset of the 1820s this path had not yet been trodden on the southern slopes of the Alps. The best candidate to pick up the gauntlet was of course Alessandro Manzoni. Five weeks after the disappointment caused by the events of March 1821 the greatest Italian Romantic writer donned the coarse cloth of the novelist: on 24 April 1821 *I promessi sposi* began its long, tormented life.⁶²

ABSTRACT

Salvatore Viganò's last completed work is based on the figure of the Maid of Orleans. When *Giovanna d'Arco* was first performed, on 3 March 1821 at La Scala, Italy was shaken by one of the most violent upheavals of the Risorgimento, the Constitutional revolt of 1820–1. Written in Milan at the peak of that turbulent season, while Viganò's *coreodramma* was being admired at La Scala by a number of exceptional spectators, *March 1821* is one of the most inflammatory patriotic poems by Alessandro Manzoni. Moving from this intriguing coincidence, the present article aims to ascertain the role of Viganò's output in the stimulating milieu of 1821 Milan.

⁶² Though mainly busy with his novel, Manzoni did not completely abandon his activities as poet, self-editor, essayist, and playwright. The news of Napoleon's death induced him to write his historic ode *Il cinque maggio* (*The Fifth of May*, written between 17 and 19 July 1821); in 1822 his *Pentecost* was purged of residual political references (see Franco Fortini, 'Due note per gli "Inni"', *Paragone*, no. 286 (Dec. 1973), 1–27); the *Letter on Romanticism* was written in 1823, though it did not become a public document until 1846. The project for a drama on Spartacus also occupied his mind in these years.