

Kostas Kardamis

Ionian University

Un Italiano in Corcira:

*Severiano Fogacci's music-related activities during his exile in Corfu (1831-1846)**

Some historical background

Severiano Fogacci, the main subject of this essay, lived in an era of liberal movements and social upheaval in the Italian peninsula and Europe in general. He can be considered a typical member of the post-napoleonic Italian generation, since he was born in 1803.¹ His birthplace, Ancona, then belonged to the Papal States and he therefore was brought up in an environment, which was rather conservative. Moreover, his family did not belong among the privileged of that city. Severiano lost his father, Giovanni, when he was very young and this led to his entry to the local *seminario*, where he began his studies. After five years there he continued his education in the public high school of Ancona, during a period full of political changes. Fogacci early demonstrated a passion for Latin and Italian literature, as well as a desire to become familiar with the aesthetic trends then developing. His political orientation in an era of social and political upheaval was becoming clearer at this time as well: by 1824 he had established connections with the *carbonari*, as he did not consider the papal administration successful in managing the new post-restoration conditions in the Italian peninsula. Thus Fogacci became a fervent patriot and supporter of Italian independence.

In 1826 Fogacci moved to Bologna, where he worked as a secretary for his uncle and soon Fogacci became the commander of the city's division. Bologna, which again belonged to the Papal States, played a central role in the ideological developments during the Napoleonic period and, despite a hard restoration period

* An early version of this essay has been presented in the *XIII Covegno Annuale di Società Italiana di Musicologia* (Torino, 20–22.10.2006). Special thanks to Michael Finkelman for his valuable observations.

¹ A wealth of biographical information regarding Severiano Fogacci may be obtained in G. Monsagrati, 'Fogacci Severiano' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Roma: Istituto della

after 1815, the ex-capital of the *Repubblica Cispadana* retained its liberal character. One of the most active manifestations of this liberal environment was Bologna's involvement in the 1831 revolution. Fogacci, as commander of the city's divisions left Bologna on 9.2.1831, leading a voluntary military detachment, assigned to join the expeditionary force that planned to capture Ancona. Eventually, this military unit moved further south, in order to join the forces that were to siege Rome itself. However, the Austrian intervention found Fogacci's unit on its way to Rome and in the end it was disbanded. After this development, the Anconetan patriot had two alternatives, namely to spend his life in prison or to follow the way of self-exile.

Of course, the solution for Focacci was obvious and on 20.4.1831 he reached Corfu,² a place that would be a second homeland to him for the next fifteen years. Corfu became the place of refuge for several protagonists of the 1831 Italian revolution.³ The Ionian Islands, were a perfect outpost for such people throughout the *Risorgimento* years, being under British rule, the policies of which formed a counterbalance to those of Austria. By supporting or enduring, officially and unofficially, so many liberal voices in its provinces, Britain of course was serving its own expectation in the region. Moreover, Corfu was in the vicinity of the Italian peninsula, making it a perfect base for future action and propaganda, and, furthermore, its social and cultural environment was similar to that of any middle-sized Italian city. During the spring and summer of 1831 it is particularly telling that in addition to Fogacci, such people as Biaggio and Anacarsi Nardi, countess Grabinsky-Broglio, professor Paolo Costa, Innocenzio Romagnoli, count Angelo Pichi, Luigi Baldini, Tito Savelli and Attanasio Bassetti found refuge in Corfu.

However, the life of these refugees was far from being easy. They were under constant surveillance by the local secret police, since the local administration feared that the mingling of Italians with the Ionian liberals would cause problems for the British administration. Of course, such fears were absolutely justifiable, since the interaction of the local intelligentsia with the Italian exiles further supported the solidification of Ionian national and social expectations. Nonetheless, the biggest

Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-2003, vol. xlvi, 415-417.

² According to the archival material in the General State Archives of Corfu (G.S.A. / C), Ionian State 248 (20.4.1831). See also, Spyridon Deviazis, 'Sevirianos Fogatsis (Severiano Fogacci)', offprint from *Kypseli* 15 and 16 (1885), 1-16: 7.

³ For the presence of Italian *carbonari* in Corfu during 1830s, see also Maria Cristina Chatzijoannou, 'La presenza degli Italiani nella Grecia indipendente' in *Risorgimento Greco e Filellenismo Italiano: Lotte, Cultura, Arte*. Roma: Edizioni Del Sole, 1986. 137-143.

problem for the Italians was the fact that nearly all of them had to start their lives over again from scratch. In this sense Fogacci's case seems to have been typical.

The Anconetan patriot used his knowledge of the Italian and French languages and literatures toward making a living, and had several students among the Greeks and the British. Fogacci became acquainted with the British High-Commissioner, Sir Frederick Adam, but it was his relations with Adam's successor, Stewart Mackenzie, that dramatically improved his living conditions:⁴ The British official offered Fogacci an Italian language teaching post in a school for girls in Corfu. His new position allowed Fogacci in 1838 to marry Orinzia Girri Ceresini from Faenza, to have three children by her (Virginia, Clelia and Paolo Giulio)⁵ and to rent a house in the central Strada Reale (opposite to the Corfu Stock Exchange and just a few meters from the Teatro San Giacomo).⁶ Meanwhile, the Anconetan scholar was acknowledged as a central figure among the Italians of Corfu, because of both his philanthropic activities (e.g., raising funds for poor Italian patriots) and his attempts to preserve solidarity in the Italian community, especially in the form of cultural activities (frequently exploiting to its limit the tolerance of the British administration).

By 1843, Fogacci had assumed a leading position among the Italian patriots, as he practically became the representative of the organization "Giovine Italia" in Corfu and an immediate collaborator of Giuseppe Mazzini.⁷ From this position, Fogacci coordinated all the activities of the exiled Italian patriots, collected money for the organization and played an important role in events preceding the departure of the Bandiera brothers and their companions for their unsuccessful (and fatal) attempt to trigger a revolution in southern Italy. As a matter of fact, Fogacci tried to stop the departure of the Bandiera brothers, but without success.⁸ Moreover, the Anconetan

⁴ However, Fogacci describes Adam with very warm words and dedicates to him a series of poems in *Sir Frederick Adam in Avellino. Quattro melodie: Corfu li 17 Settembre 1835* (Malta: F. Izzo e Co, 1838).

⁵ According to the Registers of the Catholic Archdiocese of Corfu, Virginia, Mariana, Antonia was baptized on 5.2.1838, Clelia, Laura, Maria on 14.2.1841 and Paolo Giulio on 6.4.1843. In 1886 Fogacci's children requested certificates of their birth from the Corfu's Archdiocese. I would like to thank the Secretary of the Catholic Archdiocese of Corfu, researcher and good friend, Mr Spiros Gaoutsis, for his help and support. Deviazis in "Sevirianos Fogatsis [...]", op. cit., 7 refers by mistake to Fogacci's son as Giulio Cesare.

⁶ G.S.A. / C, Ionian State 480, 3 and Registers of the Catholic Archdiocese of Corfu.

⁷ Regarding Fogacci's position among the *carbonari* in Corfu, see also Lucarelli, Enrica and Caterina Spetsieri Beschi (eds.). *Risorgimento Greco e Filellenismo Italiano: Lotte, Cultura, Arte* (Roma: Edizioni Del Sole, 1986), 382.

⁸ Interesting information regarding the Bandiera brothers in Corfu and the role of Fogacci can be found in Tsitsas, Athanasios. 'To moiraio egxeirima ton adelfon Bandiera' [The fatal attempt of the Bandiera brothers] in *Dimosievmata tis Etaireias Kerkyraikon Spoudon* [Publications of the Corfu

patriot tried to establish connections and coordinate his movements with other exiles outside Corfu, such as those in Malta. Since 1833 Fogacci had also been initiated into freemasonry,⁹ which must have been a place, where his liberal ideas would have found a secure refuge. In 1846 the change in political conditions in Italy heralded by the election of Pope Pius IX and the amnesty he granted, as well as the death of Fogacci's wife,¹⁰ led him toward his repatriation. He departed from Corfu for Ancona on 24.12.1846.¹¹

However, Fogacci did not stay politically inactive. Already in February 1847 he delivered a speech in Ancona's town hall claiming that Pope Pius IX and the catholic church could guarantee the unification of Italy.¹² The revolutions of 1848 found Fogacci in Ancona's civic guard and later the same year he participated both in the Campaign of the North as captain¹³ and in the defense of Rome. After the fall of the Roman Republic he was imprisoned (March-October 1850); after liberation he returned to Ancona, where though under constant surveillance by the police, he tried to earn his living as theatrical writer. Nonetheless, he always remained a committed patriot and supporter of Italian unification, which was finally achieved in 1861. In 1862, he dedicated a brief dramatic work to General Garibaldi, a gesture that does not seem unrelated to Fogacci's participation in the masonic lodge of Ancona bearing the General's name, which was founded that year.¹⁴ After the unification of Italy, Fogacci was involved in education and remained a romantic activist until his death in 1885.

Studies Society]. (Corfu, 1995), 12. See also, M. Caputi, *Esposizione dei fatti relativi alla partenza dei fratelli Bandiera da Corfu per la Calabria nel 1844* (Napoli, 1863).

⁹ Luca Guazzati, *L'Oriente di Ancona. Storia della massoneria dorica: 1815-1914*, (Ancona: Affinità elettive, 2002), 220.

¹⁰ According to the Registers of the Catholic Archdiocese of Corfu, Orinzia Girri Ceresini died on 7.2.1846, aged 36.

¹¹ *Gazzetta Ufficiale degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 104 (14/26.12.1846), 20. Deviazis ("Sevirianos Fogatsis [...]"), op. cit., 7) cites, obviously by mistake, November 24th as Fogacci's departure date. Fogacci's daughters left from Corfu on 28.10.1846 [G.N.A. / C, Executive Police 1373, 607 and *Gazzetta Ufficiale degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 96 (19/31.10.1846), 23], whereas Fogacci himself made clear his decision to repatriate himself in the very last issue of *Il fiorilegio* in late October 1846 ("Egregj signori associati", *Il fiorilegio* 18 (20.10.1846), 147-148).

¹² Saveriano Fogacci, *A Pio IX. Carme recitato dall'autore nella sala del Palazzo Comunale di Ancona la sera del 2 Febbraio 1847 all'Accademia in beneficio dei danneggiati dalla inondazione del Tevere in Roma* (Ancona: Tip. di Aureli G. e C., 1847).

¹³ This position is also mentioned in a series of poems published in Venice in the autumn of 1848, see Severiano Fogacci, *Il verseggiar talora l'affaticato spirito solleva se non l'onora, versi di vario metro* (Venezia, 1848).

¹⁴ Vittorio Gnocchini, *L'Italia dei liberi muratori. Brevi biografie di massoni famosi* (Roma: Eraso, 2005).

Fogacci's publishing activities in Corfu

During his stay in Corfu, Fogacci demonstrated remarkable activity as a writer and editor, contributing to Ionian bibliography some important publications.¹⁵ From his first days in Corfu, he made his literary presence felt, writing a poem for the inauguration of the local aqueduct entitled *La festa della fontana*. It was with this poem that he entered a poetry contest organized by the local government and, despite the eventual winner being another Italian political refugee, Prof. Paolo Costa, the poem was included in the collection that Fogacci published in Corfu in 1832 under the title *Saggio di versi*¹⁶.



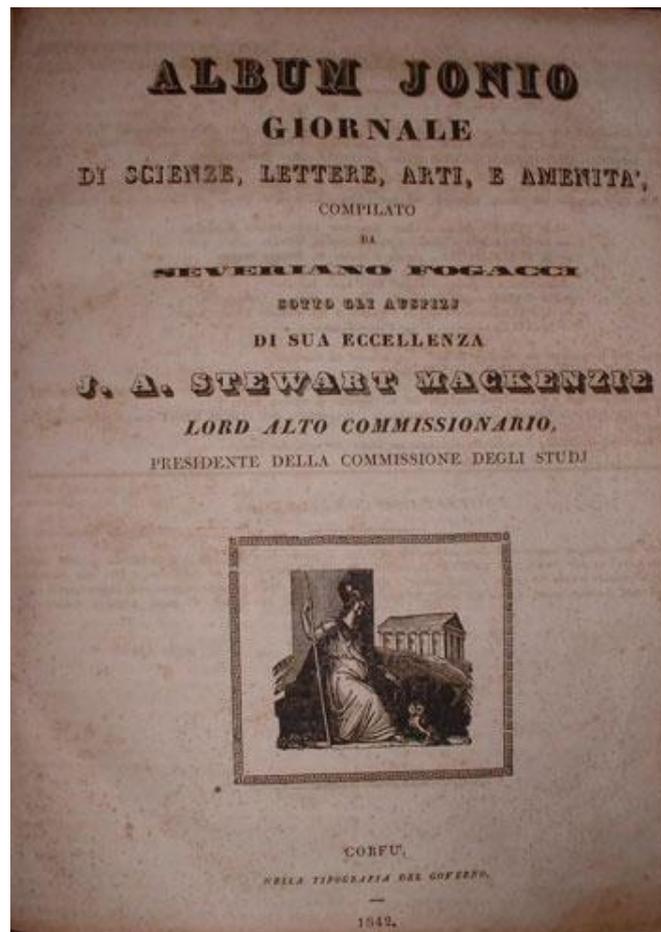
1. Cover page of *Saggio di Versi* (Corfu, 1832). Corfu Reading Society

In 1835, he published his own *Norma*, a tragedy in five acts, only a few months after

¹⁵ For a detailed account of Fogacci's publication activities during his exile years, see Alissandratos, Giorgos G. 'O Italos logios Severiano Fogacci kai ta dimosievmata tou stin Kerkyra (1831-1846)' [The Italian scholar Severiano Fogacci and his publications in Corfu (1831-1846)]. *Italoellinika* 4 (Napoli, 1991-1993), 11-23.

¹⁶ Severiano Fogacci, *Saggio di versi* (Corfu: [Stamperia di Governo], 1832).

the presentation of Bellini's *Norma* in Corfu. Fogacci's tragedy was premiered in the San Giacomo theatre of Corfu, also in 1835.¹⁷ In 1843, he published a retroactive collection of his writing under the title *Le muse*.¹⁸ From 1838 Fogacci also contributed poems and articles (usually concerning theatrical and operatic matters) to the governmental *Gazzetta*, the only newspaper in the Ionian Islands prior to 1849. In addition, he was the editor (and possibly the financial support as well) of several short-lived journals of philological and artistic interest, such as the *L'ape* (1834)¹⁹ and the *Album Jonio* (1841-1842).²⁰



2. Cover page of *Album Jonio*. Corfu Reading Society

¹⁷ Severiano Fogacci, *Norma: drama tragico* (Corfu: [Stamperia del Governo, 1835). According to an 1863 publication of the work [Severiano Fogacci, *Norma, sacerdotessa di Irmisul: drama tragico in cinque atti* (Ancona: Dorica, 1863)] this drama was presented in Corfu in 1835 and in Ancona in 1857. It has also been praised by the translator and poet Giuseppe Nicolini (Deviazis, 'Sevirianos Fogatsis [...]'), *op. cit.*, 14).

¹⁸ [Severiano Fogacci], *Le muse: Miscellanea di letteratura e di morale: Ricordo per l' anno 1843* (Corfu: Tipografia del Governo, 1843).

¹⁹ *L'ape: Giornale di varietà letterarie e morali con qualche cenno sul teatro e qualche notizia di storia contemporanea* (Corfu: [Stamperia di Governo], 1834).

²⁰ *Album Jonio: Giornale di scienze, lettere, arti, e teatri, edito e compilato da Severiano Fogacci* (Corfu: Tipografia del Governo, 1841-1842). See, also, *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 507 (31.8/12.9.1840), 15-16, *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 521 (7/19.12.1840), 16 and G.S.A. / C., Ionian Senate Archive 82, 1995 (20.8.1840) and Ionian Senate Archive 604.

He also was the mastermind behind *Il fiorilegio* (1846),²¹ which ceased publication after Fogacci's repatriation. It is also indicative that his *Florilegio dantesco*, despite being published in Ancona in 1847, is a compilation of works from Fogacci's Corfu period.²² All the above mentioned publications offer also a glimpse into Fogacci's social environment and reception, since they are usually dedicated to Ionian officials or to the British High-Commissioner himself.

Finally, one should consider as certain Fogacci's participation in the publication of the *Antologia Jonia* (1834, a journal in English, Greek and Italian), as well as in the bilingual (Italian and Greek) philological special edition of the *Gazzetta* under the title *Gazzetta Ufficiale degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie per notizie politiche, scientifiche e letterarie* (1846). It is indicative that this publishing activity took place in a period in which the Ionian Islands experienced a relatively liberal British administration, especially during the time of Lord Nugent's office (1832-1835). Moreover, the importance of the Italian language for the Ionian Islands' intelligentsia should be particularly underlined. These factors must have contributed towards Fogacci's popularity.

The music activities of a patriot

All the above publications provide a not negligible amount of information for Fogacci's musical background and activities during his exile in Corfu. After all, he must have had an excellent musical background and may have shown active interest in musical composition.²³ His interest in theatre and opera is evident through the writings and publications of that period, and provide a wealth of information on the musical life of Corfu. This information would have been more extensive today had Fogacci had the chance to write regular musical criticism in the local press.²⁴ He was

²¹ *Il fiorilegio: Serie di letture istrutive piagevoli e morali* (Corfu: [Stamperia di Governo], 1846)

²² Severiano Fogacci (ed.), *Florilegio Dantesco o Studii sulla "Divina Commedia" di Dante Alighieri* (Ancona: Tipografia Aurelj G.E. Compagni, 1847), in the introduction of which it is clearly stated by Fogacci himself that he compiled the collective volume in 1845 in Corfu.

²³ See, *Il 13 maggio 1792 giorno natalizio dell'immortale Pio XI pontefice ottimo massimo : cantata a quattro voci con cori di Severiano Fogacci*, published in Ancona by Baluffi, apparently after 1846.

²⁴ See, indicatively, *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 384 (23.4/5.5.1838), 13, *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 464 (4/16.11.1839), 10, *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 475 (20.1/1.2.1840), 13, *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 480 (24.2/7.3.1840), 8, "Accademia filarmonica di Corfu", *Album Jonio VI* (13.1.1841), 6-7, "Notizia Teatrale", *Album Jonio I/XXIII* (16.6.1841), 184, "Notizia Teatrale", *Album Jonio I/XXVI* (7.7.1841), 208, "Belle Arti: Il nuovo sipario del Teatro di San Giacomo", *Album Jonio I/XLV* (14.7.1841), 215, "Varietà Teatrale",

also actively involved in the matters at the Teatro San Giacomo as a prospective impresario at least once, in 1845,²⁵ a fact that bespeaks his interest in musical theatre.²⁶ In his 1832 *Saggio di versi*, he dedicates a poem to the famous opera singer Giudita Pasta, as well as one more to an unnamed singer that evidence suggests must have been Anna Cardani, the prima donna of the San Giacomo troupe during the 1831-1832 season and member of Philharmonic Academy of Venice.²⁷

Fogacci's interest for music is evident in the literary output of his Corfu years. His poetical works reveal a person with considerable facility in versification that can be set to music. In *Saggio di versi* one not only finds this kind of poetry throughout, but especially in the section entitled "Romanze per musica",²⁸ containing poems that bear all the *ottocento* characteristics of verses explicitly intended to be used for vocal compositions. Indeed, Fogacci himself notes that the last of these romanzas was actually set to music by Angelo Zanotti, a native of Lugo, member of the Philharmonic Academies of Ancona and Bologna,²⁹ and San Giacomo's orchestra director in 1831-1832.³⁰ This romanza is set as a duet with recitative for soprano and "troubadour", asks for a "harp prelude" and, despite its manuscript not yet having been found, it should be considered certain that it was presented in San Giacomo between October 1831 and March 1832.

Album Jonio I/XXXII (18.8.1841), 254-255, "Società Filarmonica di Corfu", *Album Jonio* I/XXXVIII (29.9.1841), 299, "Teatro", *Album Jonio* I/XXXVIII (29.9.1841), 302, "Nobile Teatro di S. Giacomo Corfu", *Album Jonio* I/XXXIX (6.10.1841), 312, "Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo", *Album Jonio* I/XLIII (3.11.1841), 343-344, "La banda civica corcirese", *Album Jonio* I/XLV (17.11.1841), 358-359, "Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo: Parisina", *Album Jonio* I/XLVI (24.11.1841), 367-368, "Ogni promessa e obbligo: Anna Bolena", *Album Jonio* II/XXII (24.11.1842), 180, "Teatro: Il ritorno di Columella dagli studj di Padova", *Album Jonio* II/XXIV (8.12.1842), 196, "Annunzi", *Album Jonio* II/XXV (15.12.1842), 204, "Una viaggiatrice all' Oriente o la Signora Carolina Unger Sabatier", *Il florilegio* I/I-II (30.4.1846), 15-16.

²⁵ G.S.A. / C., Regent 100 (6.6.1845 and 19.3.1846).

²⁶ In this respect, it should be noted that in 1861, in Ancona, Fogacci was the director of the performance of *L' Assedio di Ancona nel 1174*, a patriotic work that was related to the proclamation of Vittorio Emanuele II as King of Italy, see *L' Assedio di Ancona nel 1174*. Poesia di Filippo Barattani, Musica del maestro Giuseppe Bornaccini (Ancona: successore della Tipografia Baluffi, 1861).

²⁷ Fogacci, *Saggio di versi*, op. cit, 34, 35, 40. The name of Anna Cardani exists in the period's librettos (Libretto Collection of the Corfu Reading Society). Cardani, a native of Milan, arrived at Corfu from Ancona on 26.8.1831 (G.S.A. / C, Executive Police 708, 26.8.1831, 233), almost a week after Fogacci's arrival.

²⁸ Fogacci, *Saggio di versi*, op. cit, 47-56.

²⁹ Idem, 54-56 and Libretto Collection of Corfu Reading Society.

³⁰ See, *Libretto Collection of Corfu Reading Society*. Zanotti arrived at Corfu with his wife and two children also on 26.8.1831 from Ancona (G.S.A. / C, Executive Police 708, 26.8.1831, 237). It is also worth mentioning that scores with operatic transcriptions by Angelo Zanotti exist in the Music Archive of the Corfu Philharmonic Society. In 1833 Zanotti went to Odessa where he contributed heavily to the musical development of the city, which was also one of the most important centres of the Greek diaspora. See Anna Makolnin, *The nineteenth century in Odessa* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 82, 134, 143, 181, 202.

Similar poems can also be found in *La muse* of 1843. However, more importantly, it was here that Fogacci published the full text of his 1835 “tragedia per musica” *Dirce, figlia di Aristodemo*.³¹ The above mentioned subtitle and the division of the “tragedia” into three parts left no doubt that Fogacci created this work in order to serve as an opera libretto. Of particular importance is the introductory text of this libretto, which is virtually a concise manifesto of Fogacci’s views on the operatic setting of such a work. This offers one of the few nineteenth-century aesthetic texts on melodrama written in the Ionian Islands.

Fogacci’s libretto is based on Vincenzo Monti’s 1786 five-act tragedy *Aristodemo* and possibly this choice is not coincidental, since the subject of the plot is related both to the notion of ancient Greece as symbol of pure classicism, and its reflection in European literature through authors like Monti. Fogacci never concealed his admiration for Ancient Greece, which is clearly evident in his writings.

Nevertheless, according to Fogacci, the connection to these classical ideals surpasses any symbolic connotations and he states that in writing *Dirce*, despite his admiration for the ancient theatre, he did not want to imitate it or to win glory thereby. He wanted rather to approach the ancient Greeks’ way of thinking, namely to create realistic characters emerging from certain dramatic situations, characters that would surpass temporal boundaries. After this statement, Fogacci comments on the operatic conventions of his time, reaching the conclusion that these practices destroy the cohesion of the work for the sake of short-timed impressiveness and claims that by creating *Dirce*, he strives to stop these damaging effects against the art.³² In the field of the tragic poetry, he admits the superiority of Metastasio, but, on the other hand, he claims that the metastasian musico-dramatic system no longer serves the needs of the nineteenth century. He continues, saying that “with the help of long recitatives and extended acts, without the obligation to compose pompous introductions, cavatinas, duets, trios, grand finales, arias with chorus, choruses and rondos, one is able to create real tragedies, arising from recitatives interrupted occasionally by an arietta or a cavatina [...]”.³³

³¹ [Severiano Fogacci], ‘Dirce, figlia di Aristodemo: Tragedia per musica in tre atti’, in *Le muse* [...], op. cit, 181-235.

³² [Fogacci], ‘Dirce [...]’, idem, 183-184.

³³ “[...] Coll’ ajuto di lunghi recitative ed atti non brevi, senza l’ obbligo di spettacolose introduzioni, di cavatine, di duetti, di trio, di grandi finali, d arie coi cori, dei cori, e dei rondo poteva egli comporre regolari tragedie di tutti recitative, tratto tratto interseccati da qualche arietta, da qualche cabaletta, che stano in mezzo siccome posa del lungo declamare cantando. [...]”, idem, 185.

Fogacci is clearly very familiar with the use of conventions that were then considered typical for European classicism, conventions that he describes as not functional any longer, despite his admiration for them. This approach is not so surprising in an era in which classicism was not considered necessarily in opposition to romanticism, but rather a complementary part of the emerging nineteenth-century aesthetics. However, Fogacci is more radical when he refers to the merging of literature with music in opera. In his discussion, he seems to combine notions related to the original idea of opera during Renaissance, to practices of French *opera comique*, as well as to the standard Italian operatic conventions. Moreover, his predilection for long recitatives in an era when *bel canto* was by far the most popular product in demand, is really very notable. In any case it can be said that Fogacci's philosophy includes elements that would also occupy the aesthetic thought of "mature Romanticism". Here it should be noted that both Giuseppe Mazzini³⁴ and later Niccolò Tommaseo³⁵ shared similar approaches regarding operatic singing.

Of course, Fogacci's objections are not something new in the opera world and, moreover, that such ideas are put forth by a writer and not by a composer is not surprising. The dilemma "prima la parole e doppo la musica" is not by any means new in nineteenth century. Fogacci considers that Felice Romani and Vincenzo Bellini achieved balance up to a certain point between these two operatic elements, but he does criticize Romani regarding the dramatic qualities of his librettos. However, Fogacci's admiration for Bellini might give a plausible explanation for the creation of his own *Norma* in 1835. From the above, as well as from the conclusion of Fogacci's brief manifesto, it is evident that he considered the creation of melodrama an important procedure aesthetically superior to other poetic forms.

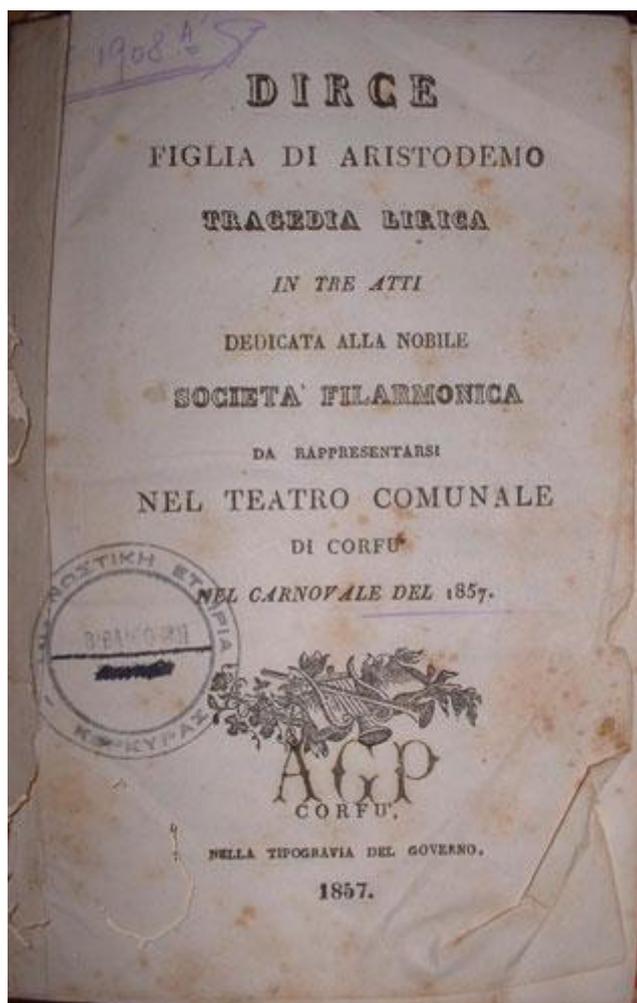
These ideas of Fogacci seem to have had an impact in the musical environment of Corfu. Domenico Padovani (1817-1892),³⁶ one of the most promising composers of the island, set two of Fogacci's works to music. On 12.2.1857, he presented the aforementioned *Dirce* at Teatro San Giacomo, dedicating it to the Corfu Philharmonic

³⁴ Marcello de Angelis (ed.), *Giuseppe Mazzini: Filosofia della Musica* (Firenze: Guaraldi, 1977), 17.

³⁵ Niccolò Tommaseo, *Bellezza e civiltà: Delli arti del bello sensibile* (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1857), 113–115.

³⁶ For Domenico Padovani, see George Leotsakos. 'Padovanis, Domenikos', in *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn. ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001. Vol. 18, pp. 876–877. Useful information for the composer in Francesco di Mento, *Nei solenni funerali del compianto Cav[allie]r Domenico Padovani insigne e benemerito Maestro Compositore ed Organista della Cattedrale Cattolica di Corfu* (Corfu: Corcira, 1892).

Society.³⁷



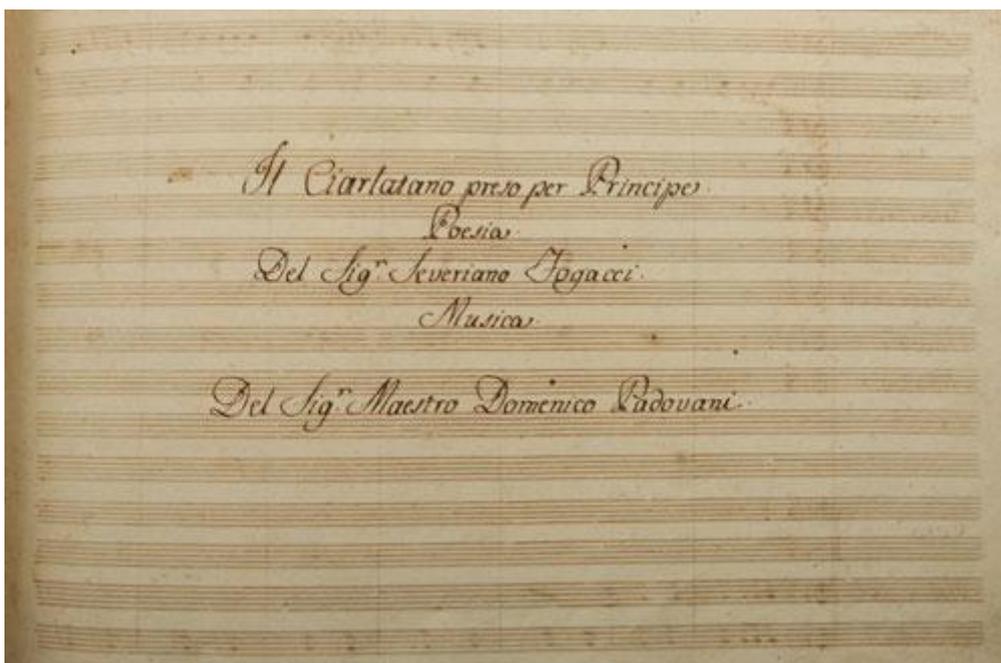
3. *Dirce*'s libretto cover for its 1857 premiere. Corfu Reading Society

Seventeen years earlier, during the Carnival season of 1840, Padovani had also presented a one-act comic opera by Fogacci entitled *Il ciarlatano presso per principe*,³⁸ which is reported to have been later performed in Ancona as well.³⁹

³⁷ Regarding *Dirce*'s premiere, see G.S.A. – C, Ionian Senate 1119, 18191 (12.2.1857), Regent of Corfu to Senate's Secretary.

³⁸ Spiros Moutsenigos. *Neoelliniki Moussiki: symvoli eis tin istorian tis* [Neohellenic Music: A contribution to its history]. Athens, 1958. 189, 226 mentions that the opera was presented after 1857. However, there is a copy of Padovani's composition in the Biblioteca di Conservatorio "Vincenzo Bellini" of Palermo, which indicates that *Il ciarlatano* was written for the "basso comico" Jacopo Mancinelli and presented in Corfu during the Carnival of the 1839-1840 season. I would like to thank Dr. Dario Lo Cicero, music librarian and teacher in the Palermo Conservatory, for bringing to my attention this valuable information. *Il ciarlatano* was presented in a concert performance by the Athens State Orchestra (conducted by Byron Fidetzis) in Athens in April 2010.

³⁹ Deviazis, Spyridon. 'Ellines Kallitehnes: Dominikos Padovanis' [Greek artists: Domenicos Padovanis]. *Imerologio ton Philomouson II* (1898), 35-38.



4. Manuscript score of *Il ciarlatano preso per principe*. Corfu Philharmonic Society, Music Museum

Padovani was a catholic Corfiot of noble descent, son of an important scholar, Girolamo Padovani. Domenico studied music in Corfu and possibly in Rome,⁴⁰ was a fellow, teacher and later artistic director of the Corfu Philharmonic Society, and served as “maestro di capella” and organist in Corfu’s catholic church. His works were publicly praised by Rossini,⁴¹ he was decorated with the Cross of St. Silvester by Pope Pius IX⁴² and was also given the honorary title of “maestro filarmonico esercente” of the Accademia di Santa Caecilia of Rome.⁴³ When Fogacci reached Corfu, Domenico was a teenager, but Domenico’s father became acquainted with him. Girolamo also took part in the 1831 poetry contest, both of them wrote articles for the governmental *Gazzetta*, and Girolamo participated in the compilation and publication of *Album Jonio*.⁴⁴ Moreover voyages by the two Padovanis to Ancona in 1842 and 1847 could have been connected to their relations with Fogacci.⁴⁵

In any case, the latter seems to have been among the regular visitors to the

⁴⁰ Padovani moved to Rome in the early 1830s after his training in Corfu in order to further develop his general education, Deviazis, ‘Ellines Kallitehnes: [...]’, *op. cit.* His potential musical studies do not seem to have been the main reason for Padovani’s presence in Rome.

⁴¹ Deviazis, ‘Ellines Kallitehnes: [...]’, *op. cit.*

⁴² di Mento, *Nei solenni funerali* [...], *op. cit.*

⁴³ Deviazis, ‘Ellines Kallitehnes: [...]’, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ Indicatively, Padovani, Girolamo ‘Allocuzione del direttore delle Scuole Secondarie agli studenti di Corfu’. *Album Jonio* 35 (17.11.1841), 353-355. See also, Kostas Dafnis (ed.), ‘L. Vrokinis: Erga’ [Lavrentios Vrokinis: Works], *Kerkiraika Chronika* [Annals of Corfu] XVII (Corfu, 1972), 240, regarding Girolamo Padovani’s participation in the contest and his relation to *Album Jonio*.

⁴⁵ G.S.A. / C, Passports 5021 (28.7.1842) and 5238 (21.7.1847).

Padovani house, and young Domenico must have been familiar with Fogacci's ideas. If nothing else, Padovani made his debut as composer in the theatre of Corfu in 1838 setting a melodramatic scene by Fogacci entitled *La delevitta*, which the next year was also performed in Rome.⁴⁶ It was on the occasion of the latter performance that Padovani was nominated a member and honorary "maestro filarmonico essercente". Fogacci also promoted the musical activities of the young composer.⁴⁷ Apart from these, Domenico Padovani had also family bonds with Fogacci, since in April 1843 the composer became the godfather of the Anconetan's son.⁴⁸

Domenico Padovani's connection with Fogacci's thought is made clearer in the way that the composer responded musically in both of the above-mentioned operatic works. Despite Fogacci's manifesto being omitted in *Dirce's* 1857 libretto,⁴⁹ Padovani clearly follows the aesthetic objectives that the writer proposed in 1843 and at the same time demonstrates a very good understanding of music and its use within an operatic setting. More precisely, the work cannot be divided into "numbers" following the conventional development of "number opera". On the contrary, there are "uninterrupted transitions from recitative to arioso or aria",⁵⁰ despite the fact that it remains true to the tradition that depicts even the most dramatic events in the major mode.

In *Il ciarlatano*, Padovani's response to Fogacci's philosophy is made more obvious, since the work again consists of a continuous recitative interrupted by brief arioso sections. The stage timing is again extremely balanced and demonstrates the composer's aptitude for operatic composition, despite the fact that the brief duration of the work imposes a restricted musical treatment. However, Padovani does not move away from what can be described as "classical harmonic language" and such an approach further supports the dramatic text. Moreover, already in the brief *sinfonia* of the work, Padovani distances himself from "pompous music". In this sense, the composer follows once more the aesthetic views of Fogacci. On the other hand,

⁴⁶ Deviazis, 'Ellines Kallitehnes: [...]', *op. cit.* It is very surprising how Padovani's composition was allowed to be presented in a Roman theatre, given that Fogacci was a well-known activist against the papal authorities.

⁴⁷ «Poesie. *La Rondine / La Celebrità*», *Album Jonio* II/XXIV (8.12.1842), 193. The article presents the poems of another Italian exiled patriot, Francesco Orioli, and refers explicitly to Padovani's setting to music of *La Rondine*.

⁴⁸ According to the Registers of the Catholic Archdiocese of Corfu.

⁴⁹ *Dirce, figlia di Aristodemo* (Corfu, Tipografia del Goeverno, 1857) in the *Librettos Collection of the Corfu Reading Society*.

⁵⁰ Leotsakos, 'Padovanis, Domenikos', *op. cit.*, xviii, 876–877.

Padovani wrote in the late 1830s two one-movement *sinfonias* for orchestra, which demonstrate his ability to compose in larger musical forms. In fact, *Dirce*, as a full-scale opera, begins with a conventional operatic *sinfonia*.⁵¹ Nevertheless, it should also be underlined that both operas (and especially *Il ciarlatano*) were products of the local musical conditions of mid-nineteenth century Corfu and clearly reflect the need to compromise artistic originality within local demands. Unfortunately, there is no evidence yet regarding the reception of these works by Corfu's audience, something that would be of great interest.

A question that remains to be answered is how Fogacci responded to the operatic creations of Domenico Padovani. *Il ciarlatano* was presented during Fogacci's stay in Corfu, but there are no comments or critiques, not even in the *Gazzetta*, to which the librettist contributed. In 1857, the year of *Dirce*'s performance, Fogacci had been in Italy for over a decade. Nonetheless, on 24.2.1857, only a few days after the premiere of the opera, Fogacci wrote a poem for Isabella Galetti,⁵² who was the protagonist in *Dirce*'s premiere. This poem was sent to the composer Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros (Niccolò Calichiopulo Manzano). Whether this poem means that Fogacci was present at the premiere or was informed about it in Ancona, remains to be researched. It is true that beside the date, in the aforementioned poem there is an indication marking Corfu as the place of its creation. This is a strong indication that Fogacci might have been present in *Dirce*'s premiere. Nevertheless, given the inaccuracies that can be observed in other sources of the Mantzaros's archive, this matter remains to be clarified.⁵³

However, one additional issue that arises from the above is the relation that Fogacci had with Mantzaros (1795–1872), the most influential figure in the musical life of Corfu during nineteenth century, as well as an official of the Ionian administration during the British rule.⁵⁴ Mantzaros, an aristocrat who remained

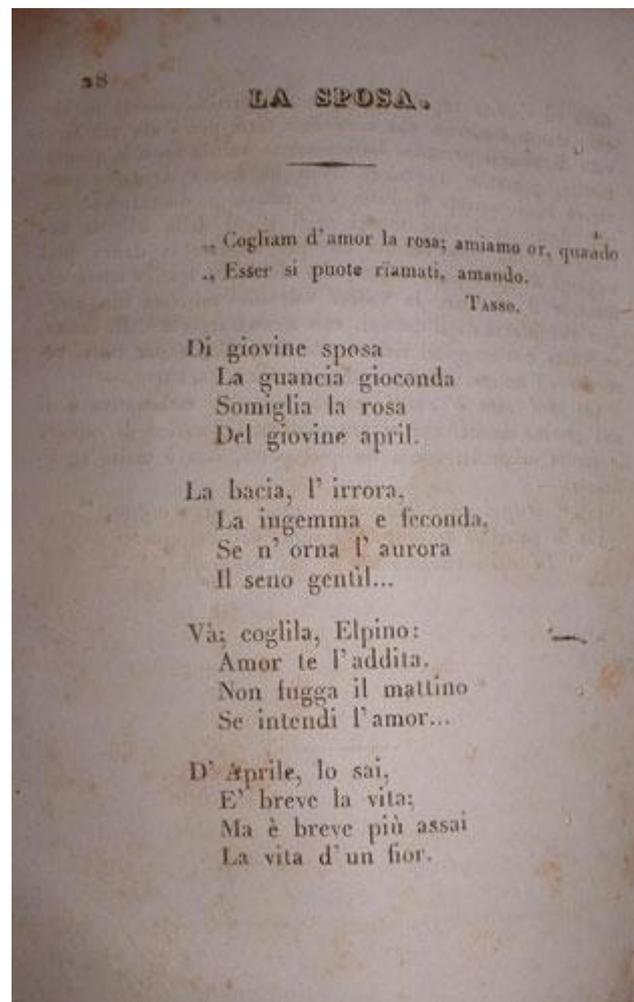
⁵¹ The score of this work belongs to the Archive of the Hellenic Radio-Television.

⁵² The poem is preserved in the Benaki Museum (Athens), Nikolaos Halikiopoulos Mantzaros Archive, 505/10/66 (24.2.1857). Isabella Galletti Gianoli was the pseudonym for Filomena Rustighelli (1835–1901), a singer who became famous for her vocal abilities, especially between 1860–1875. She was considered as ideal singer for *La Favorita*, but she also had in her repertoire operas such as *Vittore Pisani*, *Norma* or *Il trovatore*. See, Lamberto Trezzini (ed), *Due secoli di vita musicale: Storia del Teatro Comunale di Bologna* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1987) and Alfredo Grandini, *Cronache del Teatro Petrarca di Arezzo: Il primo ciquantennio (1833–1882)* (Firenze: Olschki, 1995), 280.

⁵³ Fogacci's name is not present in the existing arrivals and departures lists of Corfu's port that are currently held in the G.S.A. / C.

⁵⁴ For an overview of Mantzaros's creative output, see Kardamis, Kostas. 'From popular to esoteric: Nikolaos Mantzaros and the development of his career as composer'. *Nineteenth-Century*

throughout his life a *dilettante* composer, was the person who set the foundation for the musical development of Ionian Islands in nineteenth century, and the composer, of the first art music works in Greek language. He was a leading teacher of music theory and composition, teacher of almost all the composers of the Greek *ottocento* (including Padovani), and a philosopher as well. The relations of Fogacci to Mantzaros was not new in 1857, as already by 1836 the Corfiot composer set to music Fogacci's poem *La sposa* dedicating the composition to the marriage of Marianna Vraila, wife of another leading personality of Corfu, the politician and philosopher Petros Vrailas Armenis.⁵⁵



5a. The initial verses of Fogacci's *La Sposa*.
Le muse: Miscellanea di letteratura e di morale (Corfu, 1843)

Music Review 8 (2011), 101-126.

⁵⁵ Fogacci's *La sposa* was published in 1834 [*L'ape: Giornale di varietà letterarie e morali* IV (Primo Trimestre), June 1834, 82]. It was republished in 1843 in *Le Muse* [...], op. cit, 28. Mantzaros's setting, without any reference to its poet, is preserved in the Benaki Museum, Mantzaros



5b. The opening bars of Mantzaros's sett *La Sposa*.
The Benaki Museum (Athens), Nikolaos Mantzaros Archive

Both Vrailas (as President) and Mantzaros (as Artistic Director) were heavily involved in the activities of the 1840-founded Corfu Philharmonic Society, to which Fogacci was a subscriber-contributor.⁵⁶ Mantzaros also published an obituary for his student and the first bandmaster of the Philharmonic, Antonios Liberalis, in Fogacci's *Album Jonio*⁵⁷ and he also was one of its subscribers. Moreover, Mantzaros and Fogacci remained in correspondance after Fogacci's return to Italy.⁵⁸ The fact that Mantzaros chose to follow a through-composed form for his setting of Fogacci's *La sposa*, instead of a strophic one, may be an indication that he indirectly responded to Fogacci's thoughts. This may also have been combined with the later thoughts of

Archive 505/3/6 under the title *Cavatina di giovine sposa*.

⁵⁶ This is one more unknown aspect of Fogacci's musical interests. The Italian patriot was admitted as "contributor" of the Philharmonic Society in 20.9.1841 (Corfu Philharmonic Society / Administrative Archive, Assembly Proceedings 2, n.63) and he retained this capacity until 26.10.1843 (Corfu Philharmonic Society / Administrative Archive, Assembly Proceedings 3, n.226). Other archival material of the Society reveals that Fogacci was renting a piano to the Philharmonic. Fogacci was very supportive to the causes of the Society as is demonstrated via the projection of its activities in *Album Jonio*.

⁵⁷ Nicolò Calichiopulo Manzano, «Necrologia Biografica», *Album Jonio*, Appendice I/LII (16.1.1842), 417-418.

⁵⁸ Apart from the 1857 poem to Galletti, three letters from Fogacci to Mantzaros exist in the National Library of Greece (Athens), Motsenigian Archive, 640, A5, all from Ancona, dated 20.10.1853, 7.5.1857, 30.9.1857. In the latter, Fogacci makes an explicit reference to Maria Garcia Malibran.

Tommaseo for Mantzaros and the use of music in relation to the verse.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, Mantzaros showed a particular preference to through-composed songs from his early compositions.

To conclude, it is clear that Severiano Fogacci's music-related activities during his self-exile in Corfu were multifarious and, at least for the musical history of the Ionian Islands, of extreme importance. His activities in the theatre, as journalist and writer of theoretical texts and as a prospective impresario reveal a serious interest in theatrical matters, something he wishes to share both with his compatriots and the Corfiot and British intelligentsia. As a writer, Fogacci is responsible for the libretto of two operatic works, both by Domenico Padovani, which constitute important aspects of the history of melodrama in Greece. Furthermore, the case of Mantzaros's setting of Fogacci's poetry might be the foundation that will lead to the discovery of other similar works by composers of the Ionian Islands, since it seems that Fogacci was popular among the literary circles of Corfu. Of particular interest, finally, are Fogacci's thoughts on the relation between poetry and music, a fascinating subject even in this day. His thoughts, despite not being those of a professional composer, originate from a writer who knew music well, and thus offer a revealing insight into the cultural common ground between Italy and the Ionians in the nineteenth century, as well as reinforcing us about the aesthetic principles of the early nineteenth century.

⁵⁹ Tommaseo, *Bellezza e civiltà*, op. cit, 110. Mantzaros seems to have been well-known in mid-nineteenth-century Italy, since Tommaseo makes explicit reference only to him and his ideas on the relation of poetry and music at the very beginning of the section of the book on music.