

*OPERA
AND THE
GREEK WORLD
DURING THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY*



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2019



IONIAN UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC
HELLENIC MUSIC RESEARCH LAB



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ΒΡΑΒΕΙΟ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ
CORFU PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY

OPERA

AND THE GREEK WORLD

DURING THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

CORFU 2019

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CONTENTS

<i>Introduction</i>	1
Penelope Avouri, <i>The reception of opera performances at Zakynthos, in 1880: social and financial parameters</i>	3
Spiros Deligiannopoulos, <i>The operas of Giuseppe Verdi as being reflected in the piano works of Pavlos Carrer</i>	19
Stanimira Dermendzhieva, <i>The contribution of the Hellenic diaspora to the formation of the Russian opera in the 19th and the early 20th century</i>	26
Κωνσταντζα Γεωργακάκη, <i>Ο θίασος της Alice Reine στο θέατρο Φαλήρου. Η γαλλική «Αναγέννηση» στη φαληρική σκηνή</i>	42
Eleni Georgiou, <i>Reflections of the philhellenic spirit in the Italian music theatre of the 19th century and the particular case of Rossini</i>	60
Stamatia Gerothanasi, <i>Flora mirabilis by Spyridon Samaras: A cognitive approach on selected parts of the libretto</i>	68
Κωνσταντίνα Καρακώστα, Νικόλαος Δούμπας. <i>Σκιαγραφώντας έναν φιλόμουνσο μαικήνα</i>	80
Κώστας Καρασαββίδης, <i>Filippo Termanini: Μια πρώιμη πρόσληψη των Μυλωνάδων στην Κέρκυρα (1836)</i>	95
Kostas Kardamis, <i>Domenikos Padovás: a “lesser” of an anniversary</i>	105
Eleni M. Kokkinomilioti, <i>Spiro Samaras’ career on the stages of Europe as a learning scenario incorporating sociopolitical, historical and cultural events</i>	119
Georgia Kondyli, <i>The opera in Smyrna in the 19th century according to the Greek-Smyrnian press</i>	136
Stella Kourmpa, <i>Hermoupolis, the lost Atlantis of our musical culture</i>	142
Dionysios – Ioannis Kyriakoulis, <i>The Life and Works of Georgios Sklavos</i>	148
Małgorzata Lisecka, <i>The feminine art? On reinterpretation of opéra comique genre in Camille Saint-Saëns’s Phryné (1893)</i>	167
Αύρα Ξεπαπαδάκου, <i>«Εκεί, στη Σαμαρκάνδη». Ευρωπαϊκοί περιπλανώμενοι λυρικοί θίασοι στην κοντινή και μακρινή Ανατολή</i>	174
Κωνσταντίνος Γ. Σαμπάνης, <i>Η κερκυραϊκή σαιζόν όπερας 1888-1889</i>	184
Andrea Sessa, <i>The musical life in Greece in the 19th century in the pages of the Gazzetta Musicale di Milano (1842-1902)</i>	205
Summaries - Contributors	213

INTRODUCTION

2017 marked for opera in Greece four anniversaries: the centenary since the passing of Spiros Samaras (1861-1917), the bicentenary since the birth of two important Greek opera composers, Spiridon Xyndas (1817-1896) and Domenikos Padovàs (1817-1892), as well as the 150 years since the premiere of the opera *O ypopsifios* [The Parliamentary Candidate] (1867, music by Xyndas and libretto by Ioannis Rinopoulos), which was both the first full-scale opera in Greek and the pivotal point for the emergence of opera in Greek language. Actually, this opera was revived by the Corfu Philharmonic Society in November 2017 in its original version honouring thus both the birth of its composer and the anniversary of its premiere.

The Hellenic Music Research Lab of the Music Department of the Ionian University and Corfu Philharmonic Society on the occasion of the aforementioned anniversaries organized the international conference entitled *Opera and the Greek World during Nineteenth Century*, which took place in Corfu, Greece, on 17, 18 and 19 November 2017.

Corfu, the seat of the Ionian University, was the birthplace of the three aforementioned composers. The San Giacomo theatre of Corfu, the earliest theatrical stage of the region, hosted opera performances already since 1733, contributing decisively to the dissemination of opera within the Greek world during 19th century. Moreover, Xyndas, Padovàs and Samaras presented in the same theatre their operas. Xyndas in 1840 was also one of the initial founders and professors of the Corfu Philharmonic Society and he dedicated to it certain of his operas. Padovàs also taught harmony and music theory in the Philharmonic, in 1857 he dedicated to it his opera *Dirce* and since 1884 he was appointed the Society's artistic director. Samaras, a student of Xyndas during his early music training, had multiple connections with the Philharmonic Society and had been its honorary artistic director since 1889.

Given the above, the conference was not confined solely to the lives and the works of the aforementioned composers, but focused on matters regarding the place, the reception, the importance and the formative factors of the operatic activity within the Greek world during the "long nineteenth century". This volume includes sixteen selected contributions covering areas such diverse as opera in the Ionian Islands, Athens and the Greek diaspora, analytical approaches and matters of reception both in Greece and abroad, and offers to the readers a wealth of information regarding operatic activity in such places as Ermoupolis (Syros) and Smyrna, as well as aspects of the operatic "micro-history" of the Greek world and its place in the broader operatic markets.

Most of the texts of this volume are in English, but for those that are in Greek, extended abstracts can be found in the "Summaries" section.

We wish you a pleasant reading in a geographical and cultural area full of revealing cases and unknown creative assimilations.

Spiros Padovàs (CPS), Haris Xanthoudakis (HMRL)

The reception of opera performances at Zakynthos, in 1880: social and financial parameters*

Penelope Avouri

“Zakynthos, 1880. Almost all the island has already ‘financially collapsed spectacularly’. There are, of course, still some rich people, but rare, as rare as the white elephant of Siam. The rest of the ‘gentlefolk’ are divided between the ‘land owners’ and the ‘paupers’. The first ones still own some land that despite cultivating it in an amateurish way, they ‘manage to survive’. The second group, not even having this land to resort to, just manage to make a living... on what only a Zakynthian god knows how! Usually by working in a temporary municipal or state position granted to them by Lomvardos or Romas”.¹

The writer of “Periplus”, who signs the chronicle, refers to Spyridonas Romas,² elected as a member of Parliament in 1879, when the ‘Romani (the name deriving from the surname) party was finally founded and organized’, and to Konstantinos Lomvardos, a pioneer of the struggle for the union of the Ionian islands with Greece. The Zakynthians knew all too well what they ‘owed’ to their MPs and thus the couplet: “We see you as the parasites see Romas, As the editors of newspaper *Agon* see Bastia.”³

The above was found in the ‘Satire’ *Στην Ενεργητική της Μπόνευσ*⁴ (Stin Evergetiki tis Bonney), the charity performance given for the benefit of Bonney, by Ioannis Tsakasianos, a poignant monologue, which we will often mention further down.

Despite the financial crisis that affected Zakynthos in 1880 three newspapers were published: *Ελπίς* (*Elpis*, ‘A Social and Judiciary Newspaper’, published by the lawyer Dionysios Someritis,⁵ who in the “paper’s inaugural statement” claims that:

“Every political struggle proves to be worthless.... the contribution and support of the Press has ended up offering to politicians only pure flattery, which cannot be easily offered by people who follow a selfish path in life and try to only satisfy their personal interests”, so “bringing social benefit back has become the whole responsibility of private initiative that can only benefit others by distancing itself from politics in order to deal with the most important social matters”.⁶

Thus, the newspaper *Elpis* publishes articles concerning social matters and legal papers, that is, informing its readers about the way the charity school for the children of the poor operates constituting as such “the ludicrous hope [for education] of the lower social classes”.

* I would like to thank Mr. Spiros Milonas who gave me access to his personal archive making this study possible.

¹ Dionisios Romas, “Ta Zakynthina” (concerning Zakynthian events), Athens: *Estia*, 2004, p. 84.

² About Spyridonas Romas see “Spyridon Romas”. *Elpis* 5.7.1881, p.1-2 and Dionisios D. Stefanou, “A Eulogy by Spyridonos Roma” *Elpis* 9.7.1881, p. 1-4.

³ A nickname of Lomvardos family, Leonidas Zois, *A dictionary of Zakynthian history and folklore*, Section A', Ethniko Typografeio, 1963, p. 447.

⁴ Ioannis Tsakasianos, *Collected works*, Athens: Narkissos, 1926, p. 265-268.

⁵ For Someritis see: Zois, as before, p. 630 – 631.

⁶ Dionisios Someritis, “The newspaper programme”, *Elpis*, 22.1.1875, p. 1.

The newspaper *Αγών* (*Agon*), “A newspaper about politics and the news”, having as editors the fervent supporters of the Lombardian party, who from the very first issue of the newspaper make their views explicit by describing in two columns how the arrival of the “popular” member of Parliament Konstantinos Lomvardos was greeted with cannonades and loud peals and “wherever he passed through, he was sprinkled with flowers and candies, and was being cheered enthusiastically”.⁷

Finally, the newspaper *Ζάκυνθος* (*Zakynthos*), affiliated to the “patriotic course” of the “distinguished”, “well-loved” and “charming” MP Spyridon Romas, expresses his opposition against Lomvardos inside the Parliament by using a “grave and imposing voice”. It discusses issues that in the winter of 1879-1880 involve the restoration of public order (cracking down on people responsible for the increase in the outbreak of robberies and murders that upsets the peaceful life of the island’s inhabitants), the reinstatement of the pawnshop operation and the contribution of the Credit Bank of Athens to “our plagued by poverty society”.⁸

It was a harsh winter. The early colonial and late postcolonial 19th century differentiated the feudal financial and social character of Zakynthos of the previous centuries. At the beginning of the 19th century, the British High Commission abolishing by law the inheritance trusts led the upper class to self-indulgence and lavishness; at the same time the promotion of Patras as the main port of transit for the trade of raisin, after the middle of the century, resulted initially in the progressive financial destruction of a large part of the upper class and finally of the lower social classes.⁹

The editor of *Elpis* commented at the beginning of the winter:

“Beggary started anew causing unbearable discomfort to people and done by healthy people perfectly strong enough to work, the Police ought to administer the law so as to suppress this plague, and also to banish non-local beggars”.¹⁰

Someritis uses *Elpis* to write an article asking for police intervention: “Everyday our fellow citizens are exasperated by people begging, and actually by children and men able to work, because of the inexcusable neglect of the authorities towards the beggars...”.¹¹

At the same time Tsakasianos makes the following biting comment:

“There are lies that people who love work do not find one
and that our country is starving...
There are lies that beggary is swelling like a wave
and poverty drives honesty to shame.”

Various newspaper articles all too often mention the escalating criminality, whereas Someritis writes in the newspaper “*Elpis*”:

⁷ “Programme”, *Agon* 29.11.1873, pp. 3-4.

⁸ “Diafora” (Miscellanea), *Zakynthos* 29.2.1880, p. 2.

⁹ For the abolition of the feudal inheritance rights at the Ionian Islands see: Katerina P. Bregianni, *Ionian State, 1814 – 1864. Institutions and social structure*, Athens: The Academy of Athens, 2017, p. 88- 94, where the relevant bibliography is cited.

¹⁰ “Chronicles” (Xronika), *Elpis* 16.12.1879, p. 3.

¹¹ “Chronicles”, *Elpis* 26.2.1880, p. 3.

“Until recently, this unfortunate island has witnessed exasperatedly the incidents of daily attempted robberies without the authorities taking any necessary measures to reduce, or rather deter this particular crime; these days though, another uncivilized action has been added, that of breaking the street lights and the drinking fountains of the city”.¹²

The newspaper *Agon* directly blames the police authorities for their ineffectiveness:

“We should draw the attention of the responsible Authorities towards the night robberies. There have been two attempts at a shop in the square of the town and another one next at St Paul’s church. It is advisable that the shop owners should take the appropriate precautions against any possible damage”.¹³

The raisin production, after the heavy hailstorm that happened at the beginning of 1879, had been reduced to the ¼ of the previous years. The pawn shop suffered a severe deficit – there had been discussions on that matter at the Parliament – and had thus closed its doors while the largest part of the population suffered from lack of stable goods.

Tsakasianos commenting on the financial state of the island’s inhabitants says: “We all know which doors to knock,¹⁴ Banks and Bolis.”¹⁵

Elpis just before Christmas insists on reopening the Pawn Shop: ¹⁶ “We have been asked by many poor families to publish something in order to press the mayor to open the pawn shop, at least for a few days because of Christmas celebrations”.

As the days pass Someritis becomes harsher in his criticism: “The merciful action of the Pawn Shop that had assumed the role of protecting any form of speculation was transferred by the municipality to the Israeli Synagogue where, during these difficult days, had been treated unwelcomingly. The Mayor, not overwhelmed by this desperate situation, denied opening, at least for a few days, the doors of this charitable institution”!¹⁷

Despite the fact that the people of the island were still facing economic hardships, at the beginning of September “the economic instability of the area was mitigated by an upturn in the crisis because of the rising prices in selling raisins and the fact that they had managed to sell large quantities; as a result much cash was available everywhere in the island”.¹⁸ The theatre owner το θεατρο είναι δημοτικο and producer Dionysios Mondinos, having the consent of the Municipal Authorities, formed in Naples a theatre company consisting of many members in order to stage operas during the winter season.

The intelligentsia and the newspapers covered extensively the subjects of the Theatrical Commission and the interventions of the Prefect in its work; they also discussed the use of the “half-renovated and moderately illuminated”¹⁹ newly built theatre Foskolos, the performances of operatic works, the synopses of the operas and whether the libretti had appropriate story-lines, the settings, the costumes, the quality of the singers voice and the stage presence of the artists, the

¹² “Chronicles”, *Elpis* 23.12.1879, p. 3.

¹³ “Miscellanea” (Diafora), *Agon* 29.01.1880, p. 1.

¹⁴ Santo Monte di Pietà, the Pawn Shop of Zakynthos.

¹⁵ Loan shark.

¹⁶ “Chronicles”, *Elpis* 16.12.1879, p. 3.

¹⁷ “Chronicles”, *Elpis* 23.12.1879, p. 2. See also *Agon* 13.1.1880, p. 1 -2 and 16.1.1880, pp. 1 – 4.

¹⁸ “Miscellanea”, *Agon* 16.10.1879, p. 4.

¹⁹ “Dimotika” (on the municipality), *Agon* 2.11.1879, p. 4.

charity performances and specifically the one they gave for the benefit of the needy and finally the decent or not reactions of the avid theatregoers inside and outside the theatre.

Interesting conclusions can be drawn from studying the relevant publications, not only for the way opera was received by the people of this small Ionian island, but also for the social and political standpoints, the contradictions and the confrontations between the authorities of the island, the audience and the columnists on matters related to theatrical activities which in reality reflected the difficult economic state of the Zakynthians.

As soon as the performances started political confrontations appear on the newspapers:

"The Prefect seemed to be wanting to impede the opening of the theatre. By sending an official document to the Mayor he wanted to know whether the Mayor and the theatre producer had made a deal beforehand. [...] whether the performed operas were morally inept and if the actors were also decent. The Mayor answered, as he should, that [...] the theatre was created in order to stage performances, as far as the morality of the operas it is up to the police to decide, and as for the actors morality that cannot even be discussed [...] and why all these? Some people say the he has created a clique and wants to run down the mayor, that is Krevatas against Loukas Carrer. Others, that he persecutes the theatre because he wasn't given a free balcony. Some others that he does not know what he is doing".²⁰

Then the articles published focused on the appropriateness of the audience's behaviour: "We urge the authorities responsible to ban smoking in the corridors and the gallery where people are constantly smoking and so filling the theatre with smoke".²¹

Finally, social gossip started spreading: "The measure taken by the Theatre Committee, not to allow entrance to women during the rehearsals, was inappropriate, especially when a respectable and eminent Lady was reproached. We sincerely hope that the respectable members of the Committee will be cautious enough to avoid such complaints".²²

The estimable lady the editor of *Agon* mentions is in all probability Maria Loutze, the daughter of Ermanno Loutze and the wife of the Count Alvisio Mocenigo-Sale; the same lady might also concern the comment about the "huge bouquet of flowers consisting of two thousand and a half violets", offered to Avonia Bonney the day of the charity performance for her benefit "by a prominent for our island noble lady".²³ Moreover, the extract from the memoirs of Pavlos Carrer who comments on the "enthusiasm shown by various reputable Ladies who" ended up visiting the artist "in her hotel and dining with her", refers to the same lady.²⁴

Avonia Bonney, the protagonist of the company, was the only member of the theatrical troupe that drew the attention of the audience, the newspaper editors and columnists, and the publishers of folios.

At this point we should make a brief digression; Avonia Bonney Lichfield, whom the editors of *Agon* and *Elpis* presented as being "a mademoiselle of decent nature"²⁵ who stands out for her

²⁰ "Demotics", [concerning the municipality], *Agon* 2.11.1879, p.4, for the same matter see the extended article at "Elpis", Dionisios Someritis, "A legal view of the Theatre", *Elpis* 11.11.1879, p. 4-6.

²¹ "Chronicles", *Elpis* 2.12.1879, p. 4.

²² "Miscellanea", *Agon* 21.11.1879, p.4.

²³ "Chronicles", *Elpis* 3.2.1880, p. 4.

²⁴ Georgios Leotsakos, Pavlos Carrer. Memoirs and oeuvre. Athens: The Benaki Museum and Ionian University, Department of Music Studies, 2003, p. 148.

²⁵ "Miscellanea", *Agon* 21.11.1879, p.2.

“rare among theatre performers honesty and moral behaviour”, and for whom the composer Pavlos Carrer said that “she possessed excellent musical skills and a versatile voice”, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1854 and died in Boston on April 9th 1910.²⁶ The daughter of William Larrabee Bonney (1823 - 1896), who worked at the department store Jordan Marsh & Company in Boston²⁷ and Caroline Emma Jones Bonney (September 1838 – 27 February 1924), took the name of her mother’s sister and godmother²⁸ Avonia Stanhope Jones.

She belonged to a third generation family of actors. Her grandfather, the eccentric tragedian Count Johannes, was born in London as George Jones (1810 – 1879), immigrated to America with his parents at the age of six. He studied rhetoric with Daniel Webster and started appearing on stage in the Federal Street Theatre of Boston in 1828 and then, in 1829, at the Tremont theatre.²⁹ In 1831 he made his acting debut at the Bowery Theatre in New York, as a tragedian and melodrama actor, firstly in the role of Prince of Wales at Shakespeare’s *Henry IV* and then he was the protagonist in Charles Taylor’s melodrama *The Water Witch*, which became the greatest success of the season.³⁰ He played Romeo, when Juliet was the nine years old Alexina Fisher, and was the protagonist in the melodrama *Count Cagliostro*; which according to Thomas Bogar was what later led him to grant himself the courtesy title of “Count Joannes”. In addition, he was the first actor in the American Theatre to play the role of Advocate Carwin at the *Therese, or The Orphan of Geneva*, by Victor Ducange, and finally he took part in the much-discussed performance of *Richard III* as Richmond where the protagonist was the infamous J. B. Booth, known to have been drunk during the performance.³¹

The critics used to call him the “embodiment of male charm”, “handsome, daring, talented and skilful swordsman”, and praised his dynamic and active movements and noble image, “high forehead, expressive dark eyes, powerful chin, perfect white teeth, thick moustache, and fresh reddish complexion”.³² In 1831 he wrote together with Jonah Phillips the melodrama *Evil Eye*,³³ and received raving reviews for his performance as the protagonist Demetri.³⁴ He played for the first time the role of Hamlet at the National Theatre of New York in 1836, and at the same year at the Drury Lane in London. Capitalising on his trip to England he gave a lecture on Shakespeare, at the poet’s birthplace, Stratford-Upon-Avon.³⁵

In 1839 Jones was the general manager of Marshall Theatre in Richmond, Virginia, and some time later of the Avon Theatre, at Norfolk in the same State. In 1843 he published the “History of

²⁶ «Miss Avonia Bonney», *The New York Times* 10.4.1910

²⁷ <https://backbayhouses.org/241-beacon/> Accessed on 5.6.2017.

²⁸ *Melbourne Trove* 12.6.1879, p.2

²⁹ Yvonne Shafer, *The Changing American Theatre: Mainstream and Marginal, Past and Present*, Valencia: Biblioteca Javier Coy d’ estudis Nord-Americans, Universitat de Valencia 2002, p. 19.

³⁰ Thomas A. Bogar, *Thomas Hamblin and the Bowery Theatre: The New York Reign of “Blood and Thunder Melodramas*, USA: Palgrave Macmillan 2018, pp.70-71.

³¹ Tomas Allston-Brown, *A history of the New York stage: From the First Performance in 1732 to 1901*, Volume I, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1903, p. 107.

³² Bogar, as before, p. 69.

³³ *Evil Eye* (1831), a dramatization of a short story published in 1829 by Mary Shelley.

³⁴ Allston –Brown, as before, p. 107.

³⁵ Laurence Hutton, *Curiosities of the American stage*, New York: Harper & Brothers 1891, pp.318 – 321.

ancient America", and in 1844 the tragedy *Tecumseh*, the "biography of president Harison" and the lecture he gave on Shakespeare in Stratford-Upon-Avon.³⁶

He spent all the 1850s in Europe and when he returned to the USA in 1862 his eccentricity had acquired pathological dimensions. He called himself Jo(h)annes "Count of Sertorii of the Holy Roman Empire, First Commander of the Imperial Order of the Golden Spur and Count Palatine of the Lateran Palace", he daily wore his title regalia and long mantle, dyed his moustache pitch black and because he was getting bald, started wearing a wig with black curls.

Rumour had it that he bought nobility titles from a poor aristocrat who sold them cheaply in order to pay back his debts.³⁷ If someone doubted his nobility or ridiculed his increasing eccentricity or his deranged behaviour, Jones would sue them for slander.³⁸

His theatrical career gradually started declining while his eccentricity became more and more notorious. In 1878, the popular English comedian Edward Askew Sothern developed the central character of the farce *The Crushed Tragedian*, a satire of the pompous way actors of the old school interpreted a character in a melodramatic and pretentious expressive style, which after the civil war did not anymore satisfy the taste of American theatre audiences, by imitating Jones as closely as he could, even his thick moustache and melancholic manners reminding of Poe.³⁹ He died penniless on 30th September 1879 in a small room of West Side Hotel in New York.⁴⁰

Her grandmother Melinda Topping Jones, was born in Manhattan, New York, in 1815. She was a tall and impressive woman with a sweet and strong voice, who became a famous dramatic actress because, as the newspaper reviews described, her stage presence "enchanted" the audience. She was a woman of passionate temperament and undaunted courage given as such the nickname "The Man Flogger", because of her habit to use a whip made of crude leather to strike the actors and the stage crew whenever she disagreed.

She made her acting debut as Bianca in the tragedy *Fazio (The Italian Wife)*, by Henry Hart Milman, in the charity performance for the benefit of her husband, George Jones, in Broadway Theatre, New York, on 22nd February 1837. Her appearance was very successful and since then she started working as a professional actress becoming famous for her performance in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*.⁴¹

She was really good at portraying young male characters and became well known in the role of Romeo. The novelty of performing male roles was an opportunity for many actresses to show their talent, since the protagonists of Shakespeare's plays are mainly men, and reassured favourable reviews and large audiences to actresses that did not conform to the standards of femininity and beauty of the 19th century.

In 1850 Melinda Jones applied for a divorce from Richmond. Her husband, according to the court records, after compelling her to take up an actress career, and having two daughters with her,

³⁶ George Jones, *The history of ancient America, anterior to the time of Columbus: proving the identity of the aborigines with the Tyrians and Israelites; and the introduction of Christianity into the western hemisphere by the Apostle St. Thomas*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843.

³⁷ See Irving Browne, "Count Johannes", *The Green Bag* 8 (11), November 1896, p. 435

³⁸ For his involvement in legal disputes and litigation see Brown, as before, p. 436 - 438

³⁹ See Edward H. Sothern, *The Melancholy Tale of Me: My Remembrances*, New York: Cassell & Company 1917, pp.199-202 and Thomas Edgar Pemberton, *Lord Dundreary: a memoir of Edward Askew Sothern*, New York: The Knickerbocker press 1889, pp. 85 - 89.

⁴⁰ Allston -Brown, as before, p. 109.

⁴¹ Henry P. Phelps. *Players of a Century A Record of the Albany Stage, Including Notices of Prominent Actors Who Have Appeared in America*. New York: Joseph McDonough 1880, p. 237 - 238 and "The royal's downfall", *The Metropolitan* 10.7.1897, p. 14.

ran off in Europe deserting her. "Alone, without any help and hope for the future", Melinda faced her marriage as a "distressing obligation". After looking into her testimony the General Assembly announced that her divorce was final.⁴²

In the period 1870-1 she performed for the last time at the Globe Theatre and then she retired from the stage and involved herself in running an inn in Boston.

She died on December 12th 1875.⁴³

Her mother's sister Avonia Stanhope Jones Brooke,⁴⁴ was born in Richmond Virginia, on July 12th, 1839. She was a lady with a perfect body and face with lovely bright eyes. She became a popular actress and her performances attained her financial success.⁴⁵

She appeared for the first time on April 18th 1856, at the People's Theatre in Cincinnati, Ohio, in the role of Parthenia in the play *Ingomar, the barbarian* by Maria Lovell. In 1859 she became a member of the theatre troupe Maguire's Opera House in San Francisco, California, while at the end of the season she left for a tour in Australia. In 1861 she landed the role of Medea at the Drury Lane Theatre, London, and in 1863 she got married to the tragedian Gustavus Vaughn Brooke, in Liverpool.

In 1864, she performed for the first time at the Wallack's Theatre, New York, where she played Orelia at *The Winning Suit*, a play by Fillmore. Later on she appeared at the Tripler Hall in the role of Judith, in the first performance of the play *Judith, The Daughter* in the USA. On 23rd April 1864, she played Juliet together with Edwin Booth who played Romeo; she donated all the proceeds from the performance for the erection of Shakespeare's monument in Central Park.⁴⁶ Her last appearance on stage was in Manchester, in 1866, where she died in January 1867.

In 1869, when Avonia Bonney was fifteen, she travelled together with her mother to Milan, where she studied classical singing under the instruction of the composer (of religious music and chamber music) Giuseppe Gerli.⁴⁷

Her first appearance before an audience was in 1870, in Avellino, while in the summer of the same year she accompanied her mother in a short journey to Boston.⁴⁸

Next year (1871), escorted now by her grandmother Melinda Topping Jones, she debuted at Alessandria as Amina in the Opera *Sonnambula*⁴⁹ by Bellini, in the same year the composer Nicolò Celega dedicated his work "Le Educande di Sorrento di E. Usiglio: trascrizione per Pianoforte: op. 151" to her and her grandmother.⁵⁰ From 1872 to 1879⁵¹ she sang protagonist roles in the theatres of various Italian cities such as Turin and Naples. Her soprano career finished in Zakynthos on February 1880. She was 26 years old.

⁴² The Library of Virginia, Research Notes, Number 10, p. 2.

http://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/guides/rn10_womenhist.pdf

⁴³ T. Allston-Brown (1903), *A history of the New York stage, From the First Performance in 1732 to 1901*, New York : Dodd, Mead & Company, Volume A', p. 114 and Volume B', p. 272 – 273.

⁴⁴ *The Brisbane Courier* 12.6.1879, p.2.

⁴⁵ Allston-Brown, as before, Volume A', 1903, p. 458 – 459.

⁴⁶ Allston-Brown, as before, Volume B', 1903, p. 252 -253.

⁴⁷ "Untitled", *Cambridge Chronicle* 30.7.1870, p.1.

⁴⁸ *Buffalo Courier*, March 27.3.1870.

⁴⁹ *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana) 31.12.1871, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Nicolò Celega, *Le Educande di Sorrento di E. Usiglio: trascrizione per Pianoforte: op. 151*, Milano: F. Lucca 1871.

⁵¹ *Gazzetta piemontese* 25.2.1872, p.1, 27.2.1872, p. 1, 19.3.1872, p. 1, 23.3.1872, p. 2 and 24.3.1872 p. 2.

After the end of the season she returned to Boston,⁵² and from 1881 until the end of her life, in 1910, she taught classical singing⁵³, gave lectures and concerts.⁵⁴ In 1887 she got married to the glass-smith Willis Melvin Lichfield and her son Willis was born two years later, on May 1889.

In 1881 she published her work for the piano *Forget me not* dedicated it “to my dear friend, the countess Maria Lunzi”⁵⁵, in 1884 the work for the piano and voice *From the desert I come to thee*⁵⁶, and in 1886 the piano transcription of the Ballad *Bonny Wee thing*.⁵⁷

Let us now return to Zakyntos where we see that the newspapers reviews on the theatre group were mainly positive, even raving. The columnists not only wrote reviews about the music and the performance, but also extensively reported on how the artists reacted to the offensive behaviour of part of the audience. For example, they commented on the reaction of the replacement prima donna Adela Galanti, who “when raphanides,” that is wild radish were thrown to her “as if it was an elegant bouquet”, she was appalled and offended for this despicable behaviour.⁵⁸

The mezzo-soprano Giovana Veri Grillo and the soprano Avonia Bonney had also received a fair amount of cowardly insults: “we believe that this behaviour is distasteful”, especially for people who relish themselves by throwing on stage “during the moment the soprano or the mezzo-soprano sing, dimes, embalmed fish and eggs”, or expressing their disapproval of the opera and the singers by shouting and whistling. “Why all these?” questions the editor of the newspaper *Zakyntos*. And answers: “because both these singers did not consent to erotic suggestions and friendly visits of the people who berated their performance.”⁵⁹

The Art director of Elpis, Georgios Sfikas, suggested a solution: “We are advising the people responsible for the theatre [...] to place a carpet on the stage to deaden the sound made by the coins thrown by people deprived of senses and heart”.⁶⁰ Tsakasianos also advises his fellow countrymen:

“It is time you showed you are the guardians of everything good,
and thus Art, beauty and morality are here appreciated.”

At the same time though he offers his own version:

“They say that she drove crazy enough lonely men
Three merchants, one doctor and five goldsmiths.”

According to newspapers’ articles,⁶¹ Bonney’s behaviour towards one editor was rather titillating as well.

“A funny trial was discussed the day before, Tuesday, in the local County Court. Theatre producer and manager Mr Mondinos summoned the lawyer Mr Dionisios Someritis to pay ten new drachmas for an entrance ticket to the theatre. Mr Someritis denied paying because he claimed that it was with the

⁵² Avonia Bonney, *Forget me not; Valzer*, Boston: Oliver Ditson 1881.

⁵³ Boston Symphony Orchestra, *Programme*, Boston 1882.

<https://archive.org/details/programmevolume00orchgoog>

⁵⁴ Boston Evening Transcript - Nov 10, 1886

⁵⁵ Bonney, as before, p.1.

⁵⁶ Avonia Bonney, *From the desert I come to thee*, Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co. 1884.

⁵⁷ *The News* (Frederick, Maryland) 8.6.1886, p. 3.

⁵⁸ “Miscellanea”, *Zakyntos* 15.11.1879, p.2.

⁵⁹ “Miscellanea”, *Zakyntos* 8.12.1879, p. 3.

⁶⁰ “Theatre news”, *Elpis* 2.12.1879, p.4.

⁶¹ “Miscellanea”, *Agon* 13.1.1880, p.4.

producer's complicity that they threw pennies on stage against Mrs Bonney. Mondinos presented the case in the County Case, saying among others, that "Mr Somerities is free to worship as much as he wants the Muses and Apollo, to indulge himself in passionate unrestrained manners when Mrs Bonney sings, and he also said, allow himself to become an idolater; if other members of the audience upset his passionate daydreaming, it is not the problem of the management, as it is not its duty to pursue the people throwing coins onto the stage".

It is to understand that the statement of the theatre producer Dionysios Mondinos, resulted in "creating a hilarious atmosphere apparent on the faces of all present".

The audience is increasingly expressing its love and admiration towards the prima donna throughout the season, culminating at Christmas and becoming rather hysterical during the day of the charity performance. The editor of "Elpis", addressing the authorities, advises them "to prevent people from bringing in the theatre large bouquets and sweets for the actresses as they are in danger of blinding their expressive eyes".⁶²

Newspaper columns claim that:

"Mrs Bonney adorns our Theatre. Her attitude, her appearance, her passion and the sweetness of her voice.... which as such capture the hearts of the audience, who motionless focusing their eyes on the stage experience a divine melodiousness...her singing quality and her vocal range, from high notes to low notes, enchant the audience",⁶³

and they also pinpoint that the audience "is impatiently waiting to listen again to their beloved singer, the mellifluous soprano Avonia Bonney, who can elevate the mind and soothe the heart".⁶⁴

Tsakasianos writes about that:

"You made us recall the nightingale of Lykoudi,
the mayhem at Glastona, the show of Garzoni!"

It is thus interesting to make a factual analysis of the previous couplet: "He compared the voice of Mrs Bonney with the quick singing of a nightingale, especially the moment she was singing and moving her body in the last part of Krespinos duet, agile as a bird crossing gracefully the stage",⁶⁵ as the editor of "Elpis" mentions in his review on Bonney's performance as Lucia di Lammermoor, and apparently the area of Lykoudi attracted many dulcet nightingales!

Moreover, when Henry William Edward Gladstone, the temporary Consul General, who was sent from England in order to "normalise the situation at the Ionian islands", and who "played an important role in the unification of the Ionian islands with Greece", visited Zakynthos on 3rd December 1858, he "received an enthusiastic reception".⁶⁶ During this period the "people of the island expressing their pride on the unification had raised Greek flags in their balconies, laid carpets, and placed flower pots on the walls of workshops, social clubs and shops. They also

⁶² "Theatre news", *Elpis* 2.12.1879, p.4.

⁶³ "Miscellanea", *Agon* 21.11.1879, p.2.

⁶⁴ «Theatre news», *Agon* 9.11.1879, p.4.

⁶⁵ «Chronicles», *Elpis* 16.12.1879, p.3.

⁶⁶ Zois, as before, p.135 – 136.

attached posters on the walls, [...] printing on them Hoorays for the Unification. During the night the entire city was illuminated".⁶⁷

Finally the case of the "entrance" of Garzonis, the last protoiereus of Zakynthos who, when the Church of the island became a metropolis, was ordained the island's first Metropolitan bishop, is described by the historian Panagiotis Hiotis⁶⁸ and inspired Tsakasianos' contemporary anonymous popular Zakynthian muse.

"What about what happened to Garzonis, in his ordination?
The First Zakyntian Bishop that Zante saw.
The stir he caused, the mocking he received wherever he appeared.
Banners, jordan almonds and flowers and pigeons."⁶⁹

The financial recession that plagued Zakynthos did not seem to daunt the avid theatre audience that went to great expenses in order to celebrate together with the "mellifluous" prima donna at Christmas.

"Last Thursday the Christmas tree was brought on stage as a gesture to miss Bonney [...] on every branch of the tree there were hanging elegant gifts sent by various local families, as a token of their appreciation for her abilities".⁷⁰

Besides, as the editor of "Elpis" writes:

"A gentleman who watched that tragic opera (*Lucia di Lammermoor*) in a theatre in London by the acclaimed Patti, confirmed, that it was impossible to choose between the two performances, in particular towards the end of the first act".⁷¹

"Time has come to enlighten every European
who says that the best voice is that missus Patti!⁷²
Come on you lithe "Elpis", and you, darling "Agon"
tell us, isn't it true that our lovely Bonney

⁶⁷ Panagiotis Hiotis, *A History of the Ionian State, from its advent to the unification (years 1815 - 1864)*, Zakynthos: Eptanisos Printer's, 1874, p. 306-307.

⁶⁸ "During the day his entrance procession [ingress] and ordination happened, all the people [...] wanted to follow to show their prominence. The windows of the houses [...] throughout the streets, were covered with red carpets, and decorated with flowers, icons, and printed hymns. The church bells were ringing, and flags were raised on the bell towers. Bread, candies, and money, a large amount of high value coins and an even larger of small change, were being thrown from the windows to the crowds underneath. At the head of the procession there were the banners of the trade unions, as if in a litany. Behind them the banners of the Episcopacy, the pastoral rod and the High Priest's symbol, and then Eftaxias dressed in the common green alb, wearing on his head a green kalimavkion carrying the silver episcopacy emblem. Soldiers were marching in lines while military music was being played. Finally, priests arrived from towns and villages wearing colourful canonicals and holding lighted candles". Panagiotis Hiotis, *Eptanisian Historical Accounts*, Zakynthos : "Phoskolos" Printer's, 1887, p. 176-177.

⁶⁹ Ntinis Konomos, *Zakynthos Five Hundred Years (1478-1978)*, *Collections of Folklore materials and the contribution of Andreas Gaitas*, Volume VI, Athens 1992, pp. 59-60

⁷⁰ "Chronicles", *Elpis* 30.12.1879, p.4

⁷¹ "Chronicles" *Elpis* 18.11.1879, p.4

⁷² The soprano Adela Juana Maria Patti.

Patti is so petty that reaches only Bonney's knee."

This is how Tsakasianos criticises scornfully the "misleading and liar" music critic who further down mentions the "passionate" worship the audience exhibits to the diva:

"You are for us a goddess, frenzy and enchantment,
today we run for you collecting offerings and carrying candles." ⁷³

He also describes Bonney's charity performance vividly, copying nearly word perfect the articles of the local newspapers:

"It is time you also showed your feelings,
Your studies, colleges, wealth and brains,
Set fire to your buffets, you the very rich,
So people can treat you as landlords!⁷⁴
And as for you that do not have cash because of business matters,
Just borrow and pay so as not to embarrass yourselves.
Take bracelets, chains,⁷⁵ watches, rings,
Earrings, brooches, medallions, jewellery,
and throw them proudly and elegantly on the plate, just to brag and boast,
so she does not call Zakynthos an island without a penny."

"Expensive gifts were brought by respectable families of our country where the total collected amount reflected the abilities of the beneficiary", writes "Elpis"⁷⁶ among others. "On Thursday Bonney gave the charity performance and she raised 3000 drachmas, together with all the other valuable objects they threw on stage",⁷⁷

Dionysios Kladis notes down in his personal diary.

"Come on you little Zakyntians fill your pockets
and so honour the island of Andriolas."⁷⁸

Tsakasianos mocks his fellow Zakynthians, who know all too well that Andriolas of the known "Speech" is not the kind of "gentleman" they would like to be associated with.

"It is a lie that we borrow money

⁷³ Referring to church practices.

⁷⁴ Members of the Libro d' Oro nobility. The issue of the social classes in Zakynthos has been extensively studied, see Anastasia Papadia-Lala, *The Institution of Urban communities in Greece during Venetocrazia (Venetian Rule) (1305-1805 century). A compound approach*. The Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice. - No. 24, Βενετία 2008.

⁷⁵ "What was especially admired from their works [the Kalarritians goldsmiths] were thin chains, called *gordonia*, which were fashionable during that period.

⁷⁶ «Chronicles», *Elpis* 3.2.1880, p.4.

⁷⁷ Ioannis M. Demetis, *The main events in Zakynthos island 1874 – 1907 by Dionysios Kladis, the son of the priest Panagiotis, Zakynthos: Τρίμορφο (Trimorfo) 2004*, p.85.

⁷⁸ Lourentzos Andriolas: The Hero of "the untitled Omilia" (speech) is a street play written in pentameter verse by Dionysios Loukissas, influenced by Dimitrios Gouzelis' "Hasis". See, Loukissas, *Unpublished Speech*, Trimorfo X.X., without a date, and Zisimos Sinodinos, Dimitrios Gouzelis, "Hasis", Athens: Okeanida, 1997.

for getting a seat in the balcony and for flirting.”

The poet continues the jeremiad and the *Elpis* articles justify him: From the day before, the price of the seats in the orchestra pit was raised fourfold, everyone was trying to get a seat and so not to deprive himself from that local fair”. The newspaper columns discussed extensively the honours the cherished prima donna received from the audience.

Ms Bonney “was driven to the theatre in the evening on a magnificent medieval carriage... while music was being played, fireworks were disposed and the audience was enthusiastically clapping.” And further down “it is worth noticing the large number of the pigeons, the various birds and flowers that were thrown to the stage from above... the cost only for the flowers rose to 700 drachmas”.⁷⁹

All the social classes, new and old, took part in the celebrations for the prima donna, who, according to Nikos Lountzis, were trying out in the theatre their newly established relationships.⁸⁰ The way Tsakasianos describes the festive atmosphere is becoming more and more derisive as the verses unfold.

“My broke guy, you that lost credit and all your rights
pull her cart and cheer, and go wild
tenants, slaves and loyal servants, cooks and lackeys
 you are throwing camellias, chickens and large bouquets,
 turkeys, canaries, partridges, rabbits and pigeons,
and you carry her on foot in your hands.
Wreaths and laurels and myrtles⁸¹ you are spreading on her way
filling the sky with firework display.”

The biting comments of the poet compare only with the slamming newspaper articles. “*Elpis*” commented on the “outside the theatre extravagant display” of the audience and especially the “myrtles that filled the streets”, which, as the columnist says, “we believe it to be an overindulgence that should be criticized by the people interested in the dignity of this place, and by those able to appreciate everything on its own merit”.⁸²

After the very successful charity performance for Bonney, Someritis, the man dedicated to the wellbeing of the local needy, advises from the columns of “*Elpis*” the Theatre Committee to “attend to giving a charity performance for the destitute of this place as well”.⁸³

The authorities accepted the challenge, and in a few days, “*Elpis*” announces the performance by writing: “the charity performance [...] for the benefit of the needy of our place is to take place next Friday [...] we have no doubt that [...] the sacred emotions, which are inspired by the mellifluous sound of poetry and the harmony of music, will provide the needed bread to the poor families of our island”.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ «Chronicles», *Elpis* 3.02.1880, p.4

⁸⁰ Nikias Lountzis, *Seeing Zakynthos through music....*, Athens, Friends of the Solomos Museum and of Prominent Zakynthians 2009, p.264.

⁸¹ In Zakynthos, on 17th December and 24th August, they decorate the streets from which the litany of Saint Dionysios will pass through with myrtles.

⁸² “Chronicles”, *Elpis* 3.02.1880, p.2.

⁸³ “Chronicles”, *Elpis* 3.02.1880, p.2.

⁸⁴ “Chronicles”, *Elpis* 17.02.1880, p.2.

It is interesting though to look into the financial report on the raised money from that charity performance that is thoroughly presented and commented in the newspapers.

“The charity performance for the benefit of the island’s destitute, held in the theatre the night before, raised about 3000 drachmas, a sum that corresponds to the expectations expressed in yesterday’s paper about the benevolent feelings of our compatriots [...] we find the previously mentioned sum quite satisfactory and thus we should congratulate our audience; the most important donations can be grouped in the following: the highest of all was the one given by Antony Sargent who sent 200 fr, whereas the Masonic Lodge, Samuel Varf, Mr Antonis Stravopodis and the mayor Mr Carrer offered 100 fr; the third group is the lead soprano Miss Bonney who donated 72 francs, and finally the last group that bestowed less than 50 fr; [...] we should also mention the donations made by all the actors of our local troupe such as the comic soprano Mrs Boffa that offered 25 francs and the mezzo-soprano Mrs Galanti that offered 20 francs [...] the high priest K. Nikolaos (Katramis) who sent to the charity performance 10 francs.”⁸⁵

The columnists of *Agon*, who wrote two articles on that specific issue, presented and commented on the events in a complete different manner:

“Last Friday night a charity performance for the benefit of our island’s destitute was given in our local theatre, resulting from the praiseworthy initiative of the Mayor and the Committee, and the willingness of the troupe and the orchestra to contribute. Unfortunately, the raised sum of money, only reaching about 2800 drachmas, did not correspond either to the poverty stricken country (and we mean that famishment, which day and night passes the streets and alleys of the city reaching out its hands in a begging gesture), or to the previous sacrifices made by many people in support of people working at the theatre. It is indeed sad that the most affluent are not moved by the sorrow and weeping of the hungry orphans and widows, as they are by the birdsong of the theatrical Sirens. The charity performance given the night before for the benefit of the destitute proved – we regret to say – that our heart is not responsive or emotionally affected by the misery of people persecuted by poverty”.⁸⁶

This is what the first article to appear wrote, while the second one gives a detailed description of the limited raised money, its management and the “charitable” attitude of the Mayor Loukas Carrer towards his voters:

“The proceeds from the given charity performance for the benefit of the destitute were 2974.32 drachmas, subtracting the expenses of 114.78 the net sum was 2859.54. This sum, with the consent of the mayor was given by the Theatre Committee to the Municipal Collector and then distributed to all poverty-stricken fellow countrymen that came to the office and received 2.50 francs each; moreover, the Mayor gave 20 francs to the workhouse “Pronoia”. However, because 1033 people came to the Town Hall, as it is written down on the catalogue, the Mayor decided to donate from his February salary to the remaining 20 people that the initial collected sum could not cover”.⁸⁷

Tsakasianos reacting to these events writes:

“Do not respond to rusty words
That the place has nude and hungry Bonneys

⁸⁵ “Chronicles”, *Elpis* 26.02.1880, p.3.

⁸⁶ “Miscellanea”, *Agon* 23.2.1880, p. 6.

⁸⁷ “Assisting the poor”, *Agon* 7.3.1880, p. 6.

Come on you Bonney supporters, let's make a farce (a mantsia)

August is not far ... let's spare the money."

"Mantsia" in Zakynthian local dialect means the offensive and of poor taste joke and the forthcoming August, the month of harvesting raisin, implies the return of the island population to the harsh daily reality.

On the other hand, Bonney's supporters answered back to Tsakasianos and gave him a taste of his own medicine, in his autobiography published by Bouboulidis⁸⁸ the poet mentions:

"...I then published in newspapers, magazines and particular folios some funny verses, one of which – "To Bonney's charity performance" –although it made everyone laugh- it made me give a weary sigh. [Because] Some adversaries of my poetry wanting either to show how clever they were or to discourage me, published a satire where, among others, they advised me:

To mind my own business

And not nose into these matters

Since Bonney knows me

Only as a hairdresser"

The columnists of Zakynthos newspaper on their part publish an article where they criticise all the music loving overstatements:

"We publically deplore the distribution of folios for this case and the laying of myrtles on the road from the theatre to the hotel "Finikas", because actions such as these show frivolity that causes laughter or pity to any serious and rational person".⁸⁹

Tsakasianos himself though, attending to clarify his position publishes the following verse:

"Kyra (Virgin Mary), make your first miracle to me...

So I can have the money⁹⁰ to print what Raftanis⁹¹ asks.

For You I will spend money like water,

as an offering to your grace, because I am content only with the tongue

that I sharpen at Koutouzis' wheel,

to cut as much as it can all this madness that it meets."

The poet is mainly interested in cutting, since he is a barber, "the madness he meets" and he also sharpens his tongue on the wheel of the priest, painter and foulmouthed satirical poet Nikolaos Koutouzis.

The conclusions drawn after studying the articles and publications of the winter 1879-80 by columnists, the responsible authorities and private citizens, which focused on the cultural, social and political consequences of the combination between the economic crisis of the island and the reception of theatrical events, can be summed up as follows:

1. The Zakynthians of all social classes are on the one hand, music lovers, and on the other, knowledgeable of a large number of operatic works.

⁸⁸ Faedon K. Bouboulidis, *The "Autobiography" of I.G. Tsakasianos*, Athens: Estia 1992, p. 47.

⁸⁹ "Miscellanea", Zakynthos 8.2.1880, p. 4.

⁹⁰ Tsakasianos always had financial difficulties.

⁹¹ For Sergios Raftanis see: Zois, as before, p. 557.

2. In the theatres audiences can not only watch operas, but also see the social coexistence of the old aristocracy with the new bourgeoisie and the working class flooding the gallery, a co-existence that is “sometimes seria (drama) and other times buffa (comic)!”⁹²
3. The excessive reactions of the theatre loving audience and the way the charity performance for the benefit of the prima donna A. Bonney turned into a “local festivity” can be only comprehended if we consider that all these happened during a very difficult for the island period and it was a way for the distressed inhabitants of the island to “alleviate their misery”.
4. Newspaper critics often express thorough, but sometimes extreme views of the performed works and the vocal abilities of the singers.
5. Social statuses, conflicts and confrontations are expressed with the participation and behaviour of the audience during the theatrical performances, but also with the personal and social relationships they might build up with the artists.
6. The performances also allow newspaper columns to express subjective political views, for instance the party newspaper “Agon” ensures that the mayor Loukas Carrer will benefit from the charity performance given for the support of the island’s destitute.
7. The political confrontations resulting from the theatrical events are analysed and discussed in newspaper columns, for example the conflict between the Prefect Mr Krevatas and the Mayor Carrer.
8. The detailed analysis of the proceeds from the charity performance for the destitute and of the way the money was distributed gives us quite a clear picture of the economic distress of the island’s inhabitants, its few affluent citizens and of the moral character of the troupe singers.

We close with a news item published by the newspaper “Elpis” but not given much importance:

“The performances at the theatre ended and according to official sources the net profit the theatre managers had was 14, 000 drachmas; despite that, they pretended they suffered damage and they didn’t pay the actors the wages of the last fifteen days, thus many actors had to plead the public for help in order to gather the money needed for their departure”.⁹³

AVONIA BONNEY: An attempt to compose a performance history⁹⁴

Year	City	Theatre	Play	Role
1871	Allessandria	Allessandria	<i>Sonnambula</i>	Amina
1872	Torino	Balbo	<i>Linda di Chamonix</i>	Linda
	Torino	Balbo	<i>Caterina di Belp</i>	Caterina
	Torino	Balbo	Don Pasquale	Norina
	Barletta	Comunale Giuseppe Curci	Ballo in maschera	Oscar

⁹² See Lountzis, as before, p. 263.

⁹³ «Chronicles», *Elpis* 9.3.1880, p. 3

⁹⁴ For the performance reviews see: *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, *Gazetta dei Teatri*, *Asmodeo*, *La Fama*, *Impressario* and *The Inter Ocean*, (Chicago Illinois) 6.7. 1872, p. 4, New York Clipper, 29.3.1879, p. 6.

1873	Barletta	Comunale Giuseppe Curci	<i>Barbiere di Siviglia</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
	Barletta	Comunale Giuseppe Curci	<i>Ballo in maschera</i>	<i>Oscar</i>
	Bisceglie	Comunale Garibaldi	<i>Barbiere di Siviglia</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
	Bisceglie	Comunale Garibaldi	<i>Ballo in maschera</i>	<i>Oscar</i>
1874	Caserta	Cimarosa	<i>Linda di Chamonix</i>	<i>Linda</i>
	Pordenone	Comunale Giuseppe Verdi	<i>Don Pasquale</i>	<i>Norina</i>
1875	Barletta	Comunale Giuseppe Curci	Crispino e la Comare	Anneta
	Barletta	Comunale Giuseppe Curci	<i>Ballo in maschera</i>	<i>Oscar</i>
1876	Avellino	Comunale Carlo Gesualdo	Linda di Chamonix	Linda
	Salerno	Municipale Giuseppe Verdi	<i>Don Pasquale</i>	<i>Norina</i>
	Salerno	Municipale Giuseppe Verdi	<i>Barbiere di Siviglia</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
	Reggio Calabria	comunale Francesco Cilea	<i>Linda di Chamonix</i>	<i>Linda</i>
	Reggio Calabria	comunale Francesco Cilea	<i>Traviata</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
	Caltanissetta	Regina Marghrita	Lucia di Lammermoor	Lucia
	Napoli	<i>Mercadante (η Teatro del Fondo)</i>	<i>Linda di Chamonix</i>	<i>Linda</i>
	Napoli	<i>Teatro del Fondo</i>	Lucia di Lammermoor	Lucia
1877	Avellino	Comunale Carlo Gesualdo	<i>Sonnambula</i>	<i>Linda</i>
	Voghera	<i>Teatro Sociale</i>	<i>Africana</i>	<i>Ines</i>
1878	Vigevano	Civico Teatro Cagnoni	<i>Linda di Chamonix</i>	<i>Linda</i>
	Vigevano	Civico Teatro Cagnoni	<i>Traviata</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
	Varese	<i>Sociale di Busto Arsizio</i>	Lucia di Lammermoor	Lucia
	Varese	<i>Sociale di Busto Arsizio</i>	<i>Barbiere di Siviglia</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
1879	Varese	<i>Sociale di Busto Arsizio</i>	<i>Traviata</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
	Lecce	Greco	<i>Ballo in maschera</i>	<i>Oscar</i>
	Porto Sant' Elpidio	Cicconi	Ernani	Elvira
	Napoli	Bellini	<i>Traviata</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
	Napoli	<i>Teatro del Fondo</i>	<i>Traviata</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
	Napoli	<i>Teatro del Fondo</i>	Lucia di Lammermoor	Lucia
	Zakynthos	Foscolo	Rui Blas	Maria
1880	Zakynthos	Foscolo	<i>Traviata</i>	<i>Rosina</i>
	Zakynthos	Foscolo	<i>Ballo in maschera</i>	<i>Amelia</i>
	Zakynthos	Foscolo	<i>Rigoletto</i>	<i>Gilda</i>

The operas of Giuseppe Verdi as being reflected in the piano works of Pavlos Carrer

Spiros Deligiannopoulos

Introduction:

Historic framework and particular circumstances under which Pavlos Carrer transcribed the operas of Giuseppe Verdi for the piano

The piano transcriptions of the most popular melodies written for lyric theater in 19th century (mostly arrangements, paraphrases or “reminiscences”), were a very popular category of compositions of that era. It was a brilliant opportunity for the musicians entertaining the aristocracy and the upper class society, to demonstrate their skills both as virtuoso players, usually pianists, and as composers¹.

In this context, these new works were not usually a kind of simple transcriptions. In most cases the composer-performers used the original music as an occasion to embody their personal ideas and their inspiration. In fact, they composed music “between” the original score and their personal style.

Katy Romanou describes these circumstances as following:

“The lyric theater remains the entertainment field of aristocracy and upper class. These innumerable transcriptions cause the fragmentation of the opera and its further hearsay in middle and working class. In Italy, this occurs via the available instruments of each house, mainly the piano. These piano transcriptions printed and released massively by backstage musicians. Most of these musicians were not recorded by music history, because the success of the transcription was depended on the name of the original composer not of the arranger. This is exactly the opposite of what was happening in the North (Europe), where the piano paraphrases (i.e. Liszt), were acceptable as music of the arranger.”²

Pavlos Carrer was not, of course, “a backstage musician”, who lived and acted in Milan accidentally for a few years. He was a respected name. Many serious opera managers counted on his skills and his talent.³ Being a young, a 25 years old, musician, who had to survive -not only metaphorically but literally- he had to make his first musical steps by following the Verdi creations and transcribing them for the wealthy aristocratic salons he was invited to play.⁴

¹ Thanassis Trikoupi: *Epidrases stin pianistiki dimourgia [Influences in piano compositions]. Demetrios Aghathides (1828 – 1886): Il Barbiere di Siviglia. Opera del Maestro G. Rossini. Fantasia per Pianoforte*, 8th Interdepartmental Musicological Conference under Hellenic Musicological Society, Athens, 25-27.11.2016 [To be published].

² Katy Romanou: *Entehni Elliniki Mousiki stous Neoterous Chronous [Greek Art During Modern Times]*, Kouloura, Athens, 2006, 55.

³ Avra Xepapadakou: *Pavlos Carrer*, Fagotto books, Athens, 2013, 32.

⁴ Nikias Lountzis: *Zakynthos meta mousikis [Zakynthos after Music]*, Vol.3, Society of Friends of D. Solomos Museum in Zakynthos, Athens, 2010.

The research

Being in its first steps, this research seems to be an exciting procedure. Juxtaposing and comparing the music of Carrer with the original spartiti and full scores of Verdi's operas results that these transcriptions are something more than a simple piano arrangement, more than a simple transformation of Verdi's music into keyboard notation. Most of them develop very interesting compositional ideas and demonstrate the ability of Carrer to create a very interesting piano music. He (Carrer) uses the titles and the basic principles of Verdian operas and after that he presents his own aspects on parameters like harmonization, texture, accompaniment and development of the original idea. He is also inspired by the energy, the passion and wide – ragingly generous humanity of Verdi's operas that some would be, recognizably, arrangements of his music, other would more radically re-interpret or elaborately paraphrase and others re-create the atmosphere and impact without a very obvious allusion to the original musical material.

This as a result causes an exciting surprise because Pavlos Carrer, who is labeled until nowadays as an “operatic” composer, i) reveals through these works his skills on piano writing (facing the art of transcription as art of composition), ii) reflects the abilities of his era fortepianos and iii) shows very interesting ways to develop symphonic textures into piano music.

List of Carrer's piano works on Verdi

Quite all the piano works of Carrer based on Verdi themes are written in Milan, during 1851 – 1857. They are mostly inspired by the trilogy of *Rigoletto* – *Trovatore* and *Traviata* and secondly on the other operas of Verdi of that period.⁵

These piano works are divided into the following categories:

1. Piano works, which are individual opus.

These are 18 piano pieces, the following:

1. *Rigoletto*, mazurka op. 21.
2. *Rigoletto*, polka op. 22.
3. *Il Corsaro*, schottische, op.33.
4. *Duca*, on *Rigoletto* themes, schottische, op. 40.
5. *Gilda*, on *Rigoletto* themes, schottische, op. 41.
6. *Il Trovatore*, mazurka op. 47.
7. *Il Trovatore*, gallop, op. 48.
8. *Rigoletto*, gallop op. 49.
9. *Il Trovatore*, schottische, op. 51.
10. *Il Trovatore*, mazurka, op. 52.
11. *La Traviata*, mazurka, op.56.
12. *La Traviata*, schottische, op. 57.
13. *Il Trovatore*, polka op. 59.
14. *Il Trovatore*, gallop, op. 60.
15. *I vespri Siciliani*, mazurka, op.83.

⁵ George Leotsakos: *Pavlos Carrer: Memoirs and List of Works*. Benaki Museum – Ionian University, Athens, 2003.

16. *I Vespri Siciliani*, polka, op.84.
17. *I Vespri Siciliani*, schottische, op. 85.
18. *I Vespri Siciliani*, monferrina, op. 86.

2. Solo piano works, without opus reference (totally five works)

- 2.1. *Rigoletto*, quadrille
- 2.2. *Quattro Marcie militare sopra Il Trovatore*

3. *Giardino Musicale*, opus 67: 20 pieces for flute and piano, written in collaboration with Francesco Pizzi⁶. The 9 first of them are based on themes derived from Verdi's operas:⁷

- 3.1. *Trovatore*
- 3.2. *Luisa Miller*
- 3.3. *Rigoletto*
- 3.4. *Rigoletto*
- 3.5. *Ernani*
- 3.6. *Lombardi*
- 3.7. *Corsaro*
- 3.8. *Masnadieri*
- 3.9. *Attila*
- 3.10. *Poliuto*
- 3.11. *Marco Visconti*
- 3.12. *Marco Visconti*
- 3.13. *Birrajo di Preston*
- 3.14. *Birrajo di Preston*
- 3.15. *Fiorino*
- 3.16. *Mose*
- 3.17. *Favorita*
- 3.18. *Saffo*
- 3.19. *Giuramento*
- 3.20. *Puritani*

4. Single transcriptions – without opus reference for flute or violin and piano:

- 4.1. *Ghirlanda Verdiana*
- 4.2. 3 divertimenti sopra motive dei Vespri Siciliani, for flute and piano op.79, 80, 81.
- 4.3. *Schottisch Duca*, sopra motive del *Rigoletto* op. 40, which is also available in violin and piano version

⁶ According to Leotsakos, Francesco Pizzi was a flutist who used to transcribe for flute and piano whatever was popular in his era, in order to sustain himself (Leotsakos, 258).

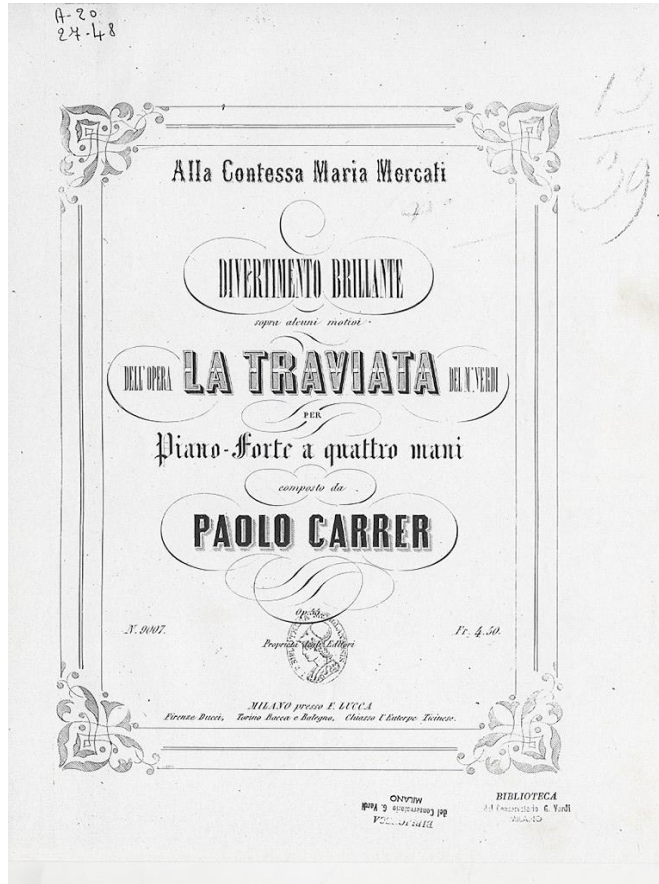
⁷ According to Leotsakos, the Musical Garden (*Giardino Musicale*) contains the very best themes of the operas of that era – and this is a useful reflection of what was popular that time- which splits in two sets. The first set contains mainly Verdian themes.

5. *Il Carnevale di Milano* (1854), dances for solo piano, based on Verdian themes.

6. Five divertimenti for piano - four hands.

These works are mentioned more analytical as they are a fine textural approach to the mature piano writing of Carrer.

6.1. *Brillante Divertimento* on themes of *Traviata*, opus 55



Pavlos Carrer: *Divertimento on themes of Traviata*, op.55

The work is dedicated to Contessa Maria Mercati. By this timeframe, Milan still discusses the impressions of Verdi's *Dante e Beatrice*. The premiere of *Traviata* is the next big cultural event in the city. Carrer decides to transcribe *Traviata*. He writes within a few weeks his first work for four hands on an opera of Verdi. It is very interesting that the themes Carrer that selects to compose his first divertimento on Verdi are not these themes of *Traviata* that finally became classics. This possibly reflects that he worked very fast, he was very close to the world premiere and didn't have time to feel, which themes were going to be the most popular ones. Texturally, the work focuses more to the chamber music for piano style than to re-create the Verdian atmosphere of the opera. Structurally, the Divertimento does not follow the opera. It consists of 5 movements, which are the following: Andante Sostenuto – Andante – Allegro agitato – Allegro brillante – Gallop Finale.

The work is dedicated to Maria Carrer. It was printed on July 1853 from editions Francesco Luca just 6 months after the world premiere of the Verdian opera. It consists of the following movements: Largo – Allegro con brio – Allegretto – Allegro mosso – Andante sostenuto - Allegro vivace.

[illegible]

Divertimento on Trovatore: Cadenza on right hand of the right player.

The second movement, *Allegro con brio*, is an arrangement on the opera's overture. Carrer keeps the basic cell of the overture, which is the continuous triplets and develops a very interesting pianistic movement.

2 *Brilliantes pot pourris* Giovanna De Guzman, op. 87, op. 89⁸

These two piano works were written simultaneously. They also come from the same opera of Verdi, so it can be said that in fact they are a homogenous one piano work, divided into two separate cycles of transcriptions.

⁸ The work was initially printed by Giovanni Canti under the title *Deux Pot - pourris brillants sur les meilleurs motifs des Vespres Siciliennes*.

Structurally, the first piano work is divided into the following movements: Allegro vivo – Andante maestoso – Allegro vivace – Allegro (Bolero).

The second piano work contains the following movements: Allegro brillante – Andante – Allegro vivo.

After having worked so many times on Verdi, this time Carrer creates a very mature piano work. He reflects the orchestra sound of the opera and he creates a piano piece, which sounds like reminiscences on the opera. The introductory allegro of the second piano piece reflects the fast part of the opera's overture. Carrer keeps the original cells and textural elements of the overture and he further develops then via the piano. After this, the second movement (in Carrer) stays very close to the original second theme of the Verdi overture. He keeps the original tonality (G major), he keeps the same harmonies and the same textural elements but he creates a completely new piece.



Giovanna De Guzman: the last page.

6.4 Divertimento Simon Boccanegra op. 98

Simon Boccanegra is the last opera which inspires Carrer while he lives in Milan. It is an extended piano work consisting of seven movements: Allegro – Andantino – Larghetto – Allegro vivo – Allegro giusto – Allegro brillante. For first time Carrer imitates, he quite transcribes, the texture of orchestration. Simon Boccanegra's orchestration focuses on the orchestras groups:

woodwind sections, brass sections, string sections. Carrer seems that he wants to reflect this idiom of orchestration into his piano piece.

One more new thing is that Carrer puts the lyrics “Vieni a mirar la cerula marina tremolante” at the beginning of the second movement, making a reference to the Amelia’s aria (Act I).



“Vieni a mirar le cerula marina tremolante”

Postludium

After all these data mentioned above, we can conclude that:

There are more than fifty piano pieces composed by Carrer on Verdi themes. A non small number, a considerable amount of compositions.

As verified by various reliable sources, these are not the only piano compositions of Carrer on Verdi. Quite a few are considered lost, like the *Potpourri Trovatore* and the *Ballo in Maschera*, both written in Zakynthos about 1872.

In the fall of 2018, the piano works by Pavlos Carrer still wait to be performed.

Acknowledgements

The depositories of Ionian School must be named for their valuable contribution to the consummation of this thesis. Ionian University, Benaki Museum, Solomos – Kalvos and Distinguished Zakynthians Museum, Kostas Kardamis (Assistant Professor of Ionian University), Georgios Konstantzos (musician, music teacher, owner of the Archive of Greek Music) and Vyron Fidetzis (director alongside various Greek Symphony Orchestras and foreign music groups) played a key role during this research.

The contribution of the Hellenic diaspora to the formation of the Russian opera in the 19th and the early 20th century

Stanimira Dermendzhieva

Introduction

My studies on the Neo Hellenic Music subject of the Hellenic Emigrants Overseas began in 2002. Initially, I concentrated my efforts on the theme “Musicians of Greek origin in the School of Composition of Saint Petersburg in the 19th and the first half of the 20th-century”. This group consisted of 3 composers, members of the M. Belaieff circle in Saint Petersburg: Achilles Nikolayevich Alferaki (or Alferaky, 21.06/3.07.1846, Kharkov (present day Ukraine) – 27.12.1919, Petrograd, Russia), and N. Rimsky-Korsakov’s former students in Saint Petersburg conservatory Vasily Pavlovich Kalafati (29.01/10.02.1869, Yevpatoriya, Crimea– 20.03.1942, Leningrad), and Vasily Andreyevich Zolotarev (or Zolotaryov, 24.02/ 7.03.1872 (? 1873), Taganrog – 25.05.1964, Moscow), who was born as Kuyumzhi, but translated his family name to a Russian one.

The three Russian composers Achilles Alferaki, Vasily Kalafati and Vasily Zolotaryov belong to the New Russian Music School and they have their place in the world history of opera. We could study their operas from a historical viewpoint today. Only some parts of Kalafatis’ opera, *Tsygany* (‘The Gypsies’) (1899, revised 1937) and *Kupal’skaya noch’* (‘St John’s Eve’) (1898, revised 1912) of Alferaki have been presented in Saint Petersburg, Russia. Zolotaryov who was more fortunate, won the name of revolutionary composer with the opera *The Decembrists*, libretto by V. Yasinovsky (1925, second version *Kondraty Ryleyev*, 1957). The opera was first performed on 26.12.1925 at the *Bolshoi* Theater in Moscow. The most effective parts were printed by the Muzgiz Publishing House, Moscow in 1925.

The Kalafati archive was bought by the Music Department of the Ionian University in Corfu, Greece in 2006, and I was allowed to make use of the documentation in the Music Library of the Hellenic Music Research Lab (HMRL) in 2007. My dissertation, titled *Vasily Pavlovich Kalafati (1869-1942): The Life and Works of the Forgotten Composer and Teacher of Russia* was submitted in 2012 at the Ionian University.

In general, members of the Hellenic diaspora can be identified as those who themselves, or whose ancestors, migrated from the Greek homelands. Some common characteristics of this group are: firstly their birth places in the Crimean Peninsula, Ukraine and Taganrog city in the Azov Sea, where after the Russian-Turkish war (1768– 1774) many Greek emigrants were invited; secondly their ancestors were involved in the most common jobs Greek emigrants did in Russia: merchants, traders, tavern keepers, tobacco employees, navy and military personnel etc. These composers adopted the Russian culture and studied at the best Russian universities. Some of them were Hellenists and loved their native land. Pursuing a career in the former Russian capital, some of these composers renounced their origin, whereas others didn’t forget it, and were equally accepted by the Russian community.

The oldest member of the group was the Ukrainian operatic bass– baritone Osip (Iosif) Afanas'yevich Petrov, also called “the grandfather of the Russian opera” (born 3/15.11.1806, Yelisavetgrad (now Kropyvnytskyi) in Ukraine, then a part of Russia – died 28.02/12.3.1878, Saint Petersburg). Osip Petrov was a renowned Russian opera singer who contributed to the development of the Russian opera in the 19th Century. He had a brilliant stage career and remains memorable in the history of Russian opera.

A reference to his Greek origin was made 4 years after Petrov's death, by the Russian historian Vladimir Yakovich Yastrebov, who researched Petrov's place of birth in 1882 and is discussed in the Ukrainian book *Susanin of Elisavetgrad*. Yastrebov, best known for his examination of the archives available concerning a Greek settlement in New Serbia (Ukraine) in 1884, reported that the Greeks settled in Elisavetgrad soon after the construction of the Fortress of Saint Elisaveta. Nowadays, his articles help us to trace the formation of a local Greek community from 1750 to the 1770s.

Yastrebov, the most authoritative source on Osip Petrov's childhood, cited church records, reminiscences of his close friends and described the Greek environment of his family. First of all, the writer claimed that Petrov was born in 1805. His relatives, from the side of his mother Evdokia Savel'evna Petrova (who were Greek, spoke the Greek language and traded in groceries), were members of the “3rd Guild Merchants of Elisavetgrad, but they were Russified”. The family house was located next to the Greek Orthodox Church *Vladimirskaya, Mother of God* in Yelisavetgrad. Osip Petrov was baptized there by the priest Stefano Gretskey and was given the name Iosif (Joseph) on 2.11.1805. He also took his mother's maiden name as a surname. Church records referred to Evdokia Petrova as a widow at the time of the christening. From Ukrainian sources we know that the Greek Church, built in 1766, operated in the Greek language. According the official 1811 census, only two Greek families were recorded in the register of the city – Funtuklei's and Petrov's, who remained in the city since the small Greek colony of the 18th century.

The whole story of Petrov's brilliant career in Saint Petersburg's theatres is a living legend; he was a renowned singer of great range, good at both Russian and Italian opera. Petrov brilliantly performed the lead role of Ivan Susanin at Glinka's historic premiere of the opera *A life for the Tsar* in 1836. The famous Russian composers Glinka, Dargomizsky, Rimsky–Korsakov, Mussorgsky and Tchaikovsky had Petrov as an archetype when they were composing the first operas in the style of New Russian Music School.

Petrov was the first to perform the roles of Susanin (*Ivan Susanin*) by Catterino Cavos, Miller (*Mermaid*) and Leporello (*The Stone Guest*), both operas by Dargomizhsky, Ivan the Terrible (*The Maid of Pskov*) by Rimsky-Korsakov, Varlaam (*Boris Godunov*) by Mussorgsky, Gudal (*Demon*) by Rubinstein, Vladimir (*Rogneda*) and Oziya (*Judit*), both operas by Serov, Kochubey (*Mazepa*) by Tchaikovsky, Neizvestnyi ('The Unknown Man') (*Askold's Grave*) by Verstovsky etc.

The famous Russian critic Vladimir Stasov defined Osip Petrov's place in the development of national opera (during his 50th anniversary celebrations as a singer in 1876) with the following words: “Petrov may be considered one of the founders of Russian opera as we know it. Only through singers like him, could our Opera House hold such a high place with dignity and compete with the Italian opera”. The singer had a truly historic mission: he contributed to the development of Russian musical theatre and along with Glinka laid its foundation.

Mykola Arkas (1853–1909) and his Opera in Three Acts *Kateryna* ('Catherine') (1891).

I would also like to add to this group of composers Mykola Mykolayovych Arkas (Nikolay Nikolayevich Arkas) (7.01.1853, Mykolaiv (or Nikolayev, present day Ukraine) – died there 26.09.1909). His grandfather Andreas Arkas (1766–1825), son of an Orthodox priest from Patras, was invited to teach classical languages and history in Nikolayev Naval School, Russia. He spoke 12 languages and had published corresponding dictionaries. He moved with his family to Russia with the help of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Mykola Arkas was a son of the Russian Admiral, Chief Commander of the Black Sea Fleet and Ports, a founder of steam navigation and trade on the Black Sea and a founder of Caspian Sea Fleet, Nikolay Andreyevich Arkas (1816–1881) and the Ukrainian Sophia Bogdanovich.

M. Arkas wrote the opera *Catherine* on his own libretto in 1891, based on the homonymous poem by the great Kobzar Taras Shevchenko. *Catherine* was the first beautiful lyrical Ukrainian opera which brought the magnificent sound of the Ukrainian Melos to Russia, Lithuania, Belarus, Poland, the USA and Canada. In general, the opera was full of freshness and sentimentality and corresponded to the most ambitious canons of the operatic art. Nowadays Arkas' *Catherine* is part of the repertoire of many Ukrainian Opera Houses.

Mykola Arkas devoted his life to the revival of Ukrainian national culture. He was a writer, a historian (his most notable and debated book was *History of Ukraine–Rus*, Saint Petersburg, 1908), a folksong collector, an amateur composer and a cultural activist. Arkas organized Mikolaiv's "Prosvyta" ('Enlightenment') and established a Ukrainian–language school, which was closed by authorities after only two years.

During his studies in the Odessa gymnasium, Arkas studied music with the Ukrainian composer, linguist and Hellenist Petro Ivanovych Nishchynsky (1832–1896), the first translator of Homer and Sophocles into Modern Ukrainian. Nishchynsky cultivated the love for composing and collecting Ukrainian folksongs in his student. After graduating from Saint Petersburg's Law School and Odessa University, where he studied Physics and Mathematics, Arkas joined the Russian Navy. He worked at the Mykolayiv Naval Office until 1899 and later became an honorary judge of the Kherson's region.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a time of active development of music and drama in Ukraine. Stage choreography flourished in the 1890s in musical plays and operas, staged by Kropivnitskiy, in collaboration with the ballet master Vaslav Nijinsky. Among their most successful productions was the opera *Catherine* by Arkas. Composer's friendship with Mikola Lysenko influenced him to write the opera.

The 24-year-old Shevchenko wrote *Catherine* in 1838, St. Petersburg. The poem was first printed in the 1840 edition of the magazine *Kobzar*, but many of the passages were censored. It described the tragic love of the Ukrainian woman Catherine with the Russian officer Ivan and her death. Notably, Arkas made some changes in the original plot. The Russian officer became a simple soldier (maybe because of the Russian censorship) and a new person missing from the Shevchenko's poem was also introduced: Andrew, who truly loved Catherine. That intensified the lyrical side of the opera, increasing the contrast in the psychological situation of the whole drama. The opera in Three Acts *Catherine* (1891) was among the first Ukrainian operas.

Cast:

Catherine, soprano,	Mother, mezzo-soprano
Andrew, tenor	Father, bass
Ivan, baritone	Oksana and Odarka (mezzo-soprano), Catherine's friends
Young men, girls, soldiers – the chorus artists and supes	

Synopsis

Act I.

Andrew loves Catherine (aria of Andrew), but her heart belongs to the young Russian soldier Ivan. Andrew warns the girl that the soldiers will leave soon and Catherine will be alone (duet of Andrew and Catherine). Girls and young men get together for a village party (choir scene and Hopak dance). Everybody is having fun, but Catherine is feeling sad. Ivan appears and cheers her up, he promises her a marriage. She believes his insincere words (duet of Catherine and Ivan).

Act II

Russian soldiers are transferred to another place and Ivan leaves Catherine and their baby. Andrew goes to her house and meets her mother, who is holding Catherine's son in the swing. Her elderly parents can hardly believe the shame brought upon them. Andrew tries to convince Catherine's parents to agree to his proposal of marriage, but they refuse. The father orders the mother to send their daughter away. The poor girl pleads with her mother not to do it. However, due to the unwritten rules the villagers follow, it cannot be changed.

Act III

Catherine is walking through the woods, carrying her baby in the arms. Tired to death she sits down, sings a lullaby to her baby and falls asleep (aria of Catherine). She dreams of a recent past: happy days with her friends and family, Ivan who meets Catherine with sincere love....

The girl wakes up and listens to the faraway soldiers' song (choir scene). She recognizes her beloved Ivan: "My sweetheart, where have you been?" His answer is very cruel: "Go away, woman, I do not know you..." She tries to show to him their son, but the soldier leaves (duet of Catherine and Ivan). The heartbroken mother hugs her child for the last time, covers him with her coat and leaves him on the road heading towards the river (aria of Catherine "In this cursed hour").

In Arkas' version, Ivan travels with his family to the same place some years later and sees his son, who has become an escort to a blind bard.

Arkas wrote about his opera: "If something in "Catherine" was borrowed, it came from the Ukrainian folk songs and dances; but I had to base all my work on these sounds as taken from the peasants' life, and therefore some musical scenes are entirely from songs with the replacement of Shevchenko's words or in the original text, in accordance to the course of action". According to Ukrainian musicologists, many popular folksongs from the opera's arias and choir scenes could be recognised. Without professional training, Arkas could not cope with the difficult task of orchestrating an opera. *Catherine* was orchestrated by the music teacher Petro Molchanov, who worked at the Russian Musical Society in Odessa.

The performance of the opera on the stage was not easily allowed. Its

manuscript was kept in the Censorship Departments of Moscow and Kiev for five years. The piano score was published in 1897 by the composer. The opera was dedicated to his wife Olessa (Olga Ivanovna Shishkina). In the same year, fragments from the opera were first sung in a concert performance by the semi-professional symphony orchestra of the Mykolayiv branch of the Russian Musical Society. It happened on 23.03.1897 in the Winter Marine Assembly Hall. The audience enthusiastically welcomed the new opera.

Inspired by the success, the author sent the opera's vocal score to his old friend Kropyvnitskyi. The actor saw that the work was suitable for a stage performance and immediately started rehearsals. The censorship created different obstacles and the first performance in Ukraine failed. The premiere of *Catherine* took place in Moscow, on 12.02.1899 and had an unprecedented success.

Then the opera's triumphant presentation throughout the country began. In the next five years, the opera reached the public not only within the borders of Ukraine, but also in Russia, Minsk, Vilnius and Warsaw. Soon after the premiere, Kropyvnitskyi suggested his friend wrote the next opera, at least on the plot of Shevchenko's novella *Naymichka* (1848) or Nikolay Gogol's horror novella *Viy* (1835).

The opera was forgotten for many years. The Ukrainian tenor Ivan Kozlovsky, who taught singing at the Moscow conservatory from 1956 to 1980, expanded his activities into stage direction, striving to synthesise dramatic action with its musical realisation. With his own company, 1938-1941, he staged *Catherine of Arkas*, which he directed.

And much later, Ivan Kozlovsky in a letter to the amateur actors from Mikolayiv mentioned: "We have to take off our hats and bow in front of the opera's composer. The outcome is very poetic and simple. This is the greatness of both Shevchenko and Arkas".

A new musical and literary edition of the opera was made by the Ukrainian composer Gleb Taranov (1904–1989) and the poet Diodor Bobyr (1907–1980) in the Soviet era (1950s). Some "social issues" were also added to the libretto. Ivan again became a noble Russian officer. The opera's vocal score was published in 1963 in Ukrainian language and sent to libraries worldwide. Nowadays, a major part of Ukrainian opera houses have included the new edition of *Catherine* in their repertoire. One could drive more information about the opera casts and synopsis from the site of Odessa National Academic Theatre of Opera and Ballet, and listen to many arias from different productions (starting from 1940' and 1950' to today) and also see the whole opera on YouTube.

Achilles Alferaki and his Opera in 3 Acts *Kupal'skaya noch'* (St John's Eve) (1888, revised 1912)

The Russian of Greek descent statesman, composer, pianist, writer and talented artist Achilles Nikolayevich Alferaki (1846–1919) has remained in Russian history as a governor (in late 1873) and a mayor (1880-1888) of Taganrog. He started taking piano lessons at the age of four and later studied with Pierre Jeane Auguste Maria Volange, known as the composer of the King of Hanover. Alferaki made his appearance as an amateur composer at the age of thirty and wrote short pieces for piano and romances, reflecting the influence of the German masters, primarily Mendelssohn and Schumann. His music of the mature period, distinguished by free

melody and rich harmony, was influenced by Tchaikovsky and later by Rimsky-Korsakov. The composer became acquainted with Tchaikovsky and was well-known in Saint Petersburg. His romances and songs, which include elegy, love lyrics and drama, were printed several times by M. Belaieff.

According to the great Tchaikovsky's words, Alferaki was "an excellently educated man". He graduated from Moscow University in the Faculty of History and Philology (1868) and studied the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages particularly, acquiring thorough knowledge of French, English, German, Italian, and Modern Greek. At the same time he studied piano and music theory with Professor Frosch. He dreamed of engaging in linguistics, but was obligated to return to Taganrog after his father's death.

Achilles Alferaki wrote two operas: *Kupal'skaya noch'* ('St John's Eve') (1898, revised 1912), which remains in manuscript and *Lesnoy Tsar'* ('The Wood King'). Evidence of the composition of the second opera is found in the composer's correspondence.

The English musicologist Richard Beattie Davis (1922 - 2008) in his book *The Beauty of Belaieff* (2009: 50-52, 332) made an attempt to write about the historical importance of Alferaki's work and compile an Extensive Individual Bibliography of the composer and also stress his close relationship to M. Belaieff's circle in Saint Petersburg.

Alferaki was held in high esteem by the writer Anton Chekhov, whose correspondence is a valuable source about his life. Chekhov, born in Taganrog, brought some of his initiatives to an end, such as the erection of Peter the Great's statue for the 200 jubilee of the foundation of the town and the establishment of a regional museum. Chekhov chose Alferaki's palace as the museum, built by Achilles's father Nikolay Alferaki in 1863, where the Taganrog Museum of History and Regional Studies is nowadays located.

The Alferaki family appeared in Russia in the late 18th century and gave Russia many well-respected statesmen, scientists, painters, artists and composers. The family was highly respected by the local citizens and played an important role in the cultural life of Taganrog. This family was also connected to Greek history.

Achilles' grandfather Dimitrios Alefereos (known as Dmitry Il'ich Alferaki in Russia) (1743 or 1748– 1830) was born in Mistra (near ancient Sparta) in the Peloponnese. Dmitry took part in the Orlov revolt (1770), the naval Battles of Lemnos and Mytilini Islands, Tsesme in Turkey (1770) and the following Russian-Turkish war (1768-1774). As a result of his heroism, Catherine the Great offered him Russian citizenship and land located on the Northern shore of Azov Sea, near the town of Taganrog in 1774, and awarded him with a hereditary title. Dmitry Alferaki, a Major and Counselor of the Russian court, was elected as a leader of the aristocracy of the region of Rostov-on-Don (1800-1809). He had his own singers and kept an orchestra consisting of serfs, who often played at the city balls and in the houses of neighbouring landlords. Later on, he kept a symphony orchestra made up of Italian players; they held free of charge symphony concerts every week in Taganrog city's garden during the summer.

His first wife was Sophia Perestiyan (1757– 1806) from Cephalonia, an Ionian island and the family had seven children. Of them, Theodora (Fedora) (1776– 1844) married the Russian Vice Admiral of the Black Sea Fleet Anton Alexiano, who took

part in the Russo-Turkish wars and the Mediterranean expedition of 1799, together with Fyodor Ushakov (1743–1817) single-handedly carved out the Greek Republic of Seven Islands, proceeding to liberate Corfu and all the Ionian Islands from the French.

Maria Benardaki (née Alferaki) (1770–?) was the mother of the national benefactor of Russia and Greece Dimitri Benardaki (1800–1870). Il'ya Alferaki (1788–1867) became the chairman of the Taganrog Commercial Court and was one of greatest benefactors of his time.

After the death of his wife, Dmitry Alferaki married the famous for her beauty countess Maria (Fedorovna) Tipaldo–Foresti (1773 or 1775–1840) from Cephalonia and they had 5 children. According the curators of Museum Alferaki, she brought the artistic vein and the love for the arts and music into this family, an inheritance she brought from the Ionian Islands of Greece which were Venetian Republic colonies from the mid-14th century until the late 18th century. Maria was a sister of Gerasimos Tipaldo–Foresti (known as Gerasim Depal'do in Russia), who took part in the marine campaigns of the Greek hero Lampros Kotsionis (1752–1804). Gerasimos came to Taganrog as a trader, decided to settle there and arranged his sisters' marriages to rich men; the other noble sister married into the family Komnino–Varvatsi.

Achilles' father Nikolay (Nikos) Dmitrievich Alferaki (1815–1863), studied Philosophy and Ethics at the Kharkov University. He was a talented violinist, artist and writer, who knew the arts well and served as a Director of Kharkov Theatre (1845–1848), paid its debt and contributed to its development. He married Lyubov' Kuz'michna Kuzina (1824–1906), a daughter of the richest merchant of Kharkov. Both of them loved the arts, played the violin and the happy family had 5 children.

N. Alferaki left behind the magnificent Alferaki palace, which became the centre of town's cultural life. The composer Modest Mussorgsky and the most famous Russian actor of the 19th century Mikhail Shchepkin were invited as guests there. The poet Nikolay Shcherbina and the playwright Nestor Kukol'nik often visited the palace. The future Emperor Alexander III of Russia was also ceremoniously welcomed here.

Taganrog was included in the European's net of opera and cultural transfer. Many Italians lived permanently and worked there. Nikolay and his brother Achilles Dmitrievich Alferaki, who mostly lived in Rome, brought the Italian opera to Taganrog in 1850s. In 1865 a stock company was created to finance the construction of the new theatre building. Forty-five thousand silver rubles of stocks were issued for the total budget of 55,000 rubles. Dmitry Alferaki, I. Skaramangas, Mark Komnino–Varvatsi, Fursov the theatre's director, like many well-known citizens, bought shares.

The Italian architect Londeron, who settled in Odessa, was invited to erect the new theatre building in 1866. The theatre's interiors were designed after the image of the Milano opera theatre *La Scala* and it had excellent acoustics. The Russian dramatic troupe performed the plays of Chekhov, Gorky, Ostrovsky and Shakespeare there. The world famous actors Ira Aldridge (1807–1867), Ernesto Rossi (1827–1896), and Tommaso Salvini (1829–1915) performed here in the 1870s. The Italian opera, financed by the local Greek merchants–patrons of art, was open to the public from 1866 to 1886, under the direction of Luigi Rossi de Ruggiero. The repertoire

included operas by Verdi, Rossini, Bellini, Offenbach, Glinka, Tchaikovsky etc.

In the 1870s, following the Alferaki family's bankruptcy, the palace was sold to the Greek merchant N. Negroponte. Its garden re-opened as *Commercial Assembly*, where dances and concerts were hosted in the big hall of the palace, with both local and international artists. The young Anton Chekhov attended concerts given at the commercial club and later mentioned the palace in his novels *Ionych*, *Mask* and *My life*.

Achilles Alferaki carried out a lot of community work during his chairmanship (1800-1888), encouraged the town's musical and dramatic activities, the development of elementary education, and took part in establishing a variety of charitable institutions. His proposal to carry out major reconstruction on Taganrog's harbor was realized. The first music classes and a symphony orchestra, directed by the Czech conductor and composer Václav Suk (1861-1933) were initiated. Social meetings of Taganrog Music and Drama Society often took place in Alferaki's house located in the *Greek street* of Taganrog. Every evening, from the windows of his mansion the sounds of the piano, violins, male and female voices performing romances and arias from operas were heard. During his mayorship 85 operas were presented. It was at this time when the first version of his opera *Kupal'skaya noch'* (1898) was written.

The composer Samuel Maykapar, who grew up in Taganrog, wrote about Achilles Alferaki:

"Music lessons were a kind of escape for Alferaki. They distracted him from serious economic and financial troubles. The Alferaki's mill brought him more losses than revenues; the boredom of provincial life and the burden of duties lay on his shoulders. He rarely found understanding among local figures and saw how hard it was to implement the plans for the city's development."

In the second period of his life, Alferaki handed in his resignation and moved to Saint Petersburg in 1888. He entered the civil service in the Ministry of Internal Affairs (23.05.1889), subsequently became Chancellor of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (from 1891), an official for special assignments of Ministry of Internal Affairs (30.11.1895–after 1.05.1907), and later Director of the Russian Telegraph Agency. He was seconded to the General Directorate of Russian Press for Dramatic Censorship and considered plays in Russian, German, Italian and French. He served until October 11, 1908. His brother Mikhail Alferaki also was a censor of the Russian Empire and regarded plays in Ukrainian.

According Alferaki's "Curriculum vitae (18.01.1914)", salvaged in the Manuscript Department of the Scientific Music Library of Saint Petersburg conservatory, Achilles was a "Hofmeister of the Imperial Court, Privy Councilor and a member of the council of the Ministry of Popular Enlightenment (Ministry of Education)".

Alferaki donated all documents related to his family's employment as statesmen of the Russian empire to the Russian State Historical Archive of Saint Petersburg. The manuscript of his opera *Kupal'skaya noch'* (1898-1912) is also stored there.

The prominence of this unknown and unpublished work is of some interest, because of the fact that it links Alferaki to Tchaikovsky Research. I discovered the opera's copy in 3 volumes (3 acts), written by unknown person, undated, in the

Music Library of the St. Petersburg Philharmonic in 2006. This is the second edition of the opera from 1912, to which a new scene had been added. I made copies of the introduction of the opera (12 pages, with a very simple and clear orchestration) and Chorus scene from the first act (pp. 130–138). I also have the orchestral part *Plyaska Dodoly I Solnichnykh Vil'* ('Dodola's Dance with the Sunflower Forks') from the 3rd scene of the opera. Only the *Dance of Enchanted Virgins*, a part of the opera, received its first performance at the Sixth Russian Symphonic Concert, under the direction of Lyadov, on 18.02.1890 in St. Petersburg. I kept some notes about the casts, the plot and the orchestration of the opera and copied small parts of some arias.

Synopsis.

The opera's plot refers to the mysteries which take place in the forest on the night of St. John's Eve (June 24th). Main personages are: Olena, Ivan, Pamphil (a comic personage), the King of the Forest, the Queen of the Forest and the Mermaid. The choir invites the ancient Slavic Gods Lada and Perun to appear in the forest and the fest begins. Ivan and Olena love each other; they wander in the forest and meet the King and the Queen of the Forest. There are many dance scenes staged in the opera that lead to a big pagan celebration. Ivan finds the magic flower which blooms on the night of St. John's Eve. The opera finishes with a happy end and the couple gets married. A great procession is ascended and all participants give their greetings to the newlyweds.

In the Scientific Music Library of Rimsky-Korsakov St. Petersburg State Conservatory, Manuscript Division (Correspondence between Glazunov and Alferaki), I found an unpublished letter from 18.02.1914. Alferaki wrote: "I would like to send an invitation to you and N. N. Finger (A.S. Taneyev had spoken to him) to listen to my opera "*Kupal'skaya noch'*" with singing [...] You would bring us great happiness with your presence [...]"

In the Russian National Library of St Petersburg, Manuscript Division, Music Department (Correspondence of Achilles Alferaki), I discovered two more unpublished letters. The first one is a letter from Alferaki to Mariya Konstantinovna Romanovska, St. Petersburg, 14.04.1908. A fragment from the opera *Kupal'skaya noch'* (2 pages) was included.

The letter from Alferaki to Vladimir Arkad'evich Telyakovsky, St. Petersburg, 10.03.1912 includes a formal letter from Sergey Mikhaylovich Lyapunov, with an invitation to take part in the discussion about Alferaki's opera *Kupal'skaya noch'* and I. K. Voyachek's opera *Tsaritsa Gruzii* ('The Tsarina of Georgia').

Piotr Tchaikovsky often visited his brother Ippolit in Taganrog and became a friend of the mayor Alferaki. Three letters from Tchaikovsky to Alferaki have survived, dating from 1888 to 1891, but only one is available in English. There are also six letters from Alferaki to Tchaikovsky from this period. Their correspondence is the most valuable source of information about the opera.

Alferaki wrote Tchaikovsky for advice about his opera in 27.05.1888 and sent him the manuscript. He replied politely on 28.04/10.05.1888 and apologized for the delay in acknowledgment of the letter.

Tchaikovsky replied on 20.07/1.08.1888 and wrote a very long, detailed critique

of the opera. He prized the composer's "undoubted aptitude for composition" and the "very worthy text" of his opera, but admitted his lack of compositional techniques. Tchaikovsky set out his own criteria for composing a large choral work and wrote:

- i) To possess full knowledge of harmony and counterpoint.
- ii) To have a perfect command of form.
- iii) To know how to write for voices
- iv) Finally, the orchestration to perfection.

"You regard yourself as too old to become acquainted with the orchestra, and you think that it is possible to manage without this, by entrusting the orchestration to others. But this is a great delusion [...] it is never late to study, you are not old, you are healthy, excellently educated and, consequently, within three years you will be able to learn composing technique [...] My advice to you is to begin to study seriously, for I do not attach any significance to your age. You have the means, the desire to compose, a genuine talent and it does not follow that you should limit yourself by dilettantish attempts [...] You know the piano, but the orchestra you do not know."

Tchaikovsky admitted that the opera's dances were good and the composer should write a suite from them, but his opera lacked a scenic dramaturgy. From Alferaki's correspondence we learned that he wrote a ballet revising the music of his opera. He presented the opera in a concert performance in Alexander Glazunov's house in 1914. But his dream to see his opera *Kupal'skaya noch'*, libretto by A. Averkiev (1912) performed on the stage of the theatre Mariinsky one day, was never realised.

Vasily Pavlovich Kalafati and his one-act opera *Tsygany* ('The Gypsies') after Alexander Pushkin (1899, revised 1937)

Vasily Kalafati was born in Yevpatoriya, Crimea in 1869 to a Greek family. His father Pavel was a trader, tavern and innkeeper and teacher. His mother's name was Alexandra Chisanopoulo. We don't hold any information on when and from where they arrived in Russia. One of Vasily's brothers was the Social democrat Dmitry Pavlovich Kalafati (1871–1940), who believed workers should concentrate on economic demands rather than political ones. Another was the tuner Fyodor (Theodore) Kalafati, who lived in St. Petersburg and was the father of Russian scientist Leonid Kalafati. The composer dedicated his *Five Preludes*, op. 7 (1901) to his sisters Elena and Zinaida. Descents of Mikhail Kalafati's family from St. Petersburg were interviewed by the researcher in 2006.

Vasily's son Anatoly Kalafati (1911–2015), a pianist, composer and honored artist of the Chuvash Republic, kept an archive of his father's materials and systematically compiled a catalogue of compositions, thus presenting us with valuable information regarding the dates and first performances of the composer's works. Lydia Kalafati–Eltekova (1912–2009) took part as a geologist in the scientific group which discovered the Mariupol zircon deposit. The composer's last child from his second marriage was Mikhail Kalafati (1924–1942), a highly gifted young musician, who died of starvation during the siege of Leningrad like his father. Only Olga Morrison–Kalafati survived from the siege. She closed her husband's eyes and

carried his last words on to his children: “*What a shame...*”

Kalafati was not only a student of Rimsky-Korsakov, but was himself a teacher of composition at the St Petersburg Conservatory, from 1901 to 1929 (from 1914 as a Professor of composition). He passed on the essential principles of the Russian National School and his teacher Rimsky-Korsakov to new generations of composers.

Kalafati was a composer of academic leanings, a member of the Belyayev's Circle, and a recipient of the Glinka prize for his Piano Quintet op. 7 of chamber music competition (string quartet) in St Petersburg in 1907, printed by M. P. Belaieff-Leipzig, 1909. He became one of the 52 famous Russian composers-laureates of the premium, founders of the Russian National School and belonged to the second generation of Russian composers. Kalafati also published the dictionary *Sputnik muzykanta* ('The Musician's Companion', St. Petersburg, 1911). Among his most notable works was the symphonic poem *Légende* in C major, op. 20 for a large symphony orchestra and chorus (in memory of Schubert, 1928), which won him a prize at the 1928 International Schubert Competition in Vienna. During the mature period the composer edited some of his early compositions (*The Gypsies*, opera in one act, revised 1937, etc.). The composer was to win a final prize in 1942 for the march for symphony orchestra *Zvezdy Kremlya* ('The Stars of the Kremlin') (1941) in a competition staged during the siege of Leningrad.

There is an interest in Kalafati's work in Russia and Greece today. His compositions are often played at the St. Petersburg International Music Festival, in concerts dedicated to the anniversary of the complete lifting of the Siege of Leningrad. Kalafati's march *The Stars of the Kremlin* and his chamber works (among others *Ptichka bozhiya ne znaet* ('God's Bird Doesn't Know') op. 3, a vocal quartet with which the opera *Gypsies* begins) were performed on 17.03.2010 at the 19th International Festival of Arts “From the Avant-garde to the Present Day” of St. Petersburg “War and Peace”, 9–20th March 2010. *The Stars of the Kremlin* march close the celebration of 70th anniversary from the liberation of Leningrad. The festive concert “The Leningraders, 900 Days for Life” took place in Moscow, 2014 and later was presented in many Russian cities.

1. Kalafati's symphony works *Overture-Fantasy*, op. 8 (1902-03), *Polonaise*, op. 14 (1905) and *Symphony* in A minor, op. 12 (1899), were recently played in Athens. The *Symphony*, often performed at the Russian Symphony Concerts, was recorded by the Athens Philharmonia Orchestra in 2017. Some of the composer's chamber works, such as the Piano Quintet, op. 11, (1907), the String Quartet, op. 22 (1906-07) and Five Preludes, op. 7 (1901) were also performed in Athens. The pianist Mary-Victoria Voutsas recorded the Five Preludes on the CD *Hellenic Song: A Musical Migration* in 2015.

2. Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837) wrote his narrative poem *The Gypsies* in 1824 and included it in his *Southern Poems* (1827). At the same time his verse novel *Eugene Onegin* was written. Both *Onegin* and *The Gypsies* had true and dramatic dialogues.

3. *The Gypsies* was widely known in Russia and abroad. According to the research of Boris Gasparov, Pushkin's *Gypsies* has inspired no fewer than eighteen operas and a half a dozen ballets. Among them are: Rachmaninoff's *Aleko* (1893, written as a graduation work at the Moscow conservatory), *Gli zingari* by Ruggerio Leoncavallo (1912) and *Zigäunen* (1883) by Walter von Goethe (the poet's grandson).

A.N. Shefer and the Rimsky-Korsakov's student K.M. Galkauskas (1875-1963) also wrote operas in 1901 and 1908.

Kalafati's one-act opera in 5 scenes *The Gypsies* after A. Pushkin (21.1–20.3.1899) was written as a graduation work at the St Petersburg conservatory. It was ready and orchestrated in 1899. The orchestra score and the vocal score of the opera have been kept in Kalafati's archive. The composer made the musical action more scenic and more complete in the second version of *Gypsies* opera in 3 scenes (1.02.1937), libretto by Sergey Yurevich Levik (1883–1967). The handwritten vocal score of the opera (1937), about 10 fragments (some of which are orchestrated), as well as the composer's notes for the libretto, have been kept in Kalafati's archive. The orchestrated score however has not yet been found.

Kalafati had written a cantata *The Gypsies* as an exercise with a given text for the graduation exam at the St Petersburg Conservatory. The Russian papers reported on the performance of fragments from the cantatas of Kalafati and Khessin at the concert of the new graduates of the Conservatory on 19 May 1899. These facts are supported by a review held in the Kalafati's archive (without date, author or name of publication) and *Reminiscences of Rimsky-Korsakov* by V. Yastrebtsev, who attended the concert.

1. The opera's dates of the composition have wrongly been stated in many musical encyclopedias as 1939– 1941. One Italian encyclopedia reads that in 1936 Kalafati wrote the symphonic suite *Gypsies* for soloists, choir and orchestra (A. Basso, 1986). On the other hand, the *Grove Music Online* mentions only the Khessin cantata *Gypsies* from 1899, and claims that Kalafati composed the suite *Gypsies* in 1912. From the orchestrated fragments of the opera's second version we could find evidence that the paper was printed after 1917.

The two parts from Kalafati's cantata mentioned in the article, most likely are: the mixed vocal quartet and piano in the style of Pre-Classical Music *Ptichka bozhiya ne znaet*, op. 3, dedicated to Rimsky-Korsakov and the nice *Tsyganskaya pesnya* ('Gypsy Song') op. 19 (1927) with an oriental melody– fragment from the 2nd scene of the opera. These are among the nicest parts, which have not been changed in the second version of *Gypsies* opera (1937), libretto by Sergey Yur'evich Levik, in which Kalafati made the musical action more scenic and more complete.

The mixed quartet and piano accompaniment *Ptichka bozhiya ne znaet* /*Glücklich lebt vor Noth geboren*' op. 3, with which the opera *Gypsies* begins, was presented in German in Bern, Switzerland. The composer wrote a choral using the joyful song in trochaic tetrameter:

God's little bird knows
Neither care nor toil;
He does not carefully weave
A permanent nest...

Pushkin's *Ode to Liberty*, the "Song of Zemfira", written in iambic tetrameter, inspired many Russian composers to set it in music, from which the most notable are the romances by Tchaikovsky and Verstovsky. Kalafati presented this part of his opera as *Gypsy Song*, for soprano and a big symphony orchestra, op. 19 (1927).

Old gray man, cruel husband

Burn me; stab me with your knife,
 Is neither knife, nor fire can,
 For I'm firm, a point of strife,
 Whit scorn, I three deny,
 Your wrath I will defy,
 I love another,
 So, loving him I shall die.

There are significant differences between the two versions of the opera. The most of them concern the introduction, the first scene and the opera's finale. The first version was written for a different type of voice, it had 2 narrators and 5 scenes. The introduction and the first scene in the second edition are completely different. We cannot speak about the existence of leitmotifs. However, characteristic motifs from the introduction, which tie the stage action, are discovered at the end of the opera and among the orchestra episodes.

Synopsis

Cast:

Zemfira, soprano

Aleko– baritone,

An Old man, Zemfira's father– bass

Young Gypsy – tenor.

Narrator (the poet Pushkin)

Choir (consisting of gypsies)

1st scene (notes by the composer). A gypsy camp. The fire burns. One can listen to the bear sounds, the women's songs and the children's cries. There is also a blacksmith's sounds heard. The young gypsy Zemfira brings Aleko, who has problems with the law, to live in the camp and presents him to her father.

- i. Introduction (in Mi major). The poet Pushkin comes and greets the audience and the scene opens.
- ii. Chorus (vocalise). Quartet (God's Bird Doesn't Know). The Old man (monologue). Zemfira comes and brings Aleko with her (duet of Zemfira and his father).
- iii. Duet of Zemfira and Aleko ('What you left, tell me, does it not challenge you again?')

2nd scene (notes by the composer). Two years later in the gypsy camp. Aleko is now a real gypsy. The bear mumbles, Aleko turns her on the leash ... It is noon. The Old man has sat in the sun to warm up his frozen blood. Zemfira is next to the crib and sings an erotic song; Aleko feels she has cooled down with him now. Her father tells a story about Zemfira's mother Mariula. Aleko does not agree with the gypsies' free choosing of their partners, but he feels differently and vengeful".

- iv. Zemfira, Aleko and the Old man. Next to the crib, Zemfira sings for love (*Gypsy song*, op. 19) and Aleko has lost his speech and color.
- v. Aleko and Zemfira's father. Aria of Aleko ('How did she love me...'). Aria of the Old man ('Long ago, he loved Mariula who deserted him for another man, leaving behind Zemfira, their

daughter’).

vi. Duet of Aleko and the Old man

vii. **Third scene.** Zemfira appears with her young lover and warns him that her husband is jealous. As dawn comes, Aleko catches them together. In a torment of jealousy he kills the Young Gypsy first and then Zemfira. All the gypsies gather and take the bodies. Led by Zemfira's father, they spare Aleko's life but cast him out forever. The Old man explains to him that he has no place among the gypsies who have free will to live their life without restrictions. Aleko is left alone. Dawn is breaking. The orchestra closes the stage with a repetition of the Old man's leitmotiv (which develops into a five-phone fugue) and elements from the opera's introduction. Every movement dies, complete silence follows.

viii. The Young Gypsy, Zemfira, Aleko and the Old man. Duet of Zemfira and the Young Gypsy.

ix. Duet of Zemfira and Aleko (“*I curse your murder*”).

x. Monologue of the Old man (“*Leave us, proud man*”).

xi. Orchestral epilogue (Fife-voice fugue).

Some orchestrated fragments of the opera, such as the opera's Introduction, the Vocal Quartet (op. 3) and the *Gypsy Song* (op. 19), are preserved in the Kalafati's file. The opera is written for a large symphony orchestra, soloists and narrator and follows the specific characteristics of Kalafati's orchestration: a rich and exuberant palette of the painter, who knows how to use the sounds.

The opera's Introduction starts with an apotheosis (syncopations in the rhythm, fortissimo, marcato), the instruments play in parallel octaves and the choir vocalises. At the same time, the strings start a melody in the style of perpetual motion that goes up in the high register of the instruments, fills with chromaticisms, becomes increasingly more difficult and follows the form ABA. Somewhere the percussions imitate the sound of blacksmith's anvil and hammer.

Essential features of the Hungarian Folk and Gypsy music (syncopation, the Hungarian and Pentatonic scales, Phrygian cadenza) are identified in the opera. The major part of melodies are written in Russian style, whereas the harmony is more advanced, there are chromatic passages and the augmented scale is used (sometimes we discover tritons, augmented sevenths and generally difficult intervals in the arias).

Only the Zemfira's *Gypsy Song* is written in Oriental style, with ornamental phrases and melismata in a double harmonic minor scale (Hungarian or Gypsy scale). The *Gypsy song* has a beautiful melody, its rhythm patterns in 6/8 add a special grace and movement; the same musical material is treated with different variational techniques, the melismatas lead us to think about using spaces smaller than the usual European system and the chromatic passages somewhat resemble glissando. The song resembles gypsy slow songs, with a complex and often non-squared verse and a melody in large diapason. In comparison, the musical text of Zemfira is more common in the rest of the opera. Comparing the 1st and 2nd edition, one can see how far the composer has developed from 1899 to 1937.

Vasily Andreyevich Zolotaryov and his 4-act opera *The Decembrists*, libretto by V. Yasinovsky (1925), second version *Kondraty Ryleyev* (1957).

Vasily Zolotaryov studied at the Court Chapel in St Petersburg with Balakirev, Krasnokutsky and Lyadov, and composition with Rimsky-Korsakov at the St Petersburg conservatory (1898 –1900). Since 1908, he was a recognised composer in Russia. He lectured at the Moscow, Rostov-on-Don, Krasnodar, Odessa, Kiev, Sverdlovsk and Minsk conservatories.

Zolotarev could be classified among Soviet composers who expressed the inner essence of Soviet music: socialist realism in a national frame. His name is closely connected to the establishment and formation of the Belarusian National School of Composition, as well as the training of highly talented composers and musicologists.

Zolotaryov was a prolific composer and left behind a large body of works: operas, ballets, symphonies, cantatas, romances, string quartets etc. Among his stage works are: *The Decembrists*, revised as *Kondraty Ryleyev*, libretto by Yasinovsky, 1957 (presented in a concert performance on 29.08.1957, Moscow), *Khvestko Andyber*, 1928 (written during his teaching in Ukraine, presented in a concert performance in Kiev, 1928 and printed by Kharkov State Publishing House, 1929). He also wrote the operetta *Rikiki* (1917), the opera *Ak-Gul* on Uzbek Themes (1932-34) and the ballet *Knyaz'-ozero* ('Prince-lake') (1949).

Zolotaryov's personal archive is kept at the Belarusian State Archives-Museum of Literature and Art in Minsk. His 7 symphonies, the suite from ballet *Prince-lake* and fragments from the opera *Decembrists* were recorded by the Belarusian State Symphony Orchestra (1971–1973). Melodiya Records Company produced three LPs in 1974, dedicated to the 100-year-jubilee of composer's birth. There is also a recording of his 6st Symphony *My Homeland* (1954) and some of his ballet music in the archives of Belarus TV–Radio Company.

Although Zolotaryov's name is mentioned in all books as a revolutionary composer and creator of one of first Soviet operas, the composer's first experience in the opera genre was not a very happy one. The opera *The Decembrists* (4 acts, 6 scenes) was written in the style of psychological musical drama, where the main hero – poet Kondraty Ryleyev – was set in music and on stage. The composer created the opera during his teaching at the Odessa Music Institute. It was staged for the 100th anniversary of the Decembrist uprising in 1925 at the *Bolshoi* Theatre in Moscow. The opera's substance was changed by the *Bolshoi*, which presented a heroic-dramatic opera and included big revolutionary scenes in it. "The regime supports Zolotaryov's opera and his sincere effort to present an important event in the genre of the opera, reaching some successes", wrote Anatoly Lunacharsky. The composer Bogdanov-Berezovsky expressed himself even more categorically, noting that the opera *Decembrists* played "the role of rough sketches" in the creation of the Soviet opera. Zolotaryov's work should be rephrased and rediscovered today.

Synopsis

The plot of the opera "Decembrists" (1st and 2nd Act) begins with the presentation of Andrey Volkonsky's and Kondraty Ryleyev's families. The December revolt begins after the news of the death of Tsar Alexander I. The royal cannons crush the revolutionaries in Senate Square. The 3rd Act begins with a dance in the

palace of Nicholas I. Believing the tsar-prophet, Ryleyev betrays his comrades. In the 4th act, Ryleyev writes a farewell letter to his family before his execution. In the opera's finale, the revolutionaries sent to the Gulags appear singing a hymn of faith for the future, the power of the people who will break the chains of Tsarist and complete the work initiated by the Decembrists.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to present the Hellenic world in Russia during the 19th century by focusing on prominent composers of Greek origin. The operas of Alferaki, Kalafati, Arkas and Zolotaryov require critical reading and evaluation in the context of the historical conditions which have determined their production and adoption. New systematic and integrated musicological research is needed in this difficult direction– the study of the Hellenic diaspora in particular– in order to provide a better view of the Hellenic spiritual movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries, a crucial period for the evolution of the Greek state.

Ο θίασος της Alice Reine στο Θέατρο Φαλήρου. Η γαλλική «Αναγέννηση» στη φαληρική σκηνή

Κωνσταντζα Γεωργακάκη

«Και κάτω κει στο Φάληρο / που θέρμη βασιλεύει
όπου πονέντες άσπλαχνος / το θέατρο σαλεύει
Κ' εκεί το γλέντι άρχισε... / χαρά στον που τον κράζει!
Τι φρέσκα φραντσεζόστρειδα / η θάλασσά του βγάξει!»¹

Ο Ραμπαγάς σχολιάζει, με σκωπτικό πνεύμα, την άφιξη των Γάλλων καλλιτεχνών στο Θέατρο Φαλήρου το 1884, σε ένα αδιάφορο, όπως προοιωνίζεται, θεατρικά και μουσικά καλοκαίρι. Η ελληνική πρωτεύουσα, συνήθης σταθμός των περιοδειών των θεατρικών σχημάτων προς Ανατολάς, θα φιλοξενήσει έναν ακόμη γαλλικό μουσικό θίασο, ικανοποιώντας το ευρωπαϊκό φαντασιακό των «φαληριστών». Το όραμα του πρωθυπουργού Χαρίλαου Τρικούπη για τον αστικό εκσυγχρονισμό της χώρας συμβαδίζει, άλλωστε, με την καλλιέργεια ενός δυτικού μοντέλου διασκέδασης.

Η πρόκληση του προηγούμενου καλοκαιριού, η παρουσία του αρμένικου λυρικού θιάσου του Σερόπ Μπενγκλιάν στον ίδιο χώρο,² αιφνιδίασε το τακτικό κοινό του θεάτρου. Μολονότι η μουσική πρόταση των Αρμενίων βρήκε πολλούς υποστηρικτές γιατί συνδύαζε τις ανατολίτικες μελωδίες με μοτίβα της ευρωπαϊκής οπερέτας, δεν έλειψαν και οι φωνές που, για επικοινωνιακούς λόγους, την αμφισβήτησαν θεωρώντας ότι αυτές οι καταθέσεις επιβραδύνουν την πορεία της χώρας προς το δυτικό κόσμο. Δεν είχε γίνει αντιληπτό ότι η μανιχαϊστική λογική των πρώτων χρόνων της ανεξαρτησίας, η επιλογή μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης ήταν δύσκολο να συνεχισθεί: «δεν μπορούσε τότε η κοινωνία ούτε να μη φραγκέψει ούτε να εξευρωπαϊστεί εντελώς».³ Παρά τις προσπάθειες εκπροσώπων της διανόησης, στο πλαίσιο των αναζητήσεών τους για τον λαϊκό πολιτισμό στη δεκαετία του 1880, να γεφυρώσουν τις αντιθέσεις, οι θεατές του Φαλήρου μάλλον δεν θα ήθελαν να παρακολουθήσουν για μια ακόμη χρονιά τας «οφφεμπαχιάδας μεταφρασμένας εις την γλώσσαν των Χανούμ της γης και των ουρί του Παραδείσου».⁴

¹ «Θέατρα», Ραμπαγάς (7.6.1884), 1.

² Για την επίδραση του θιάσου του Μπεγκλιάν στο μουσικό θέατρο της Αθήνας και τη συμβολή της αρμενικής οπερέτας στη δημιουργία του εγχώριου κωμειδυλλίου βλ. Θόδωρος Χατζηπανταζής, *Το Κωμειδύλλιο*, τ. Α', Αθήνα: Ερμής, 1981, 59-62. Για την επιτυχία του θιάσου, την οπερέτα Λεμπλεμιτζής Χορ-Χορ Αγάς σε μουσική του Dikran Tchuhadjan βλ. Emmanouil Seiragakis, «Leblebidji Horhor Agha, a glorious ottoman peddler», στο *New Trends in Ottoman Studies*, Marinos Saryiannis (επιμ.), Ρέθυμνο: University of Crete – Department of History and Archaeology Foundation for Research and Technology-Hellas – Institute for Mediterranean Studies, 2014, 812-825.

³ Αλέξης Πολίτης, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια. Ιδεολογίες και Νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880*, Αθήνα: Ε.Μ.Ν.Ε.-Μνήμων, 1993, 21.

⁴ «Θεατρικά», *Εφημερίς* (18.7.1883), 3.

Η σύζευξη των δύο μουσικών παραδόσεων, λοιπόν, εξακολουθεί να αντιμετωπίζεται με αρκετές επιφυλάξεις, μολονότι ο Ισιδωρίδης Σκυλίτσης χειροκρότησε θερμά τον εξ Ανατολής θίασο.⁵ Ο πολιτιστικός διχασμός συντηρείται καθώς η οπτική της κεντρικής εξουσίας και της ανερχόμενης αστικής τάξης κλίνει προς τα καλλιτεχνικά προϊόντα της Ευρώπης ενώ τα ασθενέστερα κοινωνικά στρώματα εξακολουθούν να γοητεύονται από περισσότερο οικεία ακούσματα και ανατολίτικες μελωδίες. Οι θεατρικοί επιχειρηματίες, επομένως, για να ανταποκριθούν σ' αυτές τις προτιμήσεις, προσπαθούν να κάνουν συγκριτικές προκρίσεις των θεαμάτων, που θα φιλοξενήσουν.

Το θεατρικό τοπίο της πρωτεύουσας

Ο προγραμματισμός των θερινών θεάτρων διαμορφώνεται ανάλογα με τα γούστα των θεατών, στους οποίους απευθύνονται. Οι Πειραιώτες παραμένουν της Ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί⁶ γι' αυτό «θίασος Αρμενίων εκ τριών ανδρών και τριών δεσποινίδων, εγκατεστημένων εις το παρά την Μουνυχίαν καφενείον του κ. Διονυσιάδου, τέρπει μέχρι βαθείας νυκτός δια των ασιατικών ασμάτων και χορών του το φίλον της ασιατικής μουσικής κοινόν του Πειραιώς».⁷ Στο θέατρο «Ποσειδών» και στο «Άντρο των Νυμφών» παρουσιάζονται διάφορα θεάματα ποικιλιών ενώ στον ανακαινισμένο «Παράδεισο» αρχικά εμφανίζονται ακροβάτες από την Αφρική, στη συνέχεια ένας γαλλικός θίασος και τον Σεπτέμβριο ο Thomas Holden με τις μαριονέτες του. Τέλος, οι επιδείξεις δύναμης του Παναγή Κουταλιανού και του Τούρκου ομοτέχνου του Ομέρ Μπεχλιβάν ενθουσιάζουν τα λαϊκά στρώματα αλλά δεν συντελούν στη δημιουργία ενός ελκυστικού θεατρικού περιβάλλοντος.

Οι δημοφιλείς Έλληνες θιασάρχες, πάλι, υπηρετώντας ένα άνισο δραματολόγιο και αποφεύγοντας ρηξικέλευθες επιλογές, δεν επηρεάζουν ουσιαστικά το θεατρικό τοπίο. Ο θίασος «Μένανδρος» των Αδελφών Ταβουλάρη αρχίζει εμφανίσεις στο Θέατρο «Ολύμπια» του Ζαππείου στις 2 Ιουνίου με το πολύ γνωστό, από προηγούμενα ανεβάσματα, πεντάπρακτο ιστορικό δράμα *Πατρίδα* [*Patrie!*] του Victorien Sardou. Ο Δημοσθένης Αλεξιάδης κάνει πρεμιέρα στον Πειραιά στις 7 Ιουλίου με την *Μήδεια* του Ιωάννη Ζαμπέλιου και την ελληνική μονόπρακτη κωμωδία αγνώστου συγγραφέα *Χορός μετεμφιεσμένων* ενώ, μετά την αποχώρηση του ιταλικού θιάσου, ανεβάζει παραστάσεις και στο θέατρο «Απόλλων».⁸

Τρεις θίασοι από την Εσπερία, τέλος, καλούνται να ενισχύσουν το «κοσμοπολίτικο» προφίλ της πρωτεύουσας. Στο θέατρο «Απόλλων» φιλοξενείται ο ιταλικός λυρικός θίασος του τενόρου Eugenio Castagna, ο οποίος θα

⁵ Ι. Ισιδωρίδης Σκυλίτσης, «Οι Αρμένιοι εν Φαλήρω», *Εφημερίς* (7.8.1883), 2.

⁶ Ο χαρακτηρισμός προέρχεται από το ομότιτλο βιβλίο του Θόδωρου Χατζηπανταζή, Αθήνα: στιγμή, 1986, όπου σχολιάζεται η ακμή του αθηναϊκού καφέ αμάν.

⁷ «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (17.6.1884), 3.

⁸ Αναλυτικά στοιχεία για τις παραστάσεις των δύο ελληνικών θιάσων στο: Θόδωρος Χατζηπανταζής, *Από τον Νείλον μέχρι του Δουνάβεως*, Τόμος Β2, Παράρτημα-Κίνηση Ελληνικών Θιάσων 1876-1897, Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2012, 518-521.

παραμένει στην Αθήνα για 30 βραδιές και στη συνέχεια θα συνεχίσει για τον επόμενο σταθμό της περιοδείας του, την Πετρούπολη.⁹ Η πρεμιέρα, όμως, στις 23 Ιουνίου, με τον *Ruy Blas* σε μουσική Filippo Marchetti και λιμπρέτο Carlo d'Ormeville, απογοητεύει καθώς «το όλον της πρώτης αυτής παραστάσεως υπήρξε γενική χασμωδία».¹⁰ Την αρχική εικόνα, ένα θέαμα *bon pour l'orient*, δεν ανατρέπουν οι επόμενες παραστάσεις με αποτέλεσμα ο θίασος να διαλυθεί πολύ σύντομα και οι καλλιτέχνες ν' αναζητούν τρόπους να πληρώσουν τα χρέη τους για να επιστρέψουν στην πατρίδα τους.¹¹

Ο γαλλικός θίασος του Henri Beaucour, που φθάνει στην Αθήνα από την Κωνσταντινούπολη, αρχίζει παραστάσεις στις 14 Ιουλίου στο θέατρο «Παράδεισος». Οι προτάσεις του συνδυάζουν θέατρο και χορό καθώς παράλληλα με τα μουσικά έργα εμφανίζονται και 10 χορεύτριες με επικεφαλής την χορογράφο δεσποινίδα Dardignac.¹² Στην πρεμιέρα ανεβαίνει η μονόπρακτη όπερα μπούφα *Les pantins de Violette* του Adolphe Adam σε λιμπρέτο του Léon Battu και η μονόπρακτη οπερέτα *Coco Bel-Oeil* του Lucien Collin σε λιμπρέτο των Louis Péricaud και Lucien Delormel. Ο άλλος γαλλικός θίασος, της Alice Reine, καλείται να ξαναφέρει στη σκηνή το παρισινό στυλ, που τόσο έλειψε από τους φαληριστές την προηγούμενη χρονιά.

Ο θίασος της Reine: Το ρεπερτόριο

Ο Γεώργιος Κατσίμπαλης,¹³ ο οποίος έχει αναλάβει την επιχείρηση του θεάτρου και επιχορηγείται από την Εταιρεία Σιδηροδρόμων Αθηνών-Πειραιώς,¹⁴ έχει μεταβεί στη Γαλλία από τον Απρίλιο για να σχηματίσει το θίασο που θα φιλοξενήσει το καλοκαίρι στο Φάληρο. Φροντίζει, μάλιστα, να γνωστοποιεί τις κινήσεις του, μέσω των εφημερίδων, σε τακτά χρονικά διαστήματα για να κεντρίσει το ενδιαφέρον του κοινού για τις παραγωγές: «πας δ' έπαινος οφείλεται τω κ. Γ. Κατσίμπαλη μη φεισθέντι ούτε κόπων ούτε δαπάνης, όπως καταστήση το θέατρον Φαλήρου άξιον της υποστηρίξεως των κατοίκων της

⁹ «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (1.6.1884), 3.

¹⁰ «Διάφορα», *Παλιγγενεσία* (25.6.1884), 3. Οι μονωδοί δεν ικανοποιούν τους θεατές ενώ ο Τύπος υποστηρίζει ότι εσκεμμένα διαδόθηκε ότι ο θίασος θα μεταβεί στη Ρωσία «θέλοντες ίσως να παραστήσωσι πόσον κρύοι είναι οι ηθοποιοί, οι οποίοι συνήχθησαν, καθώς φαίνεται, εξ ωδικών καφενείων να εμπαίξωσι εδώ το μελόδραμα. Εις το Άντρον των Νυμφών ψάλλουσι καλλίτερα», *Πρωία* (26.6.1884), 3.

¹¹ Με λυρικό ύφος η *Νέα Εφημερίς* (6.7.1884), 2 υποστηρίζει ότι είναι καθήκον της πολιτείας «να βοηθήση τας ιδιωτικές εν τη κοινωνία συμπαθείας παρέχουσα τοις διεσκορπισμένοις τέτιξι τα μέσα της εις τα κλαδία της πατρίδος των επανόδου αυτών».

¹² «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (1.7.1884), 1. Γαλλίδες χορεύτριες εμφανίζονται πρώτη φορά στην Αθήνα (*Πρωία*, 1.7.1884), 3.

¹³ Ο Κατσίμπαλης, στην αρχή της δεκαετίας του 80, έχει κάνει σύμβαση με την Εταιρεία Σιδηροδρόμων σύμφωνα με την οποία εκμισθώνεται σ' αυτόν το *Μέγα Ξενοδοχείο του Φαλήρου* ή *Grand Hôtel de Phalère* και το 1884 και το Θέατρο Φαλήρου.

¹⁴ Σύμφωνα με τα δημοσιεύματα επιχορηγείται με 15.000 δραχμές για να γίνει η μετάκληση του θιάσου, Α.Λ., «Το Φάληρον», *Στοά* (6.6.1884), 3 και αργότερα τού δίνεται το ίδιο ποσόν για ν' αντιμετωπίσει τις οικονομικές απώλειες εξαιτίας της κακοκαιρίας και της συνακόλουθης ακύρωσης παραστάσεων, «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (8.7.1884), 3.

πρωτευούσης και αληθές αυτών εντρύφημα».¹⁵ Οι καλλιτέχνες φθάνουν στις 30 Μαΐου με πλοίο της εταιρείας Fraisinnet.¹⁶

Η πρωταγωνίστρια του θιάσου, η σοπράνο Alice Reine,¹⁷ γνωστή στους Γάλλους θεατές από τις εμφανίσεις της στην περιφέρεια αλλά και στο Παρίσι, στο Théâtre de la Renaissance και στο Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, έρχεται πρώτη φορά στην Ελλάδα και, όπως γράφεται, «ανέπληρωσεν άλλοτε επιτυχώς την περικόλυτον Γρανιά εν τω παρισινώ θεάτρω η Αναγέννησις».¹⁸ Οι γαλλομαθείς θεατρόφιλοι αντιλαμβάνονται ότι το δημοσίευμα αναφέρεται στην Jeanne Granier, πρωταγωνίστρια επί σειρά ετών στο Théâtre de la Renaissance και η Reine συμμετέχει στο θίασο σε διπλή διανομή. Ακολουθώντας μια συνήθη πολιτική προώθησης των θεαμάτων από τον δυτικό κόσμο προβάλλεται η παρουσία της «βεντέτας» του θιάσου, της πρωταγωνίστριας, στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση. Καθώς το επίθετό της προσφέρεται για λογοπαίγνια, όπως «βασιλίτσα της Αναγέννησης» και «βασιλίτσα του ζατρικού», δημιουργείται η δημόσια εικόνα μιας δυναμικής γυναίκας με ακτινοβολία που επιβάλλεται με την παρουσία της, στοιχείο που μπορεί να λειτουργήσει εισπρακτικά. Ο σύζυγός της Tony Reine, με τον οποίο είχαν εμφανισθεί μαζί σε αρκετές παραστάσεις, είναι ο κωμικός του θιάσου. Πάντως, αν και έχουν γραφεί αρκετές πληροφορίες για τη ρομαντική ερωτική ιστορία τους στο γαλλικό Τύπο,¹⁹ δεν μεταφέρεται τίποτα στις ελληνικές εφημερίδες ούτε αξιοποιείται η σχέση τους ως επικοινωνιακή πρακτική.

Η δεύτερη πρωταγωνίστρια, η νεαρή Eudoxie Tilquin,²⁰ χρησιμοποιεί όλους τους μηχανισμούς προβολής για να γίνει αυτή το πρώτο όνομα του θιάσου. Είναι απαιτητική, έχει άριστες σχέσεις με τον θεατρικό επιχειρηματία και με

¹⁵ «Θέατρα», *Παλιγγενεσία* (4.6.1884), 4.

¹⁶ «Διάφορα», *Σφαίρα* (30.5.1884), 2.

¹⁷ Για την Alice Reine υπάρχει οπτικό υλικό, βλ. ενδεικτικά στο ψηφιακό αρχείο της Γαλλικής Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53139327m.image> και <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531393265.r=Alice%20Reine?rk=107296;4> (ημερομηνία προσπέλασης 20.6.2018).

¹⁸ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (4.6.1884), 2.

¹⁹ Η συνάντησή τους περιγράφεται με γλαφυρό τρόπο: « Il y a, dans la vie de coulisses, comme dans l'histoire, de bien jolies légendes. On ne saurait plus prononcer devant nous le nom gracieux d'Alice Reine, sans évoquer un conte provençal, fort accrédité sur le boulevard, où une blonde Marseillaise, nommée Reine, née à l'ombre des allées de Meilhan, rencontre, au beau soleil, un jour de foire de Beaucaire, un pauvre diable, armé d'un violon et d'un grand parasol rouge. Ce parasol rouge et ce pauvre diable éblouissent Reine, elle s'amourache, l'aime, l'épouse... et ils n'ont pas d'enfants. Or, le violoneux en question s'appelle Tony, débuta à l'Eldorado, où il chantait l'opérette en compagnie d'Alice, qui prit goût à ce duo forcé, et s'appela peu de temps après Tony-Reine », *Triolet*, « Au bout de la lorgnette », *Le Gaulois* (16.2.1882), 2. Επομένως, το όνομα του Tony-Reine συντίθεται από το μικρό του όνομα και το επίθετο της συζύγου του.

²⁰ Το όνομα της Tilquin συναντάται σε ανταποκρίσεις από την Αθήνα το καλοκαίρι του 1884 αλλά δεν υπάρχουν στοιχεία για μεταγενέστερες εμφανίσεις της: « Eudoxie Tilquin dont nous avons annoncé l'engagement au théâtre d'Athènes vient d'y débiter avec grand succès. La jeune et charmante cantatrice est accueillie tous les soirs par d'unanimes bravos », Christian de Trogoff, « Courrier des Théâtres », *Gil Blas* (9.7.1884), 4. Ανάλογα σχόλια και στο *Officiel artiste* 29 (24.7.1884), 6.

δημοσιογράφους συγκεκριμένων εντύπων, οι οποίοι γράφουν, «αυτοβούλως», διθυραμβικά σχόλια για την παρουσία της αμφισβητώντας ή και υπονομεύοντας άλλες συναδέλφους της: «επεθυμούμεν να υπεκρίνετο το πρόσωπον της δουκίσσης η δεσ. Τιλκέν, διότι ταύτης το προσωπάκι και αι κινήσεις προσομοιάζουνσι προς τας αρετάς της Μιλλύ-μεγίερ [Émilie Mily Meyer], της χαριεστάτης μικράς δουκίσσης της Αναγεννήσεως των Παρισίων. Η δεσποσύνη Δελινύ φαίνεται ημίν κάπως ανάρμοςτος εις το μέρος τούτο».²¹ Υπάρχει, όπως διαπιστώνεται, εντονότατο πεδίο ανταγωνισμού όχι μόνο μεταξύ των δύο πρωταγωνιστριών αλλά και μεταξύ άλλων μελών του θιάσου και η Tilquin φροντίζει να διοχετεύει, μέσω του φιλικού της τύπου, υποτιμητικά σχόλια σε βάρος τους.

Τον θιάσο²² αποτελούν οι τενόροι Albert Garrigues και A. Dubuisson, οι βαρύτονοι Victor Berardi, Alex. Noé και, μετά την αποχώρηση του τελευταίου, ο Durandin, ο οποίος είχε εμφανισθεί και το καλοκαίρι του 1881 στο Φάληρο εντυπωσιάζοντας με τη φωνή του αλλά προκαλώντας σχόλια για την εμφάνισή του: «φαίνεται επί της σκηνής ως ο μεγαλοπρεπής εκείνος Γερμανός βασιλεύς, ου την εικόνα αναρτώσι συνήθως τα ζυθοπωλεία, παριστάνουσα αυτόν με ποτήριον αφρίζοντος και εκχειλίζοντος ζύθου».²³ Στον θιάσο ανήκουν, επίσης, οι μονωδοί Berthe Deligny, Joly, πρώην Frederic, Ferret, Fulvie Tilquin, αδελφή της Eudoxie και αργότερα και η Goyon. Συμμετέχουν, επίσης, 24 χορωδοί (12 άνδρες και 12 γυναίκες) καθώς και 28μελής ορχήστρα υπό τη διεύθυνση του παλιού γνώριμου στο κοινό Charles Nicosias. Ρεζισέρ ο κωμικός μπάσος Georges Sapien και ο Phocion, ενδυματολόγος ο Leon Klugman, συνεργάτης των θεάτρων της Μασσαλίας και του Μόντε-Κάρλο.

Στο ρεπερτόριο του θιάσου περιλαμβάνονται κυρίως γαλλικές κωμικές όπερες και οπερέτες.²⁴ Από αυτές πέντε είναι δημιουργίες του Lecocq, εκ των οποίων οι δύο παρουσιάζονται για πρώτη φορά στην Αθήνα, η εναρκτήρια *Καρδιά και χείρ* και η *Ηγεμονία των Καναρίων*. Ακολουθούν *Ο Μικρός Δούκας*, *Η ημέρα και νύξ* και *Η Μικροπανδρεμένη*. Στον αρχικό προγραμματισμό περιλαμβάνονται τρεις κωμικές όπερες του Offenbach, *Η μεγάλη δούκισσα του Γερολστάιν*, *Η κόρη του αρχιτυμπανιστού* και *Η Περιχόλη* [La Perichole], δύο του Varney, *Οι Σωματοφύλακες εν Μοναστηρίω* και *Fanfan la tulipe*, δύο του Audran, *Η Ζιλέττη* και *Η μασκότ* [La mascotte], μία του Lacome, *Η κυρία Μπονιφάς*, μια του Hervé, *Ο μικρός Φάυστος* και μία του Bernicat, που ολοκληρώθηκε από τον Messenger, *Ο λογιώτατος Φραγκίσκος*. Εκπρόσωπος της βιεννέζικης οπερέτας ο

²¹ «Θέατρον Φαλήρου», Στοά (12.6.1884), 3. Η Mily Meyer είναι η πρώτη ερμηνεύτρια του ρόλου στο *Μικρό Δούκα* στο Théâtre de la Renaissance.

²² Τα ονόματα των συντελεστών των παραστάσεων και των μονωδών δημοσιεύονται στη Στοά (3.6.1884), 3. Στις παραστάσεις τα επίθετα εμφανίζονται άλλοτε με ελληνικούς, άλλοτε με λατινικούς χαρακτήρες και δεν είναι βέβαιο ότι η απόδοση τους είναι πάντοτε σωστή. Σύμφωνα με στοιχεία από τις γαλλικές εφημερίδες, που έχουν ψηφιοποιηθεί, οι περισσότεροι μονωδοί διέθεταν σκηνική εμπειρία καθώς συμμετείχαν σε αρκετές παραστάσεις σε γαλλικά λυρικά θέατρα της περιφέρειας πριν έλθουν στην Ελλάδα.

²³ «Ο Ραμπαγός εις τα θέατρα», *Ραμπαγός* (2.8.1881), 7.

²⁴ Οι τίτλοι αποδίδονται σύμφωνα με τον τύπο της εποχής άλλοτε στο πρωτότυπο και άλλοτε εξελληνισμένοι. Οι πρωτότυποι αναγράφονται στην ταυτότητα των παραστάσεων στο τέλος του κειμένου.

Franz von Suppé με τρεις δημιουργίες, τη *Δόνα Χουανίτα*, τη *Fatinitza* και τον *Βοκάκκιο* [Boccace]. Τέλος προαναγγέλλεται και η όπερα του Gounod, *Φιλήμων και Βανκίς* καθώς και η γνωστή από παλαιότερα ανεβάσματα κωμική όπερα του Donizetti, *La fille du régiment*.

Από τους είκοσι τίτλους, που υπάρχουν στο ρεπερτόριο, ανεβαίνουν τελικά δεκατέσσερις, στους δέκα από τους οποίους πρωταγωνιστεί η Reine και στους τέσσερις η Tilquin. Οι γαλλικές δημιουργίες έχουν την πρωτοκαθεδρία έναντι των βιεννέζικων (13 γαλλικές και 1 βιεννέζικη) και ο μόνος συνθέτης, που δεν επηρεάζεται από τον αρχικό προγραμματισμό, είναι ο Lecocq. Ο θιάσος ακολουθεί μια ενδιαφέρουσα πολιτική ρεπερτορίου. Δεν περιορίζεται μόνον σε γνωστές, δοκιμασμένες από το παρελθόν, και εισπρακτικά πετυχημένες οπερέτες. Επιλέγονται και τίτλοι άγνωστοι στο αθηναϊκό κοινό, παλαιότεροι αλλά και σύγχρονοι, δίνοντάς του την ευκαιρία να έλθει σε επαφή και με άλλες δημιουργίες του λυρικού θεάτρου.

Οι παραστάσεις²⁵

Η πρεμιέρα γίνεται με την πρώτη παρουσίαση στην Αθήνα της κωμικής όπερας του Lecocq *Η Καρδιά και η χείρ*. Η καινούρια σύνθεση, ωστόσο, μάλλον δεν ικανοποιεί την κριτική: «τ' άσματα έτόνισεν ο Λεκόκ, ο της κυρά Αγγούς [*La Fille de madame Angot*] μουσουργός. Το έργον όμως τούτο δεν διακρίνεται ως εκ των εξοχοτέρων του καλλιτέχνου»²⁶ ενώ η μουσική του, γραμμένη «εις το style του *Le jour et la nuit*»,²⁷ επαναλαμβάνει γνωστά μοτίβα. Η επιλογή αυτή είναι συνειδητή, σύμφωνα με την άποψη Γάλλου μουσικοκριτικού, σύγχρονου του συνθέτη, καθώς οι προηγούμενες επιτυχίες του αποτελούν καθοριστικό παράγοντα στο να μην κάνει αλλαγές στον τρόπο σύνθεσης των νέων καταθέσεών του.²⁸

Τα περισσότερα σχόλια, βεβαίως, αφορούν στην πρωταγωνίστρια, «αληθή βασίλισσαν επί της σκηνής. Είναι πλήρης χάριτος, γλυκύτητος, μουσικού αισθήματος, αι κινήσεις αυτής περιπαθέσταται, αποφεύγει τα αηδή κινήματα του *café chantant*, η φωνή της δεν είναι μεν δυνατή, είναι όμως γλυκεία, τελεία φωνή του είδους της (*son genre*). Προς τούτοις, παρουσιάζεται φέρουσα ενδυμασίας κομψάς και πλουσίας, τας αυτάς ας ενεδύετο και ενώπιον των

²⁵ Μια πρώτη παρουσίαση των παραστάσεων του θιάσου κάνει η Κατερίνα Μπρεντάνου στη διδακτορική της διατριβή, *Η θεατρική ζωή του Πειραιά (από την πρώτη παράσταση έως το 1922)*, Αθήνα: Τμήμα Θεατρικών Σπουδών ΕΚΠΑ, 2010, 194-200, <http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/25420#page/1/mode/2up> (ημερομηνία προσπέλασης 10.6.2018).

²⁶ «Θέατρον Φαλήρου», *Στοά* (5.6.1884), 2. Τα σχόλια για την παραγωγή είναι επαινετικά από όλες τις εφημερίδες, βλ. μεταξύ άλλων «Διάφορα», *Σφαίρα* (5.6.1884), 2, «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (4.6.1884), 2.

²⁷ «Ο Ραμπαγάς εις τα θέατρα», *Ραμπαγάς* (7.6.1884), 7. Μπορεί να μην είναι πολύ πρωτότυπη η μουσική, γίνεται, όμως, σύντομα δημοφιλής, όπως προκύπτει από την αναγγελία εκδήλωσης στην Πλατεία Συντάγματος: «η μουσική του πυροβολικού υπό τον κ. Καίσαρην θα εκτελέση ωραίαν συναγωγήν εκ του εν Φαλήρῳ παριστανομένου ευαρέστου τόσον μελοδράματος *Le Coeur et la main*», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (14.7.1884), 3.

²⁸ «Les succès antérieurs de M. Lecocq sont peut-être la raison déterminante de sa résolution à ne rien changer dans ses procédés», J.-B. de Coninck, «Chronique musicale», *Le Parnasse*, 62 (1882), 4.

Παρισινών».²⁹ Διαθέτει, μάλιστα, «όλα τα προσόντα μιας *reine* θεατρικού ζατρικού. Κυριαρχεί της σκηνής καθ' όλας τας διευθύνσεις και δια της φωνής της και δια του παραστήματός της. Τα άλλα πόνια φιλοτιμούνται να κάμνουν το μέρος των αναλόγως τοιαύτης βασιλίσσης».³⁰

Εξ ίσου θετική είναι η υποδοχή και των άλλων μονωδών αλλά και των χορωδών. «Και ο βαρύτονος κ. Βεράρδης έτυχεν ομοίας υποδοχής δια την ακρίβειαν και ηδύτητα, μεθ' ης έψαλλεν· και ο οξύτονος κ. Καρίγκ και η δευτέρα υψίφωνος κυρία Δελινύ. Περί δε του χορού [χορωδία] αρκούμεθα να είπωμεν ότι το πρώτον ούτω καλώς συνηρμολογημένος χορός έψαλλεν από του θεάτρου εκείνου».³¹ Παραστάσεις επιμελημένες με φωνητικά επαρκείς μονωδούς αλλά και χορωδούς, λόγω και της προηγούμενης εμπειρίας τους σε γαλλικές σκηνές, διαμορφώνουν ένα θετικό κλίμα για τον γαλλικό θίασο, ο οποίος, δίνει δείγματα επαγγελματισμού από την πρώτη εμφάνισή του.

Ο μικρός Δούκας, προσωπική επιτυχία της Granier, επιλέγεται προφανώς γιατί η πρωταγωνίστρια γνώριζε καλά το ρόλο από την γαλλική σκηνή. Λυρική δημιουργία ιδιαίτερα αγαπητή, αφού αποσπάσματα της «παίζονται εις όλους τους χορούς και εις πάσας τας συναυλίας»³² κερδίζει, εκ νέου, το κοινό, μολονότι είχε ανεβεί και το 1880 στο Φάληρο με μεγάλη επιτυχία. Τέσσερα χρόνια μετά η Reine κατορθώνει να σβήσει τις εντυπώσεις από την ερμηνεία της Denise Lassalle, την οποία άξιζε «να ίδη όλη η πόλις των Αθηνών».³³ Ενθουσιασμένοι οι κριτικοί εκτιμούν ότι «εζωντάνεψε πολύ! Ανεγεννήθη υπό τον αστέρα της Αναγεννήσεως, την Madame Alice Reine... Bravo, bravo! Nous bissons et nous rebissons *Le Petit Duc*»³⁴ και θεωρούν ότι η επιτυχία της παράστασης ήταν «κυρίως έργον της υψιφώνου κυρίας Reine, ήτις ως Δουξ, ως χωρική, ως συνταγματάρχης απέπνεε πάντοτε γαλλικήν όλως χάριν, και ήτις ηλέκτρισε και κατενθουσίασε το συνήθως ήρεμον μένον αθηναϊκόν κοινόν».³⁵ Ιδιαίτερα θετικά είναι τα σχόλια και για τον Tony Reine, «όστις ως Φριμούς εκίνει συχνάκις την ιλαρότητα του κοινού»,³⁶ και για τους άλλους συντελεστές: «τα ενδύματα εν γένει ήσαν ωραία και η ορχήστρα καλή».³⁷ Οι ερμηνείες αλλά και η άρτια παραγωγή δεν απογοητεύουν τους φαληριστές.

Η *πριγκίπισσα των Καναρίων*, σε πρώτη παρουσίαση, επίσης, στην ελληνική πρωτεύουσα, αντιμετωπίζεται θετικά από τον τύπο. Η μουσική του Lecocq «περιέχει πλείστα τεμάχια χαριέστατα, εν οίς διαπρέπει προ πάντων το εν τη γ' πράξει Άσμα των Ταυρομάχων [*Chanson du toréador*]. Έχει εξάλλου και πλοκήν ευχάριστον και τέρπει δια της ποικιλίας και της συχνής εναλλαγής των πλουσίων ενδυμασιών».³⁸ Παρά την μεταξύ τους αντιπαλότητα, «αι δύο πρωταγωνίστριαι κυρίαί Ρεν και Τιλκέν εν αμίλλη ανέπτυξαν και τέχνην και

²⁹ Α.Λ. «Το Φάληρον», *Στοά* (7.6.1884), 2.

³⁰ «Θεατρικά. A vol d'oiseau», *Ασμοδαίος* (10.6.1984), 4.

³¹ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (4.6.1884), 2.

³² «Θέατρον Φαλήρου», *Στοά* (12.6.1884), 3.

³³ «Θεατρικά», *Εφημερίς* (12.7.1880), 3.

³⁴ «Ο Ραμπαγάς εις τα θέατρα», *Ραμπαγάς* (14.6.1884), 6.

³⁵ «Διάφορα», *Παλιγγενεσία* (13.6.1884), 4.

³⁶ «Θεατρικά» *Εφημερίς* (18.6.1884), 3.

³⁷ «Θεατρικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (14.6.1884), 3.

³⁸ «Θεατρικά» *Εφημερίς* (2.7.1884), 2.

άσμα εκτάκτου δυνάμεως, κατεμάγευσεν δε το ακροατήριο η διωδία των στρατηγών και των αγγλίδων».³⁹ Οι προστριβές γίνονται εντονότερες στη συνέχεια και η Tilquin επικαλούμενη ασθένεια, διπλωματική ίσως, δεν τραγουδά στις τελευταίες παραστάσεις και αντικαθίσταται.

Η ημέρα και η νύξ, αντίθετα, δεν κατορθώνει να έχει το ίδιο θετικό σκηνικό αποτέλεσμα με την πρώτη παρουσίαση στο θέατρο του Φαλήρου, το 1882. Οι συγκρίσεις ανάμεσα στους ερμηνευτές των δύο παραστάσεων είναι συνεχείς. Ακόμη και εάν η Alice Reine μπορεί να συναγωνισθεί σε ορισμένα σημεία την Coralie Geoffroy, η Deligny προσπαθεί αλλά δεν ξεπερνά τη ζωντάνια της Jeanne Andrée. Οι άνδρες μονωδοί, επίσης, έχουν ελλείψεις: ο Φριτς του Dubuisson ήταν πολύ κατώτερος του Brouette ενώ ο Tony Reine περιορίζεται στη μίμηση του πρώτου διδάξαντα Berthelier.⁴⁰ Οι μνήμες από την προηγούμενη παράσταση είναι νωπές, και οι συγκρίσεις, στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση, λειτουργούν σε βάρος των νεότερων σκηνικών προτάσεων.

Η μικροπανδρευμένη, ως προσωπική επιτυχία της Granier, θα ήταν αναμενόμενο να ερμηνευθεί από τη Reine στη φαληρική σκηνή. Εν τούτοις το ρόλο επωμίζεται η Tulquin, η οποία, προφανώς, στο πεδίο των ενδοθεατρικών συγκρούσεων, έχει υψηλούς προστάτες. Δίπλα της ο Durandin, που είχε τραγουδήσει τον ρόλο και το καλοκαίρι του 1881 στο ίδιο θέατρο. Στην παράσταση αυτή επανέρχονται οι συζητήσεις για την τολμηρή θεματολογία και τονίζεται ότι «είναι πλήρης πολυτίμων διδαγμάτων και οδηγιών δια τους εραστάς και δια τους νεονύμφους ιδίως· μια δε παράστασις αυτής είναι ωφελιμωτέρα ενός ταξιδείου εις την Εσπερίαν».⁴¹ Σε σχέση με το παρελθόν, πάντως, οι ενστάσεις για τα ερωτικά τρίγωνα και τις ανήθικες προτάσεις είναι περιορισμένες.

Οι δύο δημιουργίες του Offenbach είναι ήδη γνωστές στους θεατές. Η μεγάλη δούκισσα του Γερολστάιν προκαλεί αμφιλεγόμενες εντυπώσεις. Η Reine, βεβαίως, «τόσον δια το άσμα της όσον και δια την υπόκρισιν αυτής την τόσον επίχαρι, χειροκροτήθη επανειλημμένως»⁴² ενώ και η ερμηνεία του Tony Reine, ο οποίος έχει μια κλίση σε ρόλους στρατηγών, επαινείται. Έτσι «από της αυλής των Καναρίων ευρεθείς εξαίφνης εις την αυλήν του Γερολστάιν ... και από στρατηγού Πατακές μεταμορφωθείς εις στρατηγόν Μπουμ, εγένετο πολεμικώτερος το παράστημα και την όψιν, απέκτησε δε και έκτακτον ευκινησίαν».⁴³ Διατυπώνονται, όμως, και αρκετές ενστάσεις γιατί οι ρόλοι δεν ταιριάζουν στις φωνές των ερμηνευτών. Η διαπίστωση αυτή αφορά τόσο την ίδια τη Reine, «elle n'est pas à la hauteur de son rôle... ce n'est pas son genre»⁴⁴ όσο και τον υπόλοιπο θίασο, «μέγα μέρος της μη πλήρους επιτυχίας οφείλεται εις την

³⁹ «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (23.6.1884), 4. Στην τελευταία παράσταση, οι θαυμαστές της Reine της προσφέρουν πολλά δώρα, όπως «ανθοδέσμαι πολυτελείς και δώρα εντός κομφών και ανθοστεφών κανίστρων, ως επίσης και ωραίων τι χρυσοκέντημα επί προσκεφαλαίου και τούτο δι' ανθέων φυσικών κεκαλυμμένον», *Εφημερίς* (3.9.1884), 2.

⁴⁰ «Θέατρον Φαλήρου», *Ραμπαγάς* (22.7.1884), 8.

⁴¹ «Πιφ-Παφ», *Ραμπαγάς* (30.8.1884), 5.

⁴² «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (29.6.1884), 4.

⁴³ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (28.6.1884), 2.

⁴⁴ «Ο Ραμπαγάς εις τα θέατρα», *Ραμπαγάς*, (1.7.1884), 3.

κακήν διανομήν των προσώπων».⁴⁵ Θα μπορούσε, ίσως, να προκριθεί κάποια άλλη λυρική δημιουργία για να μπορέσουν φωνητικά ν' ανταποκριθούν καλύτερα οι ερμηνευτές. Είτε γιατί η συγκεκριμένη όπερα μπούφφα είναι πολύ δημοφιλής είτε γιατί κάποια άλλη επιλογή απαιτούσε μεγαλύτερη προετοιμασία, η διεύθυνση προφανώς καταλήγει στη λύση αυτή με αμφίβολα, ωστόσο, αποτελέσματα.

Ο Offenbach δεν είναι, μάλλον, το δυνατό χαρτί του θιάσου γιατί και *Η κόρη του αρχιτυμπανιστού* δεν ικανοποιεί τους θεατές. Τα ενδοθεατρικά προβλήματα αντανakλώνται και στη σκηνή καθώς «οι ηθοποιοί δεν ανταπεκρίθησαν εν γένει εις τας προσδοκίας του κοινού διότι κατά την συνήθειαν αυτών ήσαν και πάλιν αμελέτητοι».⁴⁶ Η πρωταγωνίστρια Eudoxie Tilquin είναι αυτή που προκαλεί τα πλέον αντικρουόμενα σχόλια. Σε άλλους θυμίζει μαθήτρια που επαναλαμβάνει στο σπίτι το μάθημα τραγουδιού και ο Πρωτέας της φαληρικής σκηνης, ο Tony Reine, την σώζει από ένα «fiasco carabiné»,⁴⁷ ενώ άλλους τους ικανοποιεί απολύτως αφού «πρώτον μελετά επιμελέστατα και προσέχει πολύ, δεύτερον γνωρίζει πολύ καλά και νοεί τι υποκρίνεται, τρίτον έχει χάριν πολλήν, τέταρτον φυσικήν υποκριτικήν δεξιότητα, πέμπτον επίκτητον τέχνην ευρύτατον προοιωνιζομένην αυτή μέλλον, έκτον ευφυέστατον άσμα, ακριβές, εκφραστικώτατον».

Η τελευταία αυτή κριτική δεν φαίνεται να είναι ιδιαίτερα αντικειμενική καθώς συνεχίζει με μια σύγκριση της Tilquin με την Reine, την οποία απαξιώνει καθώς θεωρεί ότι επαναλαμβάνεται: «τας αυτάς κινήσεις είχε, τα αυτά τεχνάσματα, χαρίεντα άλλως, την αυτήν παράστασιν εξ αντιγραφής διαπρεψασών τινων διασήμων γυναικών του θεάτρου εν ενί μελοδράματι της ειδικότητός των και την οποίαν πλανάται πιστεύσασα, ότι επειδή ίσως η απομίμησις επέτυχεν εις εν, ηδύνατο εις όλα να εφαρμοσθή απαράλλακτως».⁴⁸ Ακόμη και ένας ανυποψίαστος αναγνώστης αντιλαμβάνεται ότι πρόκειται για έναν αγώνα διεκδίκησης και αλλαγής της ιεραρχίας του θιάσου με δήθεν καλλιτεχνικά κριτήρια. Η Tilquin γνωρίζει το παιχνίδι της δημοσιότητας και φροντίζει με τις απόψεις αντικειμενικών, θεωρητικών, εξωθεατρικών παραγόντων, να ενισχύσει τη θέση της. Η Reine, πάλι, φαίνεται να ακολουθεί και αυτή τις αρχές του βεντετισμού: «επιμένει να τυποποιεί τα εκφραστικά της μέσα, ώστε κάθε νέα ερμηνεία να ευθυγραμμίζεται με εκείνες που ήδη έχει αποδειχτεί ότι έχουν απήχηση στο κοινό».⁴⁹ Οι δύο πρωταγωνίστριες χρησιμοποιούν τις δικές τους μεθόδους για να προβληθούν και τελικά η αδυναμία συνεργασίας δημιουργεί ένα αρνητικό κλίμα στο θίασο.

Η *Γιλέττη* του Audran, μια κωμική όπερα με τολμηρή, επίσης, θεματολογία, ανεβαίνει και αυτή για πρώτη φορά στην Αθήνα. «Μετρία υπό μουσικής έποψιν, πολύ υποδεεστέρα της Μασκότ του αυτού μουσικού», δεν είναι

⁴⁵ «Ειδήσεις», *Στοά* (29.6.1884), 2.

⁴⁶ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (3.8.1884), 2.

⁴⁷ «Φάληρον», *Ραμπαγάς* (5.8.1884), 5.

⁴⁸ «Θεατρικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (4.8.1884), 5-6.

⁴⁹ Αντρέας Δημητριάδης, «Μηχανισμοί του Βεντετισμού στο νεοελληνικό θέατρο», στο: Αντώνης Γλυτζουρής, Κωνσταντίνα Γεωργιάδη (επιμ.), *Παράδοση και εκσυγχρονισμός στο Νεοελληνικό Θέατρο*, Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2010, 249.

«εκ των μελοδραματίων εις α η μήτηρ δύναται να οδηγήση αφόβως τας θυγατέρας της».⁵⁰ Πρωταγωνίστρια η χαριεστάτη και παιδικής ωραιότητας Eudoxie Tulquin «στερουμένη μεν φωνής ηχηράς αλλά πλήρους χάριτος και αφελείας»,⁵¹ ευχαριστεί το κοινό «δια της ευστρόφου και απαλής φωνής της, της ακριβείας εν τω άσματι, της εκφραστικής φυσιογνωμίας και των μεμετρημένων και επιτυχών σκηνικών της».⁵² Επαρκέστερος φωνητικά ο Dubuisson «ο υποκριθείς τον διπλοτριπλοτετραπλοελαφοκεφαλιαζόμενον σύζυγον έπαιρνε θαυμασίους τόνους φωνής».⁵³ Είναι πολύ χαρακτηριστικός ο τρόπος με τον οποίο διαμορφώνεται το καλλιτεχνικό προφίλ της Tilquin από τους υποστηρικτές της. Προβάλλονται όλα τα άλλα προσόντα της εκτός από τη φωνή της, προαπαιτούμενο στο είδος που υπηρετεί.

Η Μαντάμ Μπονιφάς του Lacome, για πρώτη φορά στην Αθήνα, έχει «μουσικήν χαρίεσσα» αλλά οι ηθοποιοί «ήσαν αμελέτητοι, μάλιστα δε πάντων ο κ. Ρεν, όστις εν τούτοις συνετέλεσε το πλείστον εις την επιτυχίαν του έργου και χειροκροτήθη επανειλημμένως· επίσης χειροκροτήθη και η κ. Τιλκέν, ης η φωνή χθες ήτο ασθενής».⁵⁴ Παρά τη φωνητική αδυναμία της, πάντως, εκθειάζονται, όπως και προηγουμένως, «η χάρις, η κομψότης και η επιμέλεια εν τη διερμηνεύσει, προσόντα καλλιτεχνικά ουχί συνήθη».⁵⁵ Δεν είναι η μοναδική φορά που παρατηρείται το φαινόμενο της έλλειψης προετοιμασίας. Ίσως η ατμόσφαιρα, που επικρατεί στα παρασκήνια και η προβληματική σχέση των μελών του θιάσου, όπως σημειώθηκε, να συντελεί σ' αυτό το αμφιλεγόμενο σκηνικό αποτέλεσμα.

Οι Σωματοφύλακες εν Μοναστηρίω, γνωστοί και αυτοί στο φαληρικό κοινό από το 1881 ικανοποιούν τους θεατές. Η Reine ερμηνεύει άψογα τη Σιμόν, έναν ρόλο που είναι κατώτερος των δυνατοτήτων της αποδεικνύοντας ότι «elle sait plier son talent à toutes les exigences d'une administration partiale».⁵⁶ Η διεύθυνση του θεάτρου, όπως φαίνεται σε πολλά δημοσιεύματα, προωθεί «σκανδαλωδώς» την Tilquin, η οποία δεν ανταποκρίνεται στις απαιτήσεις του ρόλου της και οι θεατές θυμήθηκαν την εντυπωσιακή ερμηνεία της δεσποινίδας Neuville το καλοκαίρι του 1881. Πολύ θετικά σχολιάζεται η παρουσία του βαρύτονου Durandin, ο οποίος είχε τραγουδήσει και στο παρελθόν τον ίδιο ρόλο αλλά «εκ του ταξειδίου ήτο κεκοπιακώς διότι εις την φωνήν του δεν επέδειξεν την αυτή δύναμιν ην και προ δύο ετών».⁵⁷

Ο Φιλήμων και η Βανκίς επιλέγονται λόγω της θεματολογίας τους αλλά μάλλον η πρόκριση αυτή ήταν εσφαλμένη γιατί και η ίδια η όπερα μουσικά και θεματικά δεν προσφέρεται για υπαίθριο ανάλαφρο καλοκαιρινό θέαμα αλλά και οι μονωδοί αδυνατούν να την υποστηρίξουν φωνητικά. Η απουσία δράσης

⁵⁰ «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (10.6.1884), 3.

⁵¹ «Ειδήσεις», *Στοά* (10.6.1884), 2.

⁵² «Θεατρικά», *Εφημερίς* (10.6.1884), 3.

⁵³ «Ο Ραμπαγάς εις τα θέατρα», *Ραμπαγάς* (14.6.1884), 6.

⁵⁴ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (5.7.1884), 2.

⁵⁵ «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (6.7.1884), 3. Η Tilquin «ως Μαδάμ Μπονιφάς απεκομίσατο επευφημίας, χειροκροτήματα και ανθοδέσμες», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (30.7.1884), 3.

⁵⁶ «Ο Ραμπαγάς εις τα θέατρα», *Ραμπαγάς* (12.7.1884), 5.

⁵⁷ «Ειδήσεις», *Στοά* (11.7.1884), 1.

και οι «ανιαροί» διάλογοι κουράζουν το κοινό, το οποίο «δεν έβλεπεν επί της σκηνής πληθύν προσώπων και χορόν αμφοτέρων των φύλων και συνεχή μεταβολήν της σκηνικής διασκευής και ακκισμούς και κινήσεις ρυθμικάς και δεν εγέλα θορυβωδώς ακούον τας συχνάς ευφύιας του πεζού διαλόγου όστις εν τω έργω τούτω είναι σπανιώτατος και σοβαρός».⁵⁸ Η μουσική είναι ωραία αλλά «δυσχώνευτος δια τους εξημβλυμένους στομάχους των φαληριστών, ο διάλογος αποτελείται όλω από τρυφερότητας των δυο γηραιών συζύγων..., οι δύο θεοί συζητούν μακρολογούντες ως δημοτικοί σύμβουλοι».⁵⁹ Τελικά, η όπερα αυτή «δεν είναι δια το Φάληρον και τους ηθοποιούς αυτού»⁶⁰ γιατί «εκτός του βαρυτόνου Berardi οι λοιποί δρώντες αιδοί και της κυρίας Ρεν αυτής μη εξαιρουμένης, δεν ανταποκρίνονται δυστυχώς εις έργα υψηλής και σοβαράς μουσικής».⁶¹ Ίσως τελικά δεν είναι και για τους θεατές, καθώς δεν ανταποκρίνεται στις προσδοκίες τους για τα εύπεπτα θεάματα των θερινών διακοπών.

Ο Μικρός Φαύστος είναι μια παράσταση, την οποία συχνά συμπεριλαμβάνει στο ρεπερτόριο της η Alice Reine, καθώς η ερμηνεία της στο ρόλο του Μεφιστοφελή αποτελεί προσωπική της επιτυχία. Όταν ερμήνευσε το ρόλο στο θέατρο Porte Saint Martin, μολονότι αναμετρήθηκε με την πρώτη διδάξασα δεσποινίδα Vanghell, κέρδισε τις εντυπώσεις της γαλλικής κριτικής.⁶² Ανάλογη είναι η υποδοχή της παράστασης και στο Φάληρο καθώς «το μελοδραμάτιον ήρσεν λίαν, ως κατεφάνη εκ των παρατεταμένων επευφημιών και γελώτων των θεατών».⁶³ Η σκηνική εμπειρία της πρωταγωνίστριας είναι εμφανής αλλά και οι ερμηνείες των άλλων μονωδών επικροτούνται από την πλατεία.

Η πρώτη παρουσίαση της Δόνας Χουανίτα, κατά γενική ομολογία, είναι η αρτιότερη από όλες τις παραστάσεις. Η Alice Reine «ανυψώνει εις την διαπασών όλην την συνήθη και τέχνην και χάριν και φωνήν της. Ιδίως η φωνή της έχει κάτι κυματισμούς γλυκυτάτους, κάτι αναπάσεις τόσο ευαρέστους»,⁶⁴ που

⁵⁸ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (24.7.1884), 1. Την επομένη, το ίδιο έντυπο αναφέρεται στις θεματικές ομοιότητες του έργου με τον Φάουστ και στη σχέση με τον μύθο, όπως τον μεταφέρει ο Οβίδιος στις *Μεταμορφώσεις* του, *Εφημερίς* (25.7.1884), 1-2.

⁵⁹ *Spectator*, «Θεατρικά», *Ασμοδαίος* (22.7.1884), 6.

⁶⁰ «Ειδήσεις», *Στοά* (25.7.1884), 2.

⁶¹ «Θεατρική Επιθεώρησις», *Στοά* (31.7.1884), 2.

⁶² Μεταξύ άλλων: «Madame Reine est jolie, sympathique, très aimée des habitués de la Porte-Saint-Martin. Ce n'est plus le brillant et hardi cavalier de la création, mais c'est un bon petit diable, le Méphisto des familles, un diable a qui l'on ne craindrait pas de se donner », Un Monsieur de l'orchestre [Arnold Mortier], « La soirée théâtrale. *Le petit Faust* », *Le Figaro* (16.2.1882), 3 και « Mlle Alice Reine aussi est dans la tradition. Son Méphisto est brillant, fin, tout à fait aimable. La figure et l'allure sont charmantes », Jean Richepin « Les premières », *Le Gaulois* (16.2.1884), 3.

⁶³ «Ειδήσεις», *Εφημερίς* (31.7.1884), 2. Η γοητεία της πρωταγωνίστριας συγκινεί έναν θαυμαστή της, ο οποίος τής αφιερώνει και ποίημα: Guerrier, «*Le petit Méphisto*», *Ασμοδαίος* (26.8.1884), 2.

Αν είξευρες πως σ' αγαπώ, χαριτωμένη Mephisto /
τα ζαχαρένια χείλη σου θα μούλεγαν ... «Ευχαριστώ;

⁶⁴ «Θεατρικά. A vol d'oiseau», *Ασμοδαίος* (26.8.1884), 8.

συναρπάξει τους θεατές. Εντυπωσιακή είναι και η παρουσία του Tony Reine «όστις υπεκρίθη τον άγγλον διοικητήν χωλόν κατά τον ένα πόδα, τυφλόν τον δεξιόν οφθαλμόν, κωφόν το αριστερόν ους, αλλ' ερωτευόμενον πάσαν γυναίκα μετά την πρώτην συνάντησιν».⁶⁵ Τέλος «διαζούσης συμπαθείας έτυχεν η κυρία Joly και ο κ. Dubuisson καθ' ην στιγμήν αμφοτέροι ενδεδυμένοι ως νήπια χορεύουν άδοντες παιδικά ασμάτια».⁶⁶ Σύμφωνα με αυτές τις μαρτυρίες, η παράσταση φαίνεται να έχει κάποιες ενδιαφέρουσες σκηνοθετικές παρεμβάσεις, στοιχείο που δεν υπήρχε ή δεν σχολιαζόταν επαρκώς στις προηγούμενες σκηνικές καταθέσεις.

Ο λογιώτατος Φραγκίσκος αποτελεί τον τελευταίο τίτλο που παίζεται από τον θίασο προκαλώντας ερωτηματικά για την τόσο καθυστερημένη προεμίρα του. Οι πληροφορίες για την παράσταση είναι ελάχιστες, μολονότι ανεβαίνει για πρώτη φορά, καθώς οι καιρικές συνθήκες δεν ευνοούν την παρακολούθησή της από τους κριτικούς. Να σημειωθεί μόνον η παρατήρηση του καθηγητή Νεοκλή Καζάζη, ο οποίος διαμαρτύρεται «δια την αμάθειαν των εφημερίδων αίτινες μεταφράζουν Φραγκίσκος ο λογιώτατος αντί Τα κυανά περιπόδια του Φραγκίσκου».⁶⁷

Αξίζει, τέλος, να σημειωθεί η κοινή εμφάνιση των Ελλήνων ηθοποιών του θιάσου «Μένανδρος» και αρκετών Γάλλων μονωδών στην ευεργετική παράσταση για τον βαθύφωνο Laverne,⁶⁸ το όνομα του οποίου συνδέθηκε με την εγκατάσταση γαλλικών λυρικών θιάσων στην Αθήνα. Η ελληνογαλλική αυτή συνεργασία συγκεντρώνει στην πλατεία το κοινό του Φαλήρου και τους υποστηρικτές των Ελλήνων ηθοποιών «ως εν ώρα Κογκρέσου η Άνω και Κάτω Βουλή».⁶⁹

Πλατεία-Σκηνή-Παρασκήνιο

Ο γαλλικός θίασος δεν προβάλλεται μόνον για την καλλιτεχνική του δραστηριότητα αλλά και για τις κατακτήσεις της Reine. Ο αντιπολιτευόμενος τύπος δεν χάνει ευκαιρία να σχολιάσει την συχνή πρωθυπουργική παρουσία στην πλατεία αφήνοντας υπονοούμενα: «χθες παρευρέθη εις το εν Φαλήρω θέατρον και ο πρωθυπουργός κ. Τρικούπης, αυτός, ο οποίος περιφρονεί αυτά τα θέατρα και τα θεάματα των απλών ανθρώπων».⁷⁰ Ένας ευρωπαϊστής πολιτικός, βεβαίως, είναι λογικό να ενδιαφέρεται για τις γαλλικές παραστάσεις, αλλά ο Γεώργιος Σουρής, μέσα από ένα διάλογο Φασουλή και Περικλέτου, αποδίδει τις συχνές εμφανίσεις του σε ερωτικούς λόγους.

«Φ. Μωρέ αυτός στο Φάληρο κάθε βραδυά το στρώνει,
και δος του πια σαν γύφτικο σκερπάνι καμαρώνει.

Π. Πηγαίνει τον αέρα του λιγάκι για να πάρη.

Φ. Εγώ σου λέω Περικλή την Ρεν πώς κορτεζάρει.»⁷¹

⁶⁵ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (14.8.1884), 2.

⁶⁶ «Ειδήσεις», *Στοά* (15.8.1884), 1.

⁶⁷ «Διαβολοσκοπίσματα», *Ασμοδαίος* (2.9.1884), σ. 4.

⁶⁸ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (31.8.1884), 2.

⁶⁹ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (3.9.1884), 2.

⁷⁰ «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (25.6.1884), σ. 2.

⁷¹ Γεώργιος Σουρής, «Φασουλής και Περικλέτος ο καθένας νέτος σκέτος», *Ο Ρωμηός* (18.8.1884), σ. 2.

Ακόμη και μετά τη λήξη των παραστάσεων και την αναχώρηση της πρωταγωνίστριας τα ειρωνικά σχόλια για τον υποτιθέμενο έρωτα όχι μόνον από τον σατιρικό αλλά και τον πολιτικό τύπο δεν σταματούν: «μένει κι ο κ. πρωθυπουργός... με την βασιλείαν μόνον και χωρίς βασίλισσαν».⁷²

Με τον Τρικούπη, γι' άλλη αιτία, συνδέεται και ο Tony Reine, ο οποίος στη *Δούκισσα του Γερολστάιν*, στο ρόλο του στρατηγού Boom, θυμίζει εμφανισιακά τον πρωθυπουργό, που ασκεί και χρέη υπουργού Στρατιωτικών. Με αφορμή, λοιπόν, στρατιωτικά γυμνάσια στους Τράχωνες η παράσταση «είχε και την αξίαν της actualité. Δεν ηδύνατο να υπάρξη σατυρικωτέρα έμπνευσις παρά την παρωδίαν του κ. Τρικούπη να διαδεχθή η παρωδία του Όφφεμπαχ».⁷³ Ο Τρικούπης, ευφυώς, παρακολούθησε μια από τις παραστάσεις του έργου και βεβαίως το μόνο που σχολιάζεται είναι ότι «ο κ. Reine ήτον να σκάση από τη φούρκα του βλέπων ότι κανείς πλέον δεν επρόσεχεν εις αυτόν και πολύ δικαίως αφού υπήρχεν εμπρός των το πρωτότυπον».⁷⁴ Η ομοιότητα αυτή ίσως δεν είναι τυχαία και εντάσσεται σε μια στρατηγική προώθησης της παράστασης.

Οι ερωτικές φαντασιώσεις, πάντως, δεν αφορούν μόνον την πρωταγωνίστρια. Η άκομψη και αήθης περιγραφή των γυναικών του θιάσου αναπαράγει σεξιστικά στερεότυπα για τις Γαλλίδες ηθοποιούς: «ο γαλλικός θιάσος τον οποίον μας εσερβίρισεν ο κ. Κατσίμπαλης, έχει ομολογουμένως παν ότι απαιτείται δια να είναι ορεκτικός. Πλουτεί και εις φωνάς και εις πείραν της σκηνης και εις ζώην και εις πολυτέλειαν και εις σάρκας. Δια το τελευταίον τούτο ήρχισαν από τούδε λείχοντες τα χείλη των οι μάλλον γαστρίμαργοι των θεατών».⁷⁵ Το μοντέλο της τολμηρής, απελευθερωμένης Ευρωπαίας χωρίς προκαταλήψεις επηρεάζει, πιθανόν, την προσέλευση ανδρών θεατών. Για οικονομικούς, λοιπόν, λόγους φαίνεται ότι ο σκοπός αγιάζει τα μέσα. Ένας από τους τρόπους προσέλκυσης του ενδιαφέροντος των γυναικών πρέπει να είναι και η επίδειξη γνώσης της γαλλικής γλώσσας γι' αυτό ακούγονται πολλοί ελληνογαλλικοί διάλογοι στην πλατεία «Όλοι ομιλούν τοιαύτην ανήκουστον γλώσσαν εν Φαλήρω, κατά την επικρατήσασαν μωρεπείδεικτον, γελοίαν και ξιπασμένην συνήθειαν».⁷⁶

Τα περισσότερα προβλήματα, όμως, παρουσιάζονται στο παρασκήνιο και αφορούν ανοίκειες συμπεριφορές στο θιάσο: ο βαρύτονος Νοέ «το τσούζει, λεν, πολύ και πάσχει από κρασοκατάνυξιν»⁷⁷ ενώ πριν την τελευταία παράσταση, κυκλοφορούσε ως ανέκδοτο ότι ο τίτλος της είναι «Γροθιαίς»,⁷⁸ γεγονός που αναδεικνύει τις κακές σχέσεις μεταξύ των ηθοποιών. Οι θεατρinισμοί της νεαρής Tilquin αλλά και η αδυναμία της διεύθυνσης να διατηρήσει ισορροπίες δημιουργούν αρνητικό κλίμα. Δεν είναι, ίσως, τυχαίο, ότι σε μια παράσταση της *Γιλέττης* στην β' πράξη, η νεαρή αντί να συνεχίσει την άρια «αφίνεται εις λυγμούς και... εισέρχεται εις τα παρασκήνια προς έκπληξιν και συγκίνησιν των

⁷² «Διάφορα κοινωνικά», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (4.9.1884), 4.

⁷³ «Ανεμομαζώματα», *Ασμοδαίος* (1.7.1884), 1.

⁷⁴ «Ασμοδαϊκά», *Ασμοδαίος* (8.7.1884), 4.

⁷⁵ «Θεατρικά. A vol d'oiseau», *Ασμοδαίος* (10.6.1884), 4.

⁷⁶ «Θεατρικά. A vol d'oiseau», *Ασμοδαίος* (26.8.1884), 8.

⁷⁷ «Ο Ραμπαγάς εις τα θέατρα», *Ραμπαγάς* (28.6.1884), 5.

⁷⁸ «Διαβολοσκοπίσματα» *Ασμοδαίος* (9.9.1884), 4.

θεατών, μεταξύ των οποίων ψιθυρίζεται ότι ο βαρύτονος τη προσηνέχθη αγροίκως».⁷⁹ Τα παιδικά πείσματά της και οι απαιτήσεις της, που έφθασαν στο σημείο να μην ανεβεί η *Mascotte* του Audran επειδή δεν θα ήταν αυτή η πρωταγωνίστρια, δημιουργούν μεγάλες εντάσεις και την κατάσταση μάλλον έσωσε ο επαγγελματισμός της Reine.⁸⁰

Άλλα προβλήματα

Εκτός από τα ενδοθεατρικά προβλήματα, υπάρχουν και άλλα που δημιουργούν αναστάτωση: ο καιρός, ο ηλεκτροφωτισμός και η αύξηση της τιμής των εισιτηρίων.

Ο καιρός δεν είναι διόλου ευνοϊκός, βρέχει και «ο παχύς κονιορτός των δρόμων» μεταβάλλεται «εις πηλόν ρευστόν, αηδέστατον, ρυπαίνοντα ελεεινώς τους διαβάτας».⁸¹ Εξαιτίας αυτού αρκετές παραστάσεις αναβάλλονται,⁸² γεγονός που συνεπάγεται σημαντική απώλεια εσόδων για τον επιχειρηματία, ο οποίος: «έφερεν εφέτος άριστον θέατρον γαλλικόν, ούτινος πάσα εσπέρα αργίας στοιχίζει υπέρ την χιλιάδα φράγκων· τόσας δ' εσπέρας ήδη κατά συνέχειαν ο άθλιος καιρός ούτε συνάθροισιν ούτε παράστασιν επιτρέπει».⁸³

Από την πρώτη παράσταση το πρόβλημα του φωτισμού εντός και εκτός του θεάτρου είναι εντονότατο. Ενώ, αρχικά εντοπίζεται εκτός του χώρου, «έξω βασίλευε σκότος αυτόχρημα ψηλαφητόν, διακοπτόμενον υπό τινων ηλεκτρικών φανών εις αραιάς τάξεις»,⁸⁴ στη συνέχεια επηρεάζει και τη ροή των παραστάσεων. Έτσι στον *Μικρό Δούκα* «ο φωτισμός είναι ελαττωματικός ένεκα των συχνών διαλείψεων του ηλεκτρικού φωτός δυσαρέστως και επιβλαβώς δια την όρασιν»,⁸⁵ ενώ στην προεμιέρα της όπερας του Gounod «αιφνιδία έκλειψις του ηλεκτρικού φωτός εγένετο εν Φαλήρω, σβεσθέντων των φανών κατά το διάλειμμα της δευτέρας πράξεως».⁸⁶ Οι συνθήκες αυτές, όπως γίνεται αντιληπτό, δεν ευνοούν την παρουσία ενός ολοκληρωμένου θεάματος.

Ένα τρίτο πρόβλημα είναι η αύξηση της τιμής των εισιτηρίων από τις 9 Ιουλίου. Σύμφωνα με τη νέα τιμολογιακή πολιτική οι πρώτες 400 θέσεις κοστίζουν 3,30 δρχ. ενώ οι υπόλοιπες 1,10. Η πλατεία χωρίζεται με κάγκελα για να είναι ευδιάκριτες οι δύο ζώνες. Στον πίσω χώρο η τιμή μειώνεται αλλά « οι εντός του επιζήλου περιβόλου περιλαμβανόμενοι δεν είναι ούτε πενήνκοντα

⁷⁹ «Διάφορα», *Ακρόπολις*, 17.8.1884, 4.

⁸⁰ «Θεατρικά», *Εφημερίς* (2.7.1884), 3. Οι ακυρώσεις παραστάσεων, μάλιστα, εξαιτίας της κακοκαιρίας αποδίδονται στην απουσία του συγκεκριμένου έργου, το οποίο φέρνει γούρι, όπως μαρτυρεί ο τίτλος «Tant que Phalère n'aura pas sa *Mascotte*, il aura la guigne», *Ραμπαγιάς* (24.6.1884), 6.

⁸¹ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (8.6.1884), 1.

⁸² «Η θεατρική παράστασις εν Φαλήρω χθες δεν έγινε, ένεκα του πολλού ανέμου», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (5.6.1884), 3, «Ένεκα του πνέοντος σφοδρού ανέμου η προαναγγελθείσα πρώτη παράστασις της *Princesse des Canaries*...αναβάλλεται δι' αύριον», *Παλιγγενεσία* (19.6.1884), 3. «Χθες πάλιν μετά μεσημβριάν έβρεξεν και πάλιν εματαιώθησαν τα θέατρα το βράδυ», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (21.6.1884), 2.

⁸³ «Ειδήσεις», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (8.6.1884), 2.

⁸⁴ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (4.6.1884), 2.

⁸⁵ «Θεατρικά», *Εφημερίς* (18.6.1884), 3.

⁸⁶ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (24.7.1884), 2.

ούτε εκατόν αλλά 400 τον αριθμόν».⁸⁷ Η νέα τιμολογιακή πολιτική δημιουργεί έντονη δυσαρέσκεια και οι θεατές μειώνονται. Ο Κατσίμπαλης για να αντιμετωπίσει το πρόβλημα καθιερώνει συνδρομές για 50 παραστάσεις με έκπτωση 20%.⁸⁸

Εξαιτίας αυτής της αναπροσαρμογής των τιμών στην τιμή των εισιτηρίων δημιουργούνται αρκετά προβλήματα. Η είσοδος στο θέατρο ενός συνδρομητού, του οποίου, σύμφωνα με τους υπευθύνους του θεάτρου είχε λήξει η συνδρομή του ή κατ' άλλους έπρεπε ν'αναπροσαρμοσθεί ανάγκασε τον υπεύθυνο του θεάτρου να καλέσει την αστυνομία. Η παρουσία των αστυνομικών προκάλεσε αντιδράσεις στην πλατεία και αρκετοί θεατές, προεξάρχοντας του Σερπίερη, «ήρξαντο κραυγάζοντας Έξω η Αστυνομία, A la porte la police, Baissez la toile».⁸⁹ Η παράσταση διακόπτεται και δημιουργούνται επεισόδια σε βάρος των αστυνομικών. Το θέμα απασχολεί τον τύπο επί μακρόν, και γίνεται πρόταση να εναλλάσσονται τα αστυνομικά όργανα «μεθ' ων άλλοι μεν εξοικειούνται, άλλοι δε θα έχωσιν αιωνίως προηγούμενα».⁹⁰ Τα μικροπροβλήματα δεν λείπουν με την παρουσία των αστυνομικών αλλά δεν επαναλαμβάνονται σ' αυτήν την ένταση.

Επιλογικά

Ο θίασος της Alice Reine ολοκληρώνει τις παραστάσεις στις 4 Σεπτεμβρίου και αποχωρεί με το πλοίο *Le tigre* των Messageries Maritimes για την Μασσαλία.⁹¹ Ο απολογισμός είναι αρκετά ενδιαφέρων. Ανέβηκαν 83 παραστάσεις,⁹² 14 συνολικά έργα και 7 από αυτά σε πρώτη παρουσίαση στην Αθήνα. Η αναχώρησή της πρωταγωνίστριας προκαλεί μελαγχολία στους τακτικούς θαμώνες του θεάτρου και αφήνει τρυφερή αναμνήση στους θαυμαστές της, που την εκφράζουν έμμετρα:

«Φεύγεις; Αντάμωση καλή! /αλλού θα πας να ζήσης
Αλλού η τέχνη σε καλεί/ μα μη μας λησμονήσης
Η βάρκα στέκει στο γιαλό/ και σένα περιμένει
Γλυκειά ξενιτεμένη / Στο καλό! Στο καλό!»⁹³

Μολονότι η εμπορική επιτυχία δεν είναι μεγάλη εξαιτίας των καιρικών συνθηκών και της συνακόλουθης ακύρωσης αρκετών παραστάσεων, καλλιτεχνικά η υποδοχή του θιάσου από κοινό και κριτική είναι εξαιρετική. Αποδεικνύεται πως, όταν οι καλλιτέχνες είναι επαγγελματίες, με εμπειρία στις ευρωπαϊκές σκηνές και το προσφερόμενο θέαμα δεν υποτιμά το γούστο της

⁸⁷ «Πινακίδες», *Εφημερίς* (10.7.1884), 1.

⁸⁸ «Ειδήσεις», *Στοά* (11.7.1884), 1.

⁸⁹ «Τελευταία στιγμή», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (11.7.1884), 3, «Ειδήσεις», *Πρωία* (11.7.1884), 3, «Το εν Φαλήρω επεισόδιον», *Στοά* (12.7.1884), 2-3, «Το εν Φαλήρω επεισόδιον», *Ραμπαγός* (15.7.1884), 2-3.

⁹⁰ «Ειδήσεις», *Νέα Εφημερίς* (12.7.1884), 2.

⁹¹ Οι αδελφές Tilquin προτίμησαν να πάνε στη Σύρο και να επιστρέψουν αργότερα στη Μασσαλία, «Ειδήσεις», *Στοά* (8.9.1884), 2.

⁹² «Θεατρικά», *Στοά* (7.9.1884), 3.

⁹³ Guerrier, «Φθινόπωρον-Αποχαιρετισμός τη βασιλίση του Φαλήρου», *Ασμοδαίος* (2.9.1884), 2.

πλατείας, τα σχόλια είναι απολύτως θετικά. Η Alice Reine, η πρωταγωνίστρια του θεάτρου της γαλλικής Αναγέννησης, η Βασιλική σύμφωνα με το εξελληνισμένο όνομά της, κατόρθωσε, με τη σκηνική της άνεση, να αναγεννήσει, όσο ήταν δυνατόν, και το θέατρο του Φαλήρου.

Ταυτότητα παραστάσεων⁹⁴

Καρδιά και χείρ [*Le coeur et la main*], κωμική όπερα σε 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Charles Lecocq, Λιμπρέτο: Charles Nutter, Alexandre Beaumont. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Théâtre des Nouveautés, 19.10.1882, Θέατρο Φαλήρου (Πρώτη παρουσίαση στην Ελλάδα), 3.6.1884, 15 παραστάσεις.

Alice Reine (Micaëla), Tony Reine (Le roi), Victor Berardi (Don Gaëtan), Garrigues, Deligny, Ferret

Γιλέττη/Ζιλέτη [*Gillette de Narbonne*], κωμική όπερα σε 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Edmond Audran, Λιμπρέτο: Alfred Duru, Henri Chivot. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens, 11.11.1882, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 9.6.1884 (Πρώτη παρουσίαση στην Ελλάδα), 9 παραστάσεις.

Eudoxie Tulquin (Gillette), Dubuisson (Griffardin), Deligny (Rosita)

Ο Μικρός Δούκας [*Le Petit Duc*], κωμική όπερα σε 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Charles Lecocq, Λιμπρέτο: Henri Meilhac, Ludovic Halévy. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Théâtre de la Renaissance, 25.1.1878, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 12.6.1884, 7 παραστάσεις.

Alice Reine (Le petit duc), Berardi (Montlandry), Tony Reine (Frimousse), Berthe Deligny (Blanche de Parthenay)

Πριγκίπισσα/ Ηγεμονίς των Καναρίων [*La princesse des Canaries*], όπερα μπουφφα σε 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Charles Lecocq, Λιμπρέτο: Alfred Duru, Henri Chivot. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Théâtre des Folies Dramatiques 9.2.1883, Θέατρο Φαλήρου (Πρώτη παρουσίαση στην Ελλάδα), 21.6.1884, 8 παραστάσεις.

Alice Reine (Pepita), Eudoxie Tilquin (Inès), Tony Reine (Général Pataquès), Noé (Général Bombardos), Garrigues (Pédritte)

Η μεγάλη Δούκισσα του Γερολστάιν [*La Grande-duchesse de Gérolstein*], όπερα μπουφφα σε 3 πράξεις και 4 εικόνες, Μουσική: Jacques Offenbach, Λιμπρέτο: Henri Meilhac, Ludovic Halévy. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Théâtre des Variétés, 12.4.1867, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 27.6.1884, 7 παραστάσεις.

Alice Reine (La Grande duchesse), Dubuisson (Fritz), Tony Reine (Le général Boum)

Η Κυρία Μπονιφάς [*Madame Boniface*], κωμική όπερα σε 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Paul Lacome, Λιμπρέτο: Ernest Depré. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens, 20.10.1883, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 4.7.1884 (Πρώτη παρουσίαση στην Ελλάδα), 5 παραστάσεις.

Tony Reine (Boniface), Eudoxie Tilquin (Friquette), Fulvie Tilquin

Οι σωματοφύλακες εν μοναστηρίω [*Les Mousquetaires au couvent*], κωμική όπερα σε 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Louis Varney, Λιμπρέτο: Jules Prével, Paul Ferrier.

⁹⁴ Οι διανομές έχουν συνταχθεί σύμφωνα με τις πληροφορίες του τύπου και δεν είναι πλήρεις καθώς λανθάνουν τα θεατρικά προγράμματα.

Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Bouffes-Parisiens, 16.3.1880, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 9.7.1884, 6 παραστάσεις.

Alice Reine (Simone), Tony Reine (Abbé Bridaine), Durandin (Vicomte Narcisse de Brissac), Eudoxie Tilquin (Louise), Ferret (Soeur Opportune)

Η ημέρα και νύξ [*Le Jour et la nuit*], όπερα μπούφρα σε 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Charles Lecocq, Λιμπρέτο: Albert Vanloo et Eugène Leterrier, Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Théâtre des Nouveautés, 5.11.1881, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 17.7.1884, 3 παραστάσεις.

Alice Reine (Manola), Berthe Deligny (Béatrix), Tony Reine (Calabazas)

Φιλήμων και Βακχίς [*Philémon et Baucis*], όπερα σε 2 ή 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Charles Gounod, Λιμπρέτο: Jules Barbier, Michel Carré. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Théâtre-Lyrique, 18.2.1860, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 23.7.1884 (Πρώτη παρουσίαση στην Ελλάδα), 3 παραστάσεις.

Garrigues (Φιλήμων), Alice Reine (Βαυκίς), Berardi (Ζευς), Durandin (Ήφαιστος)

Ο μικρός Φάυστος [*Le Petit Faust*], όπερα μπούφρα σε 3 πράξεις και 4 εικόνες, Μουσική: Hervé, Λιμπρέτο: Hector Crémieux et Adolphe Jaime fils. Πρεμιέρα: Paris, Théâtre des Folies-Dramatiques 23.4.1869, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 30.7.1884, 4 παραστάσεις.

Alice Reine (Méphisto), Goyon (Marguerite), Garrigues (Faust), Dubuisson (Valentin), Tony Reine (le cocher).

Η κόρη του αρχιτυμπανιστού [*La Fille du Tambour-Major*], σε 3 πράξεις και 4 εικόνες, Μουσική: Jacques Offenbach, Λιμπρέτο: Alfred Duru, Henri Chivot. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Théâtre des Folies-Dramatiques, 13.12.1879, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 30.7.1884, 3 παραστάσεις.

Eudoxie Tilquin (Stella), Berthe Deligny (la duchesse), Duval (Della Volta)

Δόνα Χουανίτα [*Juanita*], κωμική όπερα σε 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Franz von Suppé, Λιμπρέτο για τη γαλλόφωνη σκηνή: Eugène Leterrier, Albert Vanloo. Πρεμιέρα: Βουξέλλες, Théâtre des Galeries Saint Hubert, 22.10.1883, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 13.8.1884 (Πρώτη παρουσίαση στην Ελλάδα), 6 παραστάσεις.

Alice Reine (Donna Juanita/René Belamour), Tony Reine (Sir Douglas), Joly, πρώην Frederic (Donna Olympia), Goyon (Petrita), Dubuisson (Don Gusman Cascades)

Η Μικροπανδρευμένη [*La Petite Mariée*], Μουσική: Charles Lecocq, Λιμπρέτο: Eugène Leterrier, Albert Vanloo. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Théâtre de la Renaissance, 21.12.1875, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 25.8.1884, 4 παραστάσεις.

Eudoxie Tulquin (Graziella), Berthe Deligny (Lucrezia), Goyon (Béatrix), Durandin (Rodolphe), Garrigues (San Carlo), Dubuisson (Montefiasco), Duval (Casteldémoli)

Ο λογιώτατος Φραγκίσκος [*François les bas bleus*], κωμική όπερα σε 3 πράξεις, Μουσική: Firmin Bernicat, André Messenger, Λιμπρέτο: Paul Burani, Ernest Dubreuil, Eugène Humbert. Πρεμιέρα: Παρίσι, Folies-Dramatiques, 8.11.1883, Θέατρο Φαλήρου 30.8.1884 (Πρώτη παρουσίαση στην Ελλάδα), 3 παραστάσεις.

Durandin (François Bernier, François les bas-bleus), Alice Reine (Fanchon)

Ευεργετική για τον απόμαχο Laverne

Θέατρο «Ολύμπια»

Α' μέρος: «Η Μυοπαγίς» από τον Ελληνικό θίασο.

Β' Μέρος: *Le Breviaire* (Το ευχολόγιον του εφημερίου), Alice Reine

Romance de Mignon Garrigues

Les cloches de Corneville, παρωδία, Dubuisson

Αι Αναμνήσεις, ορχηστρικό υπό τη διεύθυνση του Charles Nicosias.

Le Pressoir, Μουσική: Jean Baptiste Faure, Στίχοι: Paul de Chazot, Berardi

Le bébé chéri des dames, Μουσική: Lucien Collin, Στίχοι: Villemer, Lucien Delormel, Dubuisson

Le rossignol από *La Petite mariée*, Alice Reine, Berardi

Γ' μέρος: Αι κομψευόμεναι [*Les Précieuses ridicules*] του Μολιέρου από τον ελληνικό θίασο



Alice Reine, *Ασμοδαίος* (15.7.1884), 3



Χαρακτηριστικοί τύποι από τις
παραστάσεις του Φαλήρου,
Ασμοδαίος (26.8.1884), 4

Reflections of the philhellenic spirit in the Italian music theatre of the 19th century and the particular case of Rossini

Eleni Georgiou

The phenomenon of Philhellenism, which emerged within the first decades of the 19th century and was given shape within the movements of classicism and romanticism, achieved its greatest expression with the great uprising of the Greeks against the Ottoman Empire. The Greek struggle for liberty constituted a source of inspiration in Europe where the Philhellenic movements begin their existence as ideology, then gradually evolve into powerful support, and, occasionally, even become a fashionable trend among members of the *beau monde*.¹ Intellectuals, members of university faculties, and artists worked tirelessly to promote the Greek Revolution throughout the continent while a significant number of volunteers arrived at the Greek territories to fight for the creation of an independent Greek state. Among them one could find well-known military men of the Napoleonic Wars, university students, foreign revolutionaries, and even opportunists for whom the Greek Revolution seemed to be an adventure, and a profitable one at that. Within this European Philhellenic verve, a prominent position is occupied by the Italian Philhellenism which differs to a great extent from its other European counterparts. This may be due to the fact that Italy itself was under the occupation of foreign forces and it had not yet achieved statehood, a situation very closely resembling that of Greece.² It was, therefore, a natural consequence that the Philhellenic movement touched the emotions of the Italians deeply since they themselves were involved in a struggle for a united, independent, and democratic Italy. Throughout the period of the Italian Risorgimento, the Italian intellectuals, artists and politicians, regardless of their political affiliations, were inspired by the Greek War of Independence and their writings focused on the Myth of Greece or on the events of the War. Thus, Philhellenism was presented as an element of patriotism,³ emphasizing the parallel struggles of the two peoples in their common effort to achieve the creation of sovereign states and forging special bonds of patriotism between the two countries.⁴ The Italian Philhellenes were among the first to identify and highlight the continuity between the grandeur of the ancient Greek civilization and the culture of the Modern Greeks, frequently concentrating on the Greek excellence as regards heroism and simplicity.⁵ Inspired by Greek classicism, the Italian intellectuals saw the memories of the ancient battles of Plataies and Salamina become a

¹ Elena Persico, *Letteratura filellenica italiana 1787-1870*, Roma: Tipografia Bondi, 1920, p. 62.

² Ioannis Tsolkas, *The Greek Palingenesis and its impact on the Italian Literature during the 19th century*, PhD Thesis, Thessaloniki: AUTH, 2004, p. 46.

³ Ioannis Tsolkas, "The 'different' Italian Philhellenism", in *Philhellenism: The interest in Greece and the Greeks from 1821 until today*, Anna V. Mandilara (ed.), Arta-Athens: Municipality Nikoloaou Skoufa/Herodotus, 2015, pp. 341-371.

⁴ Stathis Birtahas, "Facets of Italian Philhellenism during the 1820s", in *ibid.* pp. 373-371.

⁵ *Ibid*, Birtahas

reality once more with Homer and Tasso standing next to banner of Christ which had been risen in the fight against the Crescent.⁶

Prior to the impact of the Philhellenic spirit on the Italian music theatre, the influence of the ancient Greek theatre was a significant factor in the development of the Italian Opera. An investigation into the history of the Opera with a particular focus on the effect of ancient Greek poetry based on the studies and actions of the Florentine Camerata is a case in point. These efforts on the part of the Florentines were conducted in an attempt to revive ancient Tragedy, an attempt which stemmed from the study of classical antiquity, with the objective to discover the lost link between music and language. Furthermore, the common trajectory in the evolution of the civilization of the two countries contributed to the preservation of the spirit of the Renaissance and the establishment of neo-classicism, with numerous Italian pieces of music based on ancient Greek themes.

Regarding the themes, a change in the way classical literature is used in Opera can be observed throughout the centuries. In the 17th century, the Opera is considered a revival of the Greek Tragedy, presenting epic, historic, and mythical themes which reflect the values of the totalitarian regimes of the time. In the 18th century, a significant increase in the number of classical themes can be seen, however, now they are an expression of the Enlightenment while, in the 19th century, there is a decline in classical influence. It is a time when a different set of themes emerges which reflect the revolutionary and romantic tendencies of the new era.⁷

As a result of this cultural communion, the interest in Greek Independence in the field of music impacts primarily the art of the Italian Music Theatre through the events, characters, and myths of the glorious days of classical antiquity. In addition, influenced by the rise of Philhellenic sentiments, this interest can also be observed in the performances of dance theatre, pantomime, and Opera which present current events of the Greek revolution.⁸

The siege and the exodus of Missolonghi became inspiration for many Italian poetic accounts which, in turn, become dramatized through dance and pantomime.⁹

The mention of the tragic events of Missolonghi is deliberate, direct, and explicit in the ballet *L'ultimo giorno di Missolungi*,¹⁰ which was choreographed by Antonio Cortesi and whose music was composed by Luigi Maria Viviani. It was performed in the Gran Teatro La Fenice of Carnovale in 1836¹¹ and received wide acclaim among the Italian audiences.

⁶ Guido Muoni, *The Philhellenic Literature in Italian Romanticism*, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2016, p. 29.

⁷ Marianne McDonald, *The Greek Mythology in classical Opera*, Athens: Periplous, p. 239.

⁸ Roman Vlad, "Riflessi del Filellenismo nel teatro musicale dell'Ottocento", *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano*, mostra promossa dall'Ambasciata di Grecia e dall'Associazione per lo Sviluppo delle Relazioni fra Italia e Grecia, Roma, Palazzo Venezia, 25 marzo-25 april 1986, Roma: Ed. Del Sole, 1986, pp. 128-130.

⁹ Luigi Spessa : *Missolunghi, caduta il di 23 aprile 1826* – Francesco Pettinelli: *La presa di Missolunghi* – Angelo Brofferio: *La caduta di Missolonghi*, - Carlo Angiolini: *Zulmira o la Donna di Missolonghi* – Tommaso Sgricci: *Per la caduta di Missolunghi*, - Francesco Gherardi Dragomanni: *Ode ai nemici della Grecia*, - Giuseppe Regaldi: *Un cranio di Missolunghi*. See Tsolkas, 2015, footnote 19, p. 356, footnote 35, p. 364.

¹⁰ *L'ultimo giorno di Missolunghi: Ballo Eroico in cinque Atti*, *The Internet Archive*, <https://archive.org/details/lultimogiornodim00fire>, [accessed 02.06.2018].

¹¹ Muoni, p. 100.

Two years later, the pantomime *Alì Pascià di Giannina*¹² by Giovanni Galzerani, composed by De Mussi,¹³ was presented to the public. The Teatro Carlo Felice in Genoa, in 1836, hosted the performance of the epic ballet *La caduta di Ipsarà*¹⁴ by Luigi Astolfi while Circo Olimpico in Naples presented the ballet *La caduta di Psarà*, ballo con 60 persone a piedi e a cavallo¹⁵ by Antonio Guerra and other performances inspired by the naval battle in Navarino.¹⁶

In Opera, there are some magnificent examples of the Philhellenic movement; in 1838, *La Battaglia di Navarino*, composed by Giuseppe Staffa on Giovanni Emmanuelle Bintera's libretto,¹⁷ was performed in the theatre San Carlo of Naples while the Opera *Ultimi Giorni di Suli*, composed by Giovanni Battista Ferrari on Giovanni Peruzzini's libretto, was produced at the Teatro La Fenice in Venice in 1842-1843.¹⁸ Later, the Maltese composer Vincenzo Napoleone Mifsud composed the opera *Il giuramento di Germanos ovvero La liberazione della Grecia*, which would have been performed in Rome in 1849 but it was cancelled due to political unrest. The same composer wrote the opera *Marco Bozzari* which was published in Trieste in 1849 and excerpts of which were performed in Greek in Athens and Smyrne the same year.¹⁹ *Il corsaro* of Giuseppe Verdi, the representative composer of the Italian Risorgimento, is an opera in three acts based on the romantic poem by Lord Byron with the same title²⁰ and it is set in the Aegean Sea during the period of the Ottoman Occupation. It narrates the story of the hardened but courageous pirate of the Aegean Sea, Corrado, the battles he fought for freedom, his love for the Greek woman Medora, and the sacrifice the two lovers made.²¹

The works of Rossini, a composer who thematically but also emotionally engages with the Italian struggle for Independence prior to his involvement with the Greek one, were already influenced not only by Greek antiquity but also more contemporary events and facts. This is evident in the cantatas such as *Il pianto d'armonia sulla morte di Orfeo* (1808), *La morte di Didone* (1811), *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (1816), *Il pianto delle muse*

¹² Ali Pascia di Giannina: Azione pantomimica, Google books, https://books.google.gr/books?id=nz1gAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=el&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, [accessed 02.06.2018].

¹³ José Sasportes (ed.), *Storia della danza italiana dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Torino: EDT, 2011, p. 200.

¹⁴ La caduta di Ipsarà: Ballo eroico-tragico" Google books, https://books.google.gr/books?id=7PdPAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=el&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, [accessed 02.06.2018].

¹⁵ Vlad, pp. 128-130.

¹⁶ Sasportes, p. 206.

¹⁷ Staffa, Giuseppe, *La battaglia di Navarino*, Bayerische StaatsBibliothek digital, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10579786_00001.html, [accessed 02.06.2018].

¹⁸ Muoni, p. 65.

¹⁹ Katy Romanou, "The Ionian Islands", in *Aspects of Greek and Serbian music*, Athens: Orpheus-Nikolaïdis, 2007, pp. 126-154 – Andrea Sessa, *Il melodrama Italiano: 1861-1900*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2003, pp. 322-323 – George Ladas, *Concise History of the Greeks in Trieste*, Athens: Kouloura, 1976, p. 101 – Theodoros Synadinos, *History of the Modern Greek Music 1824-1919*, a, Athens: Typos, 1919, p. 89.

²⁰ Lord Byron, *The Corsair: a tale*, The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/stream/corsairtale00byrorch/corsairtale00byrorch_djvu.txt, [accessed 02.06.2018].

²¹ Elpida Nousa, "The Corsair of Lord Byron in the Art of Music", *Notes, myths and hope*, http://notesmuthoikaielpida.blogspot.gr/2015/01/blog-post_22.html, [accessed 02.06.2018].

in morte di Lord Byron (1824), and the opera *Ermione* (1819).²² It is also worth mentioning that as a young composer, he had also written the music for the chorus of a private performance of the tragedy *Oedipus at Colonus*.

The composer, as a young man, had been influenced by the revolutionary fervor of his time both in regards to his country but also to Greece.

After Joachim Murat, the ex-King of Naples, had declared Italy to be an independent state at Rimini on 5th April, Bologna followed suit by revolting against the occupiers. To celebrate this fact, Rossini composed a cantata, the *Inno dell'Indipendenza*, which was performed on 15th April 1815 at the Teatro Cantovalli. It was conducted by the composer himself, with Murat among the audience. This cantata appealed so widely and it enjoyed such success that it was considered to be the Italian Marseillaise. The following day, the Austrians re-occupied Bologna and Rossini was added to the Empire's blacklist of dissident artists. The situation was so dire for the composer that his mentor, Padre Mattei, provided him with funds to finance his escape from the city to save his life. For many years later, as Rossini himself mentioned, he was under close surveillance. However, false allegations have been made against the composer in the biography written by Antonio Zanolini.²³ It is reported that the composer changed the lyrics of the *Inno* in such a manner so as to curry favour with Austria and he offered the new work to the Austrian Commander Stefanini so that the latter would provide Rossini with a passport. The Commander recorded the fact with the symbolic notation "patriotta senza importanza" – a patriot without importance. This story is anecdotal and the composer vehemently denied it in a letter written on 12th June 1864 to the solicitor Phillip Santocanale.²⁴

It can be said that the first boldly revolutionary message attributed to Rossini conveyed through the medium of Opera and which addresses the Italians is found in the opera *L'italiana in Algeri*.²⁵ Using a seemingly innocent operatic work,²⁶ in Isabella's aria, the young, revolutionary Rossini urges the Italians to consider the plight of their country and, by praising acts of bravery of the past, calls them to revolt.²⁷

The summer of 1824 found Rossini at the peak of his success in London. The Greek events attracted the attention of the Europeans so, when news of the death of Lord Byron the poet of the revolution, arrived, grief reverberated throughout the continent. Reacting to this, Rossini composed the *Il pianto delle muse in morte di Lord Byron*, a piece written for a tenor, a choir, and an orchestra, and presented it on 9th July

²² G. N. Drosos, *Gioacchino Rossini*, Music 24, Athens: Zacharopoulos, 2013, p. 66.

²³ Not in the first edition of 1836 which had been approved by Rossini but rather in that of 1875 by Escudier.

²⁴ Marco Salvarani, «Rossini: Un patriota senza importanza?», *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, pp. 31-50, http://www.risorgimento.it/rassegna/index.php?id=63964&ricerca_inizio=0&ricerca_query=&ricerca_ordine=&ricerca_libera, [accessed 02.06.2018].

²⁵ De Stendhal, *Vie de Rossini*, Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1854, pp. 65-66.

²⁶ Maria Rosa Mazzola, «Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti e il Risorgimento», *O Patria mia! La musica e il sentimento patriottico*, <http://piranesi150.altervista.org/>, [accessed 02.06.2018].

²⁷ Giulio Ferroni, «Tra Italia e Grecia: Rossini da Maometto II a Le Siège de Corinthe», *Greece-Italy: Cultural Interactions*, Minutes of Cultural Conference, 30 November 2011, Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Faculty of Italian Language and Literature, 2012, pp. 19-30.

1824. In fact, Rossini took it upon himself to perform the part of the tenor, assuming the role of Apollo.²⁸

References to the Greek War of Independence can be found in Rossini's *Il viaggio a Reims, ossia L'albergo del Giglio d'Oro*, an opera in the form of a cantata composed in 1825 for the coronation of Charles X. Corinna refers to the battle against the Crescent and declares her support, predicting the victory of the Christians:

*Against the Faithful the Crescent still fights
But strengthened by the Holy Courage, fortune will always be favourable
As in the river Tiber and in Jerusalem
The Cross will be a herald of victory, a symbol of peace and glory
The all merciful heaven will dispel the dark clouds
Under the shade of the Holy olive tree, all shall be content.*²⁹

In 1826, the public opinion continued to be astounded by the endeavours of the Greeks to gain their freedom and have their Independence acknowledged. Therefore, at Rossini's suggestion, a concert was held at the Vauxhall de Paris on 28th April 1826 so as to raise funds in support of the Greek Struggle. The composer also conducted the orchestra and the response from the public was such that the concert was repeated on 9th May. In the final pages of the programme note, a *Greek Ode* can be found with the following encouraging lyrics: "*Rise, wage war, avenge yourselves, proud Greeks.*"

The concert in the Parisian Vauxhall became known as the most widely appealing and attended social event of the time which resulted in 30,000 francs³⁰ being raised in aid of the Greek Cause. In Catholic France, the positive and supportive feelings were even more pronounced because of their common religion since faithful Christians were more invested in the victory of the Cross over the infidels of the Crescent.

Le Siège de Corinthe was Rossini's first opera written in French for the French audiences³¹ at a time when the French capital anxiously awaited the new works of the composer. The composer had signed contracts with the French authorities that allowed him to assume the general direction of Theatre Italien and Academie Royale de Musique. However, Rossini, constrained by administrative duties which did not permit him time to compose music, decided not to make his debut with a new opera but with the adaptation of *Maometto II*,³² an older opera which he had already altered and adapted once before.³³ The composer was obviously fully aware of the importance of his debut in Paris, a city which, at that time, could solidify the reputation of a musician at a European level and it was the centre of the Philhellenic movement. This particular opera is not considered to be one of Rossini's better works but, undoubtedly,

²⁸ Drosos, p. 66.

²⁹ Luigi Balocchi, «Il viaggio a Reims», *Intratest: Digital Library*, <http://www.intratest.com/IXT/ITA1413/PD.HTM>, [accessed 02.06.2018]. Gioacchino Rossini, «L'assedio di Corinto», *La magia dell'opera*, <http://www.magiadellopera.com/pdf/Rossini/41%20-%20Corinto.pdf>, [accessed 02.06.2018].

³⁰ Rossini. [n.p.]

³¹ Richard Osborne, «Rossini's life», *The Cambridge Companion to Rossini*, Em. Senici (ed.), Cambridge:University of Oxford, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 9-24.

³² Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006, pp. 18-19.

³³ Giuseppe Ierolli, «Mosè e Maometto: Da Napoli a Parigi», *Incipit*, <http://www.incipitario.com/rossini3.html>, [accessed 02.06.2018].

he thought it to be suitable since the events in Greece were very closely watched in the French capital at that particular period.

The evolution of *Maometto II* into the *Siège de Corinthe* is of particular interest. The libretto of *Maometto II* focuses on the siege of Euboea by the Turkish forces. The tragic end of the heroine who commits suicide rather than be subjected to slavery is certainly not coincidental. It actually depicts a basic theme which emerges in the works of other Italian Philhellenes which refer to the Greek Revolution and the ideals of liberty.

It is also not a coincidence that Rossini's second opera after *Maometto II* again centres on Greece, set this time at the Greek island of Lesbos during the antiquity. This opera, *Zelmira*, was first performed in Naples in 1822 and the main male character, Antenor, the tyrant of Lesbos, shares many characteristics with Mohammed II. Both men are hardened and ruthless and they do not hesitate to murder to achieve their objectives. The female character, Zelmira, in a similar vein to Anna in *Maometto II*, refuses to submit to the tyrant's will, while Antenor does not hesitate to order her execution.

Le Siège de Corinthe, the third and final rewrite of *Maometto II* at the hands of Rossini, bears traces of other works of the composer such as *Bianca e Falliero* (1819), *Ermione* (1819), *Il viaggio a Reims* (1825), a theme from the *Messa di Gloria* and a theme from *Atalia* by Giovanni Simone Mayr.³⁴ Rossini's innovative approach imbued the opera with more drama and provided it with a sense of musical continuity which had not been achieved by any other previous Neapolitan composition. The role of Neocles – Calbo in *Maometto II* – is not performed by a mezzo soprano but by a tenor, a very distinctive change which is based on the opinions and preferences of the Parisian audiences of the time regarding the differentiation of the sexes. Finally, in this particular opera it is quite evident that it is the music which drives the drama. It must be emphasised that the aesthetics of Romanticism were shaped by the ideals of the French Revolution that also influenced Opera which, gradually, lost the characteristics of a courtly spectacle and became a form of art for the wider public so much so that it could be considered to be a form of entertainment for the masses.

Having the musical material of *Maometto II* ready, Rossini was able to concentrate fully on the problems arising from the use of a foreign language and the necessity to create a new production which ought to be a representative work and, at the same time, aligned with the preferences of the French audiences.

The libretto of *Maometto II* had been written by Cesare della Valle based on Voltaire's *Fanaticism or Mahomet* although this particular five-act play referred to the prophet and not the conquering sultan. He borrowed the title of the opera from the epic poem by Lord Byron and to adapt the lyrics to the Parisian tastes, Rossini asked Luigi Balocchi and Alexandre Soumet, well-established librettists, to review the libretto of *Maometto II*. Their objective was to convert it from a two-act Italian opera into a three-act French tragedie lyrique, bringing it closer to Voltaire's work.³⁵

The setting of the plot was moved from the siege of the Venetian State of Negroponte by the Ottoman forces of Mohammed the Conqueror in 1470 to the siege of Corinth in 1459, a few years after the fall of Constantinople. The new libretto utilizes allegorical elements to make explicit references to the prolonged siege and the final Exodus of Missolonghi, an historic event which is contemporary to the debut performance of this opera. However, it was more than a mere adaptation like others

³⁴ Rossini, [n.p.].

³⁵ Ibid. p. 13.

the composer had been in the habit of making. In essence, it was a completely new work, revolutionary in all its aspects. The names, with that of Mohammed being the only exception, changed; Anna Erisso became Pamira, Calbo was given the name Neocles, and Paolo Erisso became Cleomenes.³⁶ The libretto writers evidently attempted to associate the Greek Revolution with the glory of the Greek Antiquity by giving their main characters ancient Greek names. The new libretto praises the bravery of Pamira – as are Anna's courageous acts also praised in *Maometto II* – however, sacrifices, as a result of the misfortunes of war, become a national tragedy. The transition from the emotionally based plot to the patriotic element is clearly evident. It is not only Pamira who dies but an entire people, the people of Corinth, and symbolically, the Greeks.³⁷

"Everyone died to protect us..." sings the chorus of women, "A god watches us from above. To escape the manacles of slavery, Corinth dies engulfed in flames," says Ismene, while Mohammed, like another Nero, sings "Cold-hearted madness, blind hatred, night full of destruction..."

So Corinth disappears in its funeral pyre.

The death of a people on stage with such realism was something unheard and unseen of for the operas of that time. The combination of music and the dramatic actions on stage created a new aesthetic of horror in Opera which constitutes the precursor of great romantic lyrical plays.

It is worth noting that the libretto of the *Siège de Corinthe* was submitted to the French police authorities to be approved and it was returned to the writers with the note that the word "freedom" should be replaced with the word "country" since it could trigger social unrest.³⁸

This particular opera held great appeal to the French audiences not only because it touched their Philhellenic emotions but also because it awakened their own revolutionary tendencies against the dynasty of the Bourbons who, in the eyes of the population, were not very different from the Turks. The premiere was held on 9th October 1826 in the Opéra and it was met with great success. An article published a few days later claimed that the original plan was for the performance to have been held outside the walls of Constantinople, however, Metternich himself intervened to ensure this would not happen. The Austrian Chancellor was concerned about the reaction of the Ottomans to this provocation given that the recapture of the city by Christians was a hotly debated topic at the time.³⁹

The *Siège de Corinthe* was so successful that King Charles X awarded Rossini with the Médaille de la Légion d' Honneur. Nevertheless, the composer refused the honour, stating later to la Rochefoucauld that it would not have been proper on his part to have accepted such a distinction for an opera that had been rewritten while other great French composers, such as Hérold, had yet to be honoured for their work.⁴⁰

The opera continued its triumphant career by being translated into Italian by Calisto Bassi with the title *L' assedio di Corinθο*, and it was the first of many such

³⁶ Ferroni, pp. 23-26.

³⁷ Benjamin Walton, «Rossini and France», *The Cambridge Companion to Rossini*, Em. Senici ed., Cambridge: University of Oxford, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 25-33.

³⁸ Rossini, [n.p.].

³⁹ Benjamin Walton, *Rossini in Restoration Paris*, Cambridge: The sound of Modern Life, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 118.

⁴⁰ Rossini, [n.p.].

translations which took place until the 21st century.⁴¹ Rossini's French manuscript is missing many segments that were lost due to the negligence of the publisher, Troupenas. The opera was first performed in Athens in 1933 by the Greek National Opera in the Italian version of the publishing house of Ricordi, directed by Mario Coranti and conducted by Roberto Soldatini.

In summary, it can be observed that the special bond that connects Italy and Greece gives rise to the identification of the Greek Revolution with the Italian struggle to unify their country. In Rossini's particular example, a specific tendency to unite the Greek and Italian ideals in form and content with the French Philhellenism can be seen. As a youth, Rossini served in the National Guard of Naples and it was there that he composed the *Hymn for the Soldiers of the Constitution* which suggests that even then he was highly sensitive to the ideals of patriotism and democracy. The composer, in his more mature years, was accused of being a philo-Austrian who, as is frequently mentioned in literature, exploited the social and political framework of the time to achieve success in his art. However, a deeper investigation into the facts, the succession of his works, the entirety of his actions, the correspondence of his intimates reveal an extraordinary and volatile personality. As a young man, he was a carbonaro who sided with the revolutionaries and was a very close friend of Balzac's, however, as time passed, due to the severe depression he suffered from and the fear of violence, he became a reactionary and sided with conservative Europe. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to consider that the composer was not interested in the success of his plays since he selected the themes based on what would be appealing to the audiences. Yet, it would be equally wrong to disregard the youthful revolutionary fervour which his familial environment instilled in him, strengthened by the friendships and acquaintances in the French capital, and which remained with him throughout his life influencing his actions.

On the occasion of our meeting in Corfu, I would like to conclude this retrospective that associates Rossini and his works with Greece by saying that the number of performances of the composer's works in our country has been particularly low. An exception to this is Corfu which, prior to its unification with Greece, hosted a great number of Rossini's operas in the San Giacomo Theatre, operas which had remained unknown to the Greek audiences for many years.⁴²

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² *Eduardo e Cristina* (1824), *Aureliano in Palmira* (1825), *Tancredi* (1826), *Torvaldo e Dorliska* (1828), *Semiramide* (1830), *Matilde di Shabran* (1830), *Maometto II* (1833), *Otello* (1840), *ibid.* [n.p.].

Flora mirabilis by Spyridon Samaras: A cognitive approach on selected parts of the libretto

Stamatia Gerothanasi

1. Introduction

The paper discusses the figurative mechanisms of the libretto of the opera *Flora mirabilis*, *Leggenda in tre atti* by Spyridon Samaras and libretto by Ferdinando Fontana. The opera was presented for the first time on 16.05.1886 in Milan, Teatro Carcano and its première signals the beginning of the international operatic career of Samaras. The dramaturgy of *Flora Mirabilis* is actually that of a fairy tale. In the opera, distinctive traits of the movement of scapigliatura are presented. The paper examines specific constructions from selected parts of the libretto focusing on conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies in order to provide a new reading of the influences of the scapigliatura movement.¹

2. Aim of research and Methodology

The aim of this paper is to show how the movement of scapigliatura influenced the dramaturgy of the opera and the language of the libretto. To this end, I will identify and discuss specific constructions of the libretto through the cognitive mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy. Such mechanisms seem to reflect and thus allow an enriched reading of the influences of scapigliatura movement.

My framework is Conceptual Metaphor Theory and my starting point is the way language is organized in the libretto. The words and the constructions employed by the librettist are not coincidental. They enable me to understand how conceptual processes work and the role they perform in constructions.

2.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Lakoff and Johnson in 1980 in their seminal study *Metaphors We Live By* offered a new view of metaphor and metonymy, and in this way challenged traditional approaches to figurative language in a coherent and systematic way.² Their conception, known as the *cognitive linguistic view of metaphor*, showed convincingly that metaphor is pervasive in everyday thought and language. In the cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is conceptual in nature and refers to the understanding of a conceptual domain in terms of another. In their view, metaphor is not simply a matter of words or linguistic expressions but of concepts, of thinking of one thing in terms of another. This understanding is achieved by seeing a set of systematic correspondences, or mappings, between the two domains. Conceptual metaphors can be given by means of the formula *A IS B* or *A AS B*, where *A* and *B* indicate different conceptual domains (Kövecses 2002: 4).

Metonymy is claimed to be not just a matter of names of things, but essentially a conceptual phenomenon. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: Ch. 8), "metonymy, like

¹ The research is based on: (i) the spartito (Sonzogno N. 450) and (ii) the libretto (Edoardo Sonzogno 1887). Both of them are located in the Music Library of Greece "Lilian Voudouri". This libretto is translated in Greek by Nikolaos Poriotis.

² Concerning the meaning of figurative language and nonfigurative or literal language see Dancygier & Sweetser (2014: 3).

metaphor, is part of our everyday way of thinking". According to Radden and Kövecses (1999: 21), "metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model".³ It is important to note that in metonymy both the vehicle entity and the target entity are elements of one and the same conceptual domain. Conceptual metonymy can be given by means of the formula A STANDS FOR B.

According to Kövecses (2002: 245), "the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor works on three levels: the supraindividual level corresponding to how a given language and culture reflects metaphorical patterns, the individual level corresponding to the metaphorical cognitive system as used by individual speakers of a language, and the subindividual level corresponding to universal aspects of various kinds of embodiment". This discussion is interesting in the study of figurative language of the libretto of the opera; parameters of the particular cultural movement affected the librettist. Although it is still under research how the three levels work together it is scientifically proven that language, culture, thought, and embodied cognition all come together and play an equally crucial role in the study of metaphor.

Many scholars from a variety of disciplines have since contributed to figurative language over the years and have produced new and important results in the study of metaphor: Gibbs (1994, 2008), Gibbs & Steen 1999, Grady (1999), Kövecses (2002), Lakoff (1987), Jäkel (1999), Ortony (1993) and in the study of metonymy as well: Barcelona (2000), Dirven & Pørrings (2003), Kövecses (2002), Panther and Radden (1999) to name a few.

The paper is organized as follows:

A layout of the opera and a brief summary of the plot is provided (Section 3). Some information is given concerning Fontana and the movement of scapigliatura; focus is assigned on the themes that are encountered in Flora that reveal the influence of scapigliatura and how these themes are musically strengthened by Samaras (Section 4). In Section 5, particular constructions are discussed through the cognitive mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy that reflect scapigliatura themes on a particular part of the libretto (act I, *Introduzione e dialogo*, p. 9 of the libretto, Lidia: "Libera e fiera until Dai pazzi son io"). Moreover, some of the musical strategies employed by Samaras are discussed in order to highlight these constructions.

3. Main Characters, Schematic Layout of the Opera and Summary

Cristiano d' Orèbro: bass

Lidia: his daughter, soprano

Valdo: adopted son of Cristiano d' Orèbro, tenor

Conte d' Adelfiord: father of Vilfrido, bariton

Place and Time of the plot: Sweden, 15th century

³ According to Panther and Radden (1999: 2), "The conceptual framework within which metonymy is understood [...] is that of scenes, frames, scenarios, domains or idealized cognitive models (ICMs). Within these models, a metonymic link may be established between two conceptual entities in the broadest sense".

Act I	Act II	Act III
Introduzione e Dialogo (Lidia e Principe)	Coro di Boscajuoli (Tenori e Bassi)	Preludio
Marcia e Coro (Lidia, Principe e Coro)	Danza dei Gnomi (Ballabile)	Romanza (Conte)
Scena: (Lidia, Valdo, Principe e Coro) Canzone di Valdo Canzone di Lidia	Coro e Scena (Lidia, Valdo e Coro)	Aria (Lidia)
Concertato (Lidia, Valdo, Principe e Coro)	Danza dei Fiori (Ballabile)	Finale Ultimo
Romanza (Valdo)	Duetto (Lidia e Valdo)	
Finale I (Conte, Valdo), (Coro e Lidia)	Terzetto (Lidia, Valdo e Conte)	
	Scena (Lidia)	
	Finale II (Lidia, Principe e Coro)	

Act I

Cristiano d'Orèbro announces to his daughter Lidia that she should marry Valdo, a boy he has adopted after the death of his parents and who became a brave soldier. She replies she wants to stay free. Lidia's father believes that his daughter slowly gets mad: the God of love is taking her senses away since she rejected Vilfrido, son of Conte d'Adelfiord, who committed suicide because of her rejection. After four years in the battle, Valdo comes back and confesses his love for Lidia. Lidia ironically tells him that she should marry someone who can make the snowy field flourish as if it was spring. Conte approaches the disappointed Valdo and offers him a magic rose branch that makes everything flourish. In this way, he will win Lidia's heart, but, in return, when the night falls he will lose his love for her. Valdo accepts. Lidia and her maids in surprise see the blooming flowers!

Act II

Lidia and Valdo praise their love. When the night falls the magic spells act on Valdo, who abandons her in the most cruel way. Lidia is left alone and, because of Valdo's rejection, gets mad. Her father finds her covered with snow and brings her back to the palace.

Act III

Lidia believes she is an old woman. Conte sees Lidia in that state and he repents for what he has done. Cristiano d'Orèbro approaches him and asks him to save his daughter. At that very moment Valdo comes back. Lidia hears his voice and gets well. They hug one another and at the same time the pomegranade on Vilfrido's grave blooms, a sign that his soul is now in peace.

4. Fontana, Scapigliatura and Flora

Unfortunately there is no relevant information concerning the collaboration between Fontana and Samaras. Fontana, Italian writer and librettist, was a follower of the movement known as "scapigliatura". In his theatrical manifesto, *In teatro* (1884), he proclaims the necessity for an opera summary to form an independent work of art. In this way he stresses his need for a coherent and structured plot that has a literary value of its own.

"Scapigliatura" is a term used to identify an artistic, literary trend that flourished in a period approximately from 1860 until 1880/90, originating from Milan (for the particular movement I was based on the works of Cottom (2013), Del Principe (1997), Jahrmärker (2006), Καρυοφύλλη (2006)).

The movement anticipates verismo and features of the *fin-de-siècle* decadent movement. We first encounter the term in the novel of Cletto Arrighi's *La Scapigliatura e il 6 febbraio* (1858), a forerunner of the movement. He coined the term «scapigliatura» (from scapigliato, meaning disheveled, unkempt, loose living) to describe the Milan's version of Paris artistic Bohème. Like Bohemians, the Scapigliati were against the church, the establishment, the bourgeoisie. They were in favor of individualism, hedonism, sexual freedom, drunkenness and general degeneracy. The influence of scapigliatura in opera is seen in the language and dramatic subjects of the librettos. Linguistic and metrical experimentation was a constant feature of their work.

I would like to focus on those dramatic themes encountered in *Flora* that reveal the influence of scapigliatura.

Scapigliati were focusing on themes that have to do with paradoxon and the reversal of common sense. Therefore a mixture of elements of realism and a preference for the supernatural and the unusual was present in their literary art. In *Flora* the supernatural elements of the plot, the imaginary figures and symbols are mixed with realistic elements concerning the portrayal of the characters.

The formation of Lidia's character reveals a central theme of scapigliatura: escape from hypocrisy and conformism. Lidia cannot please her father by marrying Valdo. She wants to be free and not to belong to a man. Her declaration of independence, that could imply lack of emotions, is translated as madness. Lidia's reaction is not appropriate according to the common sense of the society and therefore she is understood as being mad. Fontana's idea to present how she actually gets mad in act II (scena VIII), when Valdo rejects her love, shows his intention to highlight what society understands as madness (act I, m. 381-478 of scene II) and the actual madness (act III, scene II and III). Samaras expresses the different types of madness through musical form: in act I, he expresses Lidia's "madness" through a strophic song. For the state of getting mad Samaras composes a mad scene on the blanc verses of Fontana. In act III, Lidia's aria ("La fiamma splende") is a recapitulation of what she has experienced and caused her madness, therefore the orchestral part is a mosaic of the main reminiscence motifs and themes of the opera. Moreover, according to Fistouris (2014: 98), Lidia has a certain leitmotif (Act I: m. 31-32).

Through the use of hyperbole, Fontana achieves the outmost description of what is called *caso eccezionale* found in the themes of scapigliatura.⁴ An instance of exceptional case is when the snowy field flourishes as if it was spring. Samaras systematically uses augmented chords as a kind of reminiscence motif of the miracle.

A common theme in scapigliatura was the contrast between superficial beauty and hidden brutality. Fontana underlines Lidia's beauty but also her cruel attitude towards Valdo. In act I, Fontana seems to create a death angel through contrast: the outer beauty goes hand in hand with the inner coldness and therefore he anticipates Puccini's Turandot.

For Scapigliati the concept of love has monomaniac and self destructive qualities: in the same way Fontana inserts the dramaturgical motif of suicidal love through Conte's son who

⁴ See Καρυοφύλλη (2006: 14).

commits suicide because Lidia rejects his love. In the same way, Lidia gets crazy and almost dies because of love rejection. Conte, on the other hand, is hunted by his love for his son and cannot come to peace. Love is a dark power that moves the characters to death and revenge. On the other hand, in the duet of act II, Valdo and Lidia idealise love as the ultimate mystery that erases the past, helps the lovers go through examinations and let them reach ecstasy. It reveals another tendency in scapigliatura, that of presenting love as a mystery. According to Fistouris (2014: 465), the relation of Lidia and Valdo acquires a certain leitmotif which appears in the opera in two versions: a negative one (Act I: m. 480-481) and a positive one (Act I: m. 812-813).

For Scapigliati human existence is in the mercy of two equally powerful forces: fortune and love. The fortune, blind and cruel, changes the course of human life. The concept of fortune is used by Fontana: Lidia's madness is due to a turn of the fortune. Conte suffers from the cruel fortune of losing his only son. The father of Lidia suffers from the cruel fortune of his daughter.

The concept of woman in the work of scapigliati has a central place with ambiguous connotations: she is a prey of the fortune, she is rebellious, she develops her own ethical stance, away from hypocrisy but she is also cruel, prisoner of low sexual desires, source of evil that drives men to catastrophe. The concept of woman in *Flora* is ambiguous: on the one hand Lidia is presented like a death angel that kills anyone who falls in love with her and on the other hand, she falls so deeply in love that she loses herself completely and therefore she gets mad.

5. Analysis of the conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies

Act I p. 9 of the libretto: Lidia's monologue	Translation in English	Translation in Greek
<i>Libera e fiera- mi fe' il destino...</i>	<i>Free and proud – the fortune has made me...</i>	Η μοίρα μ' έπλασε ελεύθερη και περήφανη...
<i>Tal viver voglio... - Tal morirò...</i>	<i>Like this I want to live... – Like this to die...</i>	Έτσι να ζήσω θέλω κι έτσι θα πεθάνω...
<i>Odio ogni vincolo – che a me un divino</i>	<i>I hate any barrier – that no divine power</i>	Μισώ κάθε εμπόδιο γιατί, καθώς γεννιόμουν,
<i>Poter, nascendo, - non comandò.</i>	<i>when I was born- could impose on me.</i>	καμιά θεϊκή Δύναμη δεν μου το επέβαλε.
<i>Curvarmi al giogo – d'amor rifiuto</i>	<i>I refuse to succumb in the gawe of love</i>	Αρνούμαι να υποταχτώ στο παιχνίδι του έρωτα.
<i>Le sue leggende – son di dolor!</i>	<i>His legends only cause pain!</i>	Οι μύθοι του μόνο πονάνε!
<i>Voglio alle corde – del mio liuto</i>	<i>I want the chords of my lute at any time</i>	Θέλω οι χορδές απ' το λαούτο μου κάθε στιγμή
<i>Questa canzone – sposare ognor:</i>	<i>To accompany this song:</i>	να συνοδεύουν αυτό το τραγούδι:
<i>'Il Nume adorato</i>	<i>I am the Goddess of mad man</i>	"Η θεά των τρελών είμ' εγώ"
<i>Dai pazzi son io...</i>		

I would like to focus on the part of the libretto of *Introduzione e dialogo* (Act I, scene I) when Lidia responds to her father's wish to marry Valdo. The two specific strophes, of four verses each, constitute a prologue of her canzone which is her credo (Act I, m. 122-126). Lidia's

father stops her from going on singing her song. The dramaturgical importance of this credo is underlined through its reappearance in act I: *canzone di Lidia* (scene II, m. 381-478), where she finally gets to sing the full text of her song as a response to Valdo's love declaration (Act I, scene II: *canzone di Valdo*). Fontana and Samaras underline Valdo's irony and cruelty towards her in act II when he repeats exactly the same text and music (act II, scene II, m. 948-958).⁵ The irony arises from the fact that although Valdo rejects her, being affected by the magic spell, he still sings her song to comply with her former stance: she was singing this song when she was not in love with him, although he was. Now he does the same: he sings her song as he is not in love with her, though she is now. This at the same time is a rather cruel reaction.

In my view, Fontana prepares Lidia's powerful credo through these two strophes. They reveal, through their linguistic devices, basic themes of the scapigliatura movement.

1st strophe: verse 1 & 2

Libera e fiera- mi fe' il destino...

Tal viver voglio... - Tal morirò...

Fontana stresses Lidia's pride which, however, extends and as a consequence stands for cruelty. This is an instance of conceptual metonymy: PRIDE STANDS FOR CRUELTY. One may be proud but pride may cause cruelty towards others. In the same verse Fontana highlights the importance of Fortune in her way of being: it is not her fault that she is cruel and rebellious but the fortune has made her so. This is, as said before, a basic theme in the particular movement. It is expressed by means of an ontological metaphor: an abstract concept, such as Fortune, acquires the ontology of a human being that guides her life. Moreover, Fortune predestinates not only Lidia's life but also her death. In the next verse Fontana foregrounds two very important but also polysemous concepts in contrast: life and death. Through the use of such concepts, Fontana already presents major themes of Scapigliati: the power of fortune which governs and determines not only our lives but death as well.

1st strophe: verse 3 & 4

Odio ogni vincolo – che a me un divino

Poter, nascendo, - non comandò

In the third verse, Fontana refers to the concept of love in life in general. Love may stand for the love of God, love may stand for the love of a husband. The particular emotion concept rules peoples' life according to scapigliati so that people are not free. Lidia expresses this reaction against love by emphasizing her individualistic and rebellious nature. Moreover, the reaction against the love of God and church in general, a central theme in scapigliati, is particularly expressed linguistically by not using a capital letter for the word *divino*. The word *God* rather has negative connotations: it is not a benevolent God of christianity but a constraint from freedom.

⁵ See p. 202 of the vocal score.

Allegretto moderato

Lidia

Li - be - ra e fie - ra mi fe' il de - sti - no... tal vi - ver

100 vo - gliò... tal mo - ri - rò... 101 O - dio o - gni vin - co - lo che a me un di - vi - no po - ter, na - 102 103

stent. poco più

col canto poco più

Allegretto scherzoso

L. 104 105 106 107

scen - do, non co - man - dò Cur - var - mi al gio - go d' a -

col canto p legato cresc.

Act I: m. 97-105 (1st strophe)

Samaras creates in the bars 97-98 a tonal ambiguity: the melodic line of Lidia is in g minor and at the same time f major is notated. The abrupt musical transition from the second verse to the third (see m. 101) creates a feeling of shock: unprepared modulation to g minor, change of the rhythmic and melodic structure of the vocal line, difference in articulation (stentato and accent) all these transfusing an exclamatory quality to what Lidia says. The abrupt change underlines Lidia's key words: I *hate* any *barrier*. Although the harmonic progression between the first two verses and the last two ones is similar, the vocal line has another gesture.

2nd strophe

Curvarmi al giogo – d'amor rifiuto
Le sue leggende – son di dolor!

Voglio alle corde – del mio liuto
 Questa canzone – sposare ognor:

Thus, in the next strophe, in the first verse, Fontana uses the ontological metaphor: LOVE IS A RULER, GOD IS A RULER. If GOD STANDS FOR LOVE, Lidia does not want to submit to this power. She does not want to submit to the power of love because she will feel pain. Fontana also uses the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A GAME. Love is a complicated game and Lidia does not want to play this game. Therefore she wants to be free and sing her own song accompanied by her lute. Lidia is playing her own song, she chooses her own rhythm. Fontana makes use of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A PLAY to stress Lidia's rebellious and independent nature.

Allegretto scherzoso

The musical score is for a piece titled "Allegretto scherzoso". It consists of two staves. The top staff is for the voice (L.) and the bottom staff is for the piano (col canto). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 6/8. The score includes measures 104 through 107. The lyrics are: "scen - do, non co - man - dò Cur - var - mi al gio - go d'a -". The piano part features a "legato" marking and a "cresc." (crescendo) marking. The vocal part has a "stent." (stentato) marking. The piano part has a "p" (piano) marking. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and slurs.

108 L. *poco stent.* 109 110 111
mo - re ri - fiu - to le su - e leg - gen - de son

112 L. *poco stent.* 113 114 *affrett.* 115 116 117
di do - lor! Vo - glio al - le cor - de del mio li - u - to

118 L. *calando* 119 120 121
que - sta can - zo - ne spo - sa - re o - gnor.

112 L. *col canto* 113 114 115 116 117

118 L. *col canto* 119 120 121

Act I: m. 106-121 (2nd strophe)

Samaras expresses the metaphor LOVE IS A GAME by using contrapunctive texture within the orchestra and the vocal line: it is not coincidental that on the word *amore* a chromatic ascending line in legato (m. 107) is followed by a descending diatonic line in staccato (m. 108). The fact that Lidia resists to play the game of love is reflected through the rhythmical irritation created via duplets (in the word *rifiuto*, m. 109, appear simultaneously triplets and duplets). Moreover, Samaras introduces the second stanza of the monologue through a modulation to E flat major and a change of rhythm from 4/4 to 6/8.

Lidia wants to set the rhythm of her own song which is actually her life. In the same manner Samaras presents a variety of rhythms in this short passage: meter 4/4 for the first strophe (close to the basic rhythmic gesture of the dialogue with her father) and in allegretto moderato. Meter 6/8 for the first two verses of the second strophe and 3/8 for the last two verses which prepare rhythmically the actual song all in allegretto scherzoso. Samaras underlines Lidia's emancipation by choosing the rhythm of her life through the gradual dissolution of

regular rhythm to more irregular like 3/8. At the same time (with the verse *Voglio alle corde del mio liuto*) he modulates to g flat major. Samaras highlights the words *mio liuto* through the enharmonic appearance of "Tristan chord" (m. 116) and the ascending interval of 5th in the vocal line (on the word *mio*).

"Il Nume adorato
Dai pazzi son io..."

In the actual text of her song, Lidia refers to herself as a Goddess of mad people. Through her, people get mad because Lidia stands for love and love is destructive and leads to suicidal reactions (see Vilfrido's suicide). Love on another level stands for madness. By means of such chains of metonymies, Fontana underlines scapigliatura's main theme which is the destructive power of love.

6. Concluding Remarks

This paper has been an attempt to find out how central themes of scapigliatura movement appear in the plot of *Flora* and how they align with recurrent musical motifs, themes, choice of musical form, harmony, rhythm, among others. I have focused on Lidia's monologue from *Introduzione e dialogo* in order to identify and discuss the constructions that express basic themes and concepts like love and fortune, woman nature, individuality.

The emergence of conceptual metaphors and metonymies in the libretto is a very promising field of research. The analysis of musical parameters together with the cognitive analysis of the libretto opens new gates in the understanding of the collaboration between composer and librettist but also in the way music is conceptualised.

According to Zbikowski 1998, 2002, 2008 and especially (1998: 7), "it remains to explore the nature and the extent of these metaphors, and, in doing so, to come to a better appreciation of the processes through which we organize our understanding of music".

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FLORA MIRABILIS

DI

SPIRO SAMARA

ATTO PRIMO

INTRODUZIONE E DIALOGO

Il Principe e Lidia.

Ricca sala nel castello d'Orèbro. — Galleria in fondo, al di là della quale una grande finestra chiusa con invetrate a colori. — Trofei d'armi alle pareti. — Un seggiolone a destra. — È il crepuscolo.



$\text{♩} = 63$
SOSTENUTO

ben legato p m.d.

ben sentito
f m.s.

ben sentito
m.d. m.s.

(Si alza la tela)

Proprietà di Edoardo Sonzogno

E. S. 450

1

Νικόλαος Δούμπας. Σκιαγραφώντας έναν φιλόμουσο μαικήνα

Κωνσταντίνα Καρακώστα

Η παρούσα εισήγηση αναφέρεται στη σπουδαία προσφορά του Νικόλαου Δούμπα στα πολιτιστικά πράγματα της Βιέννης, έτσι όπως αυτή αναδεικνύεται ιστορικά μέσα στο πνεύμα της συνολικότερης δυναμικής παρουσίας του ελληνισμού στην Αψβουργική Μοναρχία του 19ου αιώνα.¹ Σκοπός της εισήγησης είναι αρχικά να εντάξει την περίπτωση του Νικόλαου Δούμπα στο ευρύτερο ιστορικό περιβάλλον και στη συνέχεια να προβάλλει την ιδιαίτερη σημαντικότητά της.

Ο Νικόλαος Δούμπας (Nikolaus Dumba) γεννήθηκε στη Βιέννη το 1830. Γονείς του ήταν ο Στέργιος Δούμπας και η Μαρία Κούρτη. Γεννημένος το 1794 στη Βλάστη ο Στέργιος Δούμπας εγκαταστάθηκε μαζί με τα αδέρφια του στις Σέρρες όπου το 1817 συνέστησαν την εταιρεία «Αυτάδελφοι Μ. Δούμπα». Συγκεντρώνοντας πρώτες ύλες και βιοτεχνικά προϊόντα από την οθωμανική επικράτεια, τα προωθούσαν στη συνέχεια στην αψβουργική πρωτεύουσα, γεγονός που τον ώθησε να μετεγκατασταθεί εκεί για τις εμπορικές τους ανάγκες. Η περίπτωση του Στέργιου Δούμπα όχι μόνο δεν αποτελεί κάποια φωτεινή εξαίρεση, αντίθετα μάλιστα εντάσσεται σε ένα αθρόο κύμα μετοικεσίων οικονομικού προσανατολισμού που συνέβη στην κεντρική και βόρεια βαλκανική Ευρώπη τον 18ο αιώνα. Ιστορική αφετηρία- σταθμός είχε αποτελέσει το τέλος των πολέμων του «Ιερού Συνασπισμού του Linz» (Sainte Ligue Linz) 1684-1699 και 1716-1718 που σήμαναν την οριστική απομάκρυνση του σουλτανικού κινδύνου από την κεντρική Ευρώπη και τροποποίησαν άρδην τις εμπορικές σχέσεις Αψβούργων και Οθωμανών.² Οι Συνθήκες του Κάρλοβιτς

¹ Θα ήθελα να εκφράσω τις θερμότερες ευχαριστίες μου στον κύριο Ιωάννη Τζαφέττα για την ευγενική παραχώρηση του βιβλίου που συνέγραψε με την Elvira Konency, *Νικόλαος Δούμπας (1830-1900)*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Γράμμα, 2009 και στο οποίο βασίστηκε η παρούσα εισήγηση.

² Βλ. ενδεικτικά Ivan Parvev, *Habsburgs and the Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade (1683-1739)*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995, 75-136, Robert Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974, 62-70, Marta Bur, «A balkáni kereskedők és a magyar borkivitel a XVIII században» [Ο Βαλκάνιος έμπορος και η ουγγρική εξαγωγή κρασιού τον 18ο αιώνα], *Történelmi Szemle*, 21.2 (1978), 285-287, Olga Katsiardi-Hering, «Das Habsburgerreich: Anlaufpunkt für Griechen und andere Balkanvölker im 17.-19. Jahrhundert», *Osterreichische Osthefte*, 38 (1996), 171-188, Snežka Panova, «Zu Fragen über die rolle Österreich-Ungarns im wirtschaftlichen Prozess des Heranreifens der Balkanvölker (17.-18. Jahrhundert)», στο *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung*, Grete Klingenstein, Richard Plaschka (επιμ.), τ. Α', Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985, 167-172, Αλίκη Νικηφόρου, *Τα διαβατήρια του 19ου αι. των Αρχείων της Κέρκυρας (1800-1870)*, Κέρκυρα: Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους, Αρχεία Ν. Κερκύρας, 2003, 15-16, 34.

(Karlowitz, 1699),³ του Πασσάροβιτς (Passarowitz, 1718)⁴ και αργότερα του Βελιγραδίου (1739) αναγνώρισαν τη βιεννέζικη αυλή ως μοναδική κυρίαρχη δύναμη⁵ και έθεσαν σε λειτουργία έναν μηχανισμό, ο οποίος ήταν αποκλειστικά υπεύθυνος για την ανάπτυξη ενός στρώματος Βαλκάνιων εμπόρων,⁶ προκαλώντας ένα πολυδύναμο μεταναστατευτικό ρεύμα, στο οποίο εντάσσεται και η περίπτωση της οικογένειας Δούμπα.

Ειδικότερα, εκείνο που καθιστούσε τη Συνθήκη του 1699 ως μια από τις σημαντικότερες στη νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη είναι τα άρθρα 14 και 15, με τα οποία προβλέπονταν για πρώτη φορά η ελεύθερη και απρόσκοπτη διακίνηση των εμπορών υπηκόων των δύο συμβαλλόμενων πλευρών και η ασφάλεια των εμπορικών τους δραστηριοτήτων. Η Συνθήκη του Κάρολιτς αντικαταστάθηκε από την Συνθήκη του Πασσάροβιτς το 1718, μια συνθήκη η οποία επέκτεινε τους όρους της προηγούμενης και εξέφρασε απόλυτα τη συστηματική πολιτική που προωθούσε ο Αψβούργος Αυτοκράτορας προκειμένου για την ανάπτυξη των εμπορικών επαφών της Αυτοκρατορίας του με την Ανατολή. Με ειδικό συμφωνητικό αποφασίστηκε η ελευθερία του εμπορίου σε όλους τους δρόμους των δύο Αυτοκρατοριών, η ελεύθερη ναυσιπλοΐα του Δούναβη, ο διορισμός εκατέρωθεν προξενικών αρχών, εκείνο, όμως, το οποίο είχε τη μέγιστη οικονομική σημασία ήταν η συμφωνία εφαρμογής προνομιακού τελωνιακού δασμού 3% για όλα τα εισαγόμενα και εξαγόμενα προϊόντα που διακινούνταν ανάμεσα στην Οθωμανική και την Αψβουργική Αυτοκρατορία.⁷

Η οικονομική πολιτική της Βιέννης για ολόκληρο τον 18ο αιώνα είχε στο επίκεντρό της την προσέλκυση έμπειρων Οθωμανών εμπόρων (türkische

³ Για το πλήρες το κείμενο της Συνθήκης βλ. Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman (1300-1789)*, τ. Α', Paris: F. Pichon, 1897, 182-193 για το κείμενο στα λατινικά, 193-196 η περίληψη γαλλικά. Σχετικά με τα κέρδη των Αυστριακών από την Συνθήκη βλ. ενδεικτικά Barbara Jelavich, *Ιστορία των Βαλκανίων (18ος-19ος αιώνας)*, επιμ. Βάσιος Τσοκόπουλος, μτφ. Χριστίνα Δεληστάθη, τ. Α', Αθήνα: Πολύτροπον, 2006, 114-116.

⁴ Για το πλήρες το κείμενο της Συνθήκης βλ. G. Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux*, τ. Α', ό.π., 208-216 για το κείμενο στα λατινικά, 220-227 στη γαλλική γλώσσα.

⁵ Franklin Ford, *Europe 1780-1830*, London: Longman, 1976, 69-73, Γεώργιος Πλουμίδης, *Γεωγραφία της Ιστορίας του Νεοελληνικού χώρου*, Αθήνα, 1984, 62-67, Όλγα Κατσιαρδή-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης*, τ. Α', Αθήνα: Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, 1986, 4-7, Αγγελική Ιγγλέση, *Βορειοελλαδίτες έμποροι στο τέλος της Τουρκοκρατίας, ο Σταύρος Ιωάννου*, Αθήνα: Εμπορική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος- Ιστορικό Αρχείο, 2004, 40-42.

⁶ Traian Stoianovich, «Ο κατακτητής ορθόδοξος Βαλκάνιος έμπορος», στο *Η οικονομική δομή των Βαλκανικών χωρών στα χρόνια της Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας ιε'- ιθ' αι.*, Σπ. Ασδραχά (εισ.-επιμ.), μτφ. Ντόρα Μαμαρέλη, Αθήνα: Μέλισσα, 1979, 287-345, α' εκδ. στα αγγλικά με τον τίτλο «The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant», *Journal of Economic History*, 20 (1960), 234-313, L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, εισαγ. Traian Stoianovic, Λονδίνο: NYU Press, 2000, 142-143.

⁷ Για τις ευρωπαϊκές εξελίξεις και τους λόγους που οδήγησαν στην Συνθήκη του Πασσάροβιτς βλ. εν συντομία Ιωάννης Χασιώτης, *Οι Ευρωπαϊκές δυνάμεις και η Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Βάνιας, 2005, 197-218, Georges Castellan, *Ιστορία των Βαλκανίων*, Αθήνα: Γκοβόστη, 1991, 272-274.

Unterthanen), οι οποίοι γνώριζαν καλά τους χειρσαίους δρόμους που οδηγούσαν από τα Βαλκάνια στα εδάφη του καισαροβασιλικού στέμματος και θα μπορούσαν να ανταποκριθούν με επιτυχία στην ολοένα και αυξανόμενη ζήτηση ακατέργαστου βαμβακιού, για τις ανάγκες της αυστριακής βαμβακουργίας.⁸ Οι Αυστριακοί επιθυμούσαν την εγκατάσταση ελληνικής καταγωγής⁹ εμπόρων (griechischer Handelsmann) στα εδάφη τους, γιατί τους θεωρούσαν ικανούς και δραστήριους επιχειρηματίες.¹⁰ Προκειμένου να επιτύχει το μεταναστευτικό της πρόγραμμα η βιεννέζικη αυλή (kaiserliche Haupt-und Residenzstadt) εξέδωσε επιπλέον δεκάδες προνόμια, τα οποία προέβλεπαν την ελεύθερη άσκηση των θρησκευτικών καθηκόντων των νεοεγκαταστηθέντων, την κοινοτική αυτοδιοίκησή τους καθώς επίσης και την εκχώρηση υλικών μέσων προκειμένου για τη μόνιμη εγκατάστασή τους στα εδάφη της.¹¹

⁸ Virginia Paskaleva, «Die Wirtschaftspolitik Maria Theresias und die Balkanvölker», στο *Österreich im Europa*, ό.π., 153-166, N.T. Gross, «The Habsburg Monarchy 1750-1914» στο *The Fontana Economic History of Europe, The Emergence of Industrial Societies*, Carlo M. Cipolla (επιμ.), τ. Δ', London: Collins, 1975, 228-278. Για τα προβλήματα που αντιμετώπιζε η βαμβακουργία της Μοναρχίας βλ. ενδεικτικά Herman Freudenberger, «The Woolen-Goods Industry of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century», *The Journal of Economic History*, 20.3 (1960), 383-406.

⁹ Max Demeter Peyfuss, Elvira Konency, «Der Weg der Familie Dumba von Mazedonien nach Wien», *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 58 (1980), 313-327, M. D. Peyfuss, «Balkanorthodoxe Kaufleute in Wien», *Österreichische Osthefte*, 17 (1975), 258-268.

¹⁰ Εμπεριστατωμένη ανάλυση των συνθηκών που οδήγησαν δεκάδες Ελλήνων στην αψβουργική επικράτεια στο Gunnar Hering, «Die griechische Handelsgesellschaft in Tokaj. Ihre innere Ordnung und ihre Auflösung 1801», *Südost-Forschungen*, 46 (1987), 79-93. Για τα εισαγόμενα και εξαγόμενα προϊόντα των δύο Αυτοκρατοριών βλ. T. Stoianovich, «Οθωμανική παραγωγική βάση: ποσοτική προσέγγιση», στο *Ελληνική Οικονομική Ιστορία*, Σπύρος Ασδραχάς (επιμ.), συν. Ν.Ε.Καραπιδάκης, Όλγα Κατσιαρδή-Hering, Ευτυχία Λιάτα, Άννα Ματθαίου, Michel Sivignon, Traian Stoianovich, τ. Α', Αθήνα: Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς, 2003, 434-446, M. Bur, «Das Raumergreifen balkanischer Kaufleute im Wirtschaftsleben der ostmittel-europäischen Länder im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert», στο *Bürgertum und bürgerliche Entwicklung in Mittel-und Osteuropa*, Vera Bácskai (επιμ.), Budapest: Akademisches Forschungszentrum für Mittel- und Osteuropa an der Karl Marx Universität für Wirtschaftswissenschaften, 1986, 17-88, M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966, xvii, ενώ αναλυτικό κατάλογο με όλα τα εμπορεύματα παραθέτουν η Marianne Herzfeld, «Zur Orienthandelspolitik Österreichs unter Maria Theresia in der Zeit von 1740-1771», *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 98 (1919), 214-334 και η V. Paskaleva, «Shipping and Trade on the Lower Danube in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries», στο *Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to 1914*, Απόστολος Βακαλόπουλος, Κωνσταντίνος Σβολόπουλος, Béla Király (επιμ.), Θεσσαλονίκη: I.M.X.A., 1988, 131-151.

¹¹ John Lampe, «The Economic Legacy of Habsburg Domination», στο *Balkan Economic History 1550-1950, From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*, Lampe John, Jackson Marvin (επιμ.), Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982, 50-79, V. Paskaleva, «Die Wirtschaftspolitik Maria Theresias», στο *Österreich im Europa*, ό.π., Σπυρίδων Λουκάτος, «Ο πολιτικός βίος των Ελλήνων της Βιέννης κατά την Τουρκοκρατία και τα αυτοκρατορικά προς αυτούς προνόμια», *Δ.Ι.Ε.Ε.Ε.*, 15 (1961) 287-350.

Την περίοδο της Μαρίας Θηρεσίας,¹² η οποία ακολούθησε την πολιτική στρατηγική (Reichspolitik) του πατέρα της Καρόλου ΣΤ',¹³ σημειώθηκε κατακόρυφα ανοδική πορεία της εισαγωγής μακεδονικού βαμβακιού από τις εκτεταμένες βαμβακοκαλλιέργειες της Μακεδονίας,¹⁴ ενώ από τα πλέον σημαντικά κέντρα καλλιέργειας βάμβακος αναδείχθηκε η περιοχή των Σερρών.¹⁵ Προκειμένου να αντιληφθεί κανείς με αριθμητικά μεγέθη το σπουδαίο ρόλο που διαδραμάτισε η περιοχή των Σερρών, τόπος σύστασης της εταιρείας «Αυτάδελφοι Μ. Δούμπα» και εκκίνησης του Στέργιου Δούμπα για τη Βιέννη, αρκεί και μόνο να σημειωθεί ότι η εκτεταμένη καλλιέργεια βαμβακιού στις Σέρρες είχε ως αποτέλεσμα τη δημιουργία 300 χριστιανικών χωριών στην περιοχή, ενώ η πεδιάδα των Σερρών και η κοιλάδα του Στρυμόνα από το 1787 μέχρι το 1797 είχαν ετήσια συγκομιδή 70.000 δέματα βάμβακος, των 128 κιλών.¹⁶

Η Βιέννη, πρωτεύουσα της Αγίας Αυτοκρατορίας (Sacrum Romanum Imperium Nationis Germanicae) και έδρα του αψβουργικού οίκου αποτέλεσε χωρίς καμία αμφιβολία το κομβικότερο σημείο.¹⁷ Ως οικονομικό και διοικητικό

¹² Για την διοίκηση της Μαρίας Θηρεσίας και την γενικότερη πολιτική κατάσταση στην Ευρώπη βλ. Jean Béranger, «Die Habsburgermonarchie als Ständestaat. Zäsur und Kontinuität zur Zeit Maria Theresias mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Ungarns», στο *Österreich im Europa*, ό.π., 437-445, R. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire*, ό.π., 174-178, İlber Ortaylı, *Ottoman Studies*, Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2004, 111-125, Α. Ιγγλέση, *Βορειοελλαδίτες έμποροι*, ό.π., 47-49.

¹³ Για την πολιτική του Καρόλου βλ. αναλυτικά V. Paskaleva, «Shipping and Trade on the Lower Danube», στο *Southeast European Maritime Commerce*, ό.π., η ίδια, «Die Wirtschaftspolitik Maria Theresias», στο *Österreich im Europa*, ό.π., Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 53-105, M. Bur, «A balkáni kereskedők» [Ο Βαλκάνιος έμπορος], ό.π., Ό. Κατσιαρδή-Hering, *Η Ελληνική παροικία της Τεργέστης*, τ. Α', ό.π., 6, 20, N.T. Gross, «The Habsburg Monarchy», στο *The Fontana Economic History*, ό.π., Hermann Kellenbenz, *The rise of the European Economy*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976, 219.

¹⁴ M. Herzfeld, «Zur Orienthandelspolitik», ό.π. Για την αύξηση των εξαγωγών από τον ελληνικό χώρο σε περιοχές της αυστριακής Μοναρχίας βλ. επίσης Σεραφείμ Μάξιμος, *Τουρκοκρατία 1685-1789, Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για την οικονομία της εποχής από τα Γαλλικά αρχεία*, Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Καραβία, 1944, 28-39, ο ίδιος, *Η αυγή του Ελληνικού Καπιταλισμού, Τουρκοκρατία 1685-1789*, Αθήνα: Στοχαστής, 1945, 28-35.

¹⁵ T. Stoianovich, «Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800», *The Journal of Economic History*, 13.4 (1953), 398-411, Κωνσταντίνα Πανάγου, «Η χερσαία διακίνηση βαμβακιού από τη Μακεδονία στην Ευρώπη κατά τον 18ο και 19ο αιώνα», στο *Ιστορική Γεωγραφία, Δρόμοι και Κόμβοι της Βαλκανικής από την αρχαιότητα στην ενιαία Ευρώπη*, Ε.Π.Δημητριάδης, Α.Φ.Λαγόπουλος, Γ.Τσότσος (επιμ.), Θεσσαλονίκη: University Studio Press, 1998, 201-212, Nikolai Todorov, *Η βαλκανική πόλη 15ος-19ος αιώνας, Κοινωνικό-οικονομική και δημογραφική ανάπτυξη*, μτφ. Έφη Αβδέλα, Γεωργία Παπαγεωργίου, τ. Β', Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο, 1986, 385.

¹⁶ Στέφανος Βλαστός, «Σκιαγραφία της καταστάσεως του ελληνισμού κατά τας παραμονάς της εθνικής ημών εξεγέρσεως, και επ' αυτής επίδρασις της εμπορίας», *Παρνασσός*, 1 (1877), 481-497.

¹⁷ Για την θέση των Ελλήνων στο νέο περιβάλλον της Βιέννης και την σπουδαιότητα της πόλης βλ. ενδεικτικά Σπυρίδων Λάμπρου, *Λόγοι και αναμνήσεις εκ του Βορρά*, Αθήνα: Εστία, 1909, 65-72, Βασιλική Σειρηνίδου, «Κοσμοπολιτισμός, μοναρχία και πολυεθνική πραγματικότητα, Η Βιέννη των Ελλήνων και του Ρήγα», *Μνήμων*, 21 (1999), 189-200. Στο

κέντρο -με σημαντικό αστικό πυρήνα (Wirtschaftsbürgertum) ήδη από τα μέσα του 18ου αιώνα- μιας αχανούς Αυτοκρατορίας και ως εμπορικό και αποθηκευτικό κέντρο βάμβακος και νημάτων είχε προσελκύσει από τις αρχές του 18ου αιώνα το ενδιαφέρον δεκάδων βλαχόφωνων και ελληνόφωνων οι οποίοι στη συντριπτική πλειονότητά τους ήταν άτομα που ανήκαν κυρίως στην ευκατάστατη τάξη της τοπικής τους κοινωνίας.¹⁸ Ενδεικτικές είναι οι περιπτώσεις των Χατζημιχαήλ, Δούμπα και Σίνα, για τους οποίους υπάρχουν σαφή δεδομένα της οικονομικής τους ευμάρειας προτού εγκατασταθούν στην Βιέννη.¹⁹ Υπολογίζεται ότι στην περίοδο της μεγαλύτερης της ακμής η ελληνική παρουσία δεν θα ξεπέρασε τα 2.000 άτομα, στο σύνολο ενός πληθυσμού 240.000 κατοίκων.²⁰

Μέσα σε αυτό, λοιπόν, το θεσμικό πλαίσιο έφτασε και δραστηριοποιήθηκε στην πρωτεύουσα της Αυστριακής Αυτοκρατορίας (Kaisertum Österreich) ο Στέργιος Δούμπας. Η ακριβής χρονολογία της άφιξής του στην πόλη δεν μας είναι επιβεβαιωμένα γνωστή, ωστόσο πιθανολογείται περίπου στο 1808. Διακινώντας εμπορεύματα της Ανατολής, προμήθευε τις αγορές της Μοναρχίας κυρίως με βαμβάκι και δέρματα σε άμεση συνεργασία με τα αδέρφια του που βρίσκονταν για τους επιχειρηματικούς τους λόγους μόνιμα εγκατεστημένοι στις Σέρρες.²¹ Η εμπορική του στρατηγική και η επιχειρηματική του δεινότητα πολύ γρήγορα τον καταξίωσαν οικονομικά και κοινωνικά στο περιβάλλον της νέας του πατρίδας, αναδεικνύοντάς τον σε έναν από τους μεγαλύτερους εμπόρους βάμβακος στην πόλη, συστήνοντας, επίσης, κλωστοϋφαντουργεία και εμπορικές επιχειρήσεις.

Διετέλεσε για περισσότερο από μια δεκαετία πρόεδρος της ελληνορθόδοξης κοινότητας του Αγίου Γεωργίου,²² καθώς επίσης και Γενικός Πρόξενος της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας. Ιδιαίτερης αξίας είναι η σημαντική φιλανθρωπική δραστηριότητα που ανέπτυξε, καθώς επίσης και η σπουδαία συνεισφορά του στην ανέγερση του Πανεπιστημίου της Αθήνας. Αξίζει να αναφερθεί ότι ο

Γεώργιος Λάιος, *Έρευνα εν τοις αρχείοις της Βιέννης προς μικροφωτογράφησιν εγγράφων αφορώντων εις την Νεωτέραν Ελληνικήν ιστορίαν*, Αθήνα: Πρακτικά Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, 1970, ο συγγραφέας σημειώνει αναλυτικά όλες τις αρχειακές συλλογές της Βιέννης, στις οποίες μπορεί ο ερευνητής να βρει πληροφορίες για το ελληνικό στοιχείο της πόλης.

¹⁸ Dimitri Sturdza, *Grandes Familles De Grèce d'Albanie et de Constantinople*, Paris: M.-D. Sturdza, 1983.

¹⁹ Βλ. σχετικά M D. Peyfuss, E. Konency, «Der Weg der Familie Dumba», ό.π., Γ. Λάιος, *Η Σιάτιστα και οι εμπορικοί οίκοι Χατζημιχαήλ και Μανούση (17ος - 19ος αι.)*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Ε.Μ.Σ., 1982, 103, ο ίδιος, *Σίμων Σίνας*, Αθήνα: Ακαδημία Αθηνών, 1972, 14-16.

²⁰ O Willibald Plöchl, *Die Wiener Orthodoxen Griechen*, Wien: Verlag des Verbandes der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1983, 24, υπολογίζει τους Έλληνες της Βιέννης σε 4.000 το 1814.

²¹ Αναστάσιος Γούδας, *Βίοι παράλληλοι των επί της αναγεννήσεως της Ελλάδος διαπρεψάντων ανδρών*, τ. Γ', Αθήνα, 1871, 194-196, Anastase Hâciu, Aromânii. *Comert, Industrie, Arte, Expansiune, Civilizate* [Οι Αρωμούνοι. Εμπόριο, Βιομηχανία, Τέχνες, Εξάπλωση, Πολιτισμός], Focșani: Tipografia Cartea Putnei, 1936, 364.

²² Σωφρόνιος Ευστρατιάδης, *Ο εν Βιέννη ναός του Αγ. Γεωργίου και η κοινότης των Οθωμανών υπηκόων*, επιμ.-εισ.-ευστ. Χαράλαμπος Χοτζάκογλου, Αθήνα: Σπανός-Βιβλιοφιλία, 1997.

Στέριος Δούμπας υπήρξε ένας εκ των μεγάλων δωρητών του Πανεπιστημίου, στο οποίο αφιέρωσε περισσότερα από 107.800 δραχμές για τη φιλοτέχνηση της Ζωφόρου των Προπυλαίων.²³ Για τον λόγο αυτό το όνομά του, μαζί με αυτό του γιού του Νικόλαου, βρίσκονται στην είσοδο του Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου γραμμένα με χρυσά γράμματα, μαζί με τα ονόματα και των υπόλοιπων ευεργετών. Σύμφωνα με μαρτυρίες, ο Στέργιος όπως και ο φίλος του Σίμων Σίνας, επίσης σπουδαίος Έλληνας έμπορος και ευεργέτης της Βιέννης, διατήρησαν την παραδοσιακή ελληνική αμφίεσή τους μέχρι το τέλος της ζωής τους.

Ο Νικόλαος Δούμπας αποφοίτησε από το ακαδημαϊκό γυμνάσιο της Βιέννης, ταξίδεψε αρκετά και δημιούργησε έναν ευρύ κύκλο κοινωνικών συναναστροφών όταν 23 χρονών ανέλαβε πλέον τις οικογενειακές επιχειρήσεις του πατέρα του. Σταδιακά επεκτάθηκε σε παράλληλες εμπορικές, βιομηχανικές και χρηματιστηριακές δραστηριότητες. Οστόσο από 18 ετών άρχισε να εκδηλώνει το ενδιαφέρον του για τις τέχνες. Καθοριστικό σε εκείνη την ηλικία στάθηκε ένα μεγάλο ταξίδι που τον έστειλε ο πατέρας του με σκοπό να βρίσκεται μακριά από τη Μοναρχία και να μην αναμειχθεί με τα διάφορα επαναστατικά κινήματα που αναπτύσσονταν κάτω από την επίδραση της Γαλλικής Επανάστασης. Ο Νικόλαος τότε βρέθηκε μαζί με τον αδελφό του Μιχαήλ στην Αθήνα, όπου και φιλοξενήθηκαν στο σπίτι του κόμη Prokesch von Osten, πρώτου Αυστριακού πρεσβευτή στην απελευθερωμένη Ελλάδα. Βαθύτατα καλλιεργημένοι ο ίδιος και η σύζυγός του, με μεγάλη αγάπη για τα γράμματα και τις τέχνες, καθόρισαν καίρια την ανάπτυξη του φιλόμουσου χαρακτήρα του Νικόλαου. Η Irene Kiesewetter von Wiesenbrunn, σύζυγος του Αυστριακού διπλωμάτη και κόρη του Αυστριακού ιστορικού της μουσικής και για πολλά χρόνια αντιπροέδρου του Συλλόγου Φίλων Μουσικής της Βιέννης (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde) Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, ήταν πιανίστρια. Κοντά της ο νεαρός Δούμπας ασκήθηκε στο τραγούδι με τη συνοδεία του πιάνου και έμαθε να αγαπά τη μουσική. Για να αντιληφθεί κανείς τη σπουδαιότητα της παραμονής του στην οικία της αρκεί και μόνο να γνωρίζει ότι στην Irene Kiesewetter ο Franz Schubert είχε αφιερώσει αρκετές συνθέσεις του, διατηρούσε μαζί της μακροχρόνια φιλική σχέση και τη συνόδευε μουσικά σε πολλά από τα κονσέρτα που δίνονταν κάθε χρόνο προς τιμή του στην οικία της. Το 1827 μάλιστα, μετά την ανάρρωσή της από μια σοβαρή ασθένεια που την ταλαιπώρησε, της αφιέρωσε ειδική καντάτα για τον εορτασμό της αποκατάσης της υγείας της, την «Cantate zur Feier der Genesung der Irene Kiesewetter» (D.936).

Η πρώτη δημόσια εμφάνιση του Νικόλαου Δούμπα στα καλλιτεχνικά δρώμενα της Βιέννης έγινε ως διευθυντή του Αυστριακού Συλλόγου Καλών Τεχνών (Kunstverein). Στη συνέχεια αναμείχθηκε ενεργά με τον Συνεταιρισμό Εικαστικών Καλλιτεχνών, για τον οποίο ανέλαβε και πραγματοποιήσει την

²³ Αναστάσιος Γούδας, *Βίοι παράλληλοι*, ό.π., 195-204, Πέτρος Πέννας, *Ιστορία των Σερρών*, Αθήνα 1996, σ. 389. Βλ. επίσης, *Αθηνά*, (20.2.1843) όπου αναφέρεται ότι από τον πρώτο πρύτανη του Πανεπιστημίου συστάθηκε μια τετραμελής ερανική επιτροπή, με σκοπό τη συγκέντρωση χρημάτων από τους φιλόμους ομογενείς της Ευρώπης. Όπως προκύπτει την επιτροπή συγκροτούσαν οι Ζηνόβιος Πωπ, Στέριος Δούμπας, Ζώης Χαραμής και Ν.Μαντζουράνης.

πρώτη διεθνή καλλιτεχνική έκθεση στη Βιέννη το 1882. Το γεγονός αυτό είχε ως αποτέλεσμα να ανακηρυχθεί σε επίτιμο μέλος μετά από απόφαση του διοικητικού συμβουλίου του Συναιτερισμού, διευθυντής του οποίου ήταν ο περίφημος ζωγράφος Hans Makart. Λίγο αργότερα ανέλαβε εφορος του Μουσείου Εφαρμοσμένων Τεχνών.²⁴ Οι εικαστικές τέχνες βρίσκονταν πάντοτε στο επίκεντρο του ενδιαφέροντος του Νικόλαου Δούμπα, ωστόσο εκείνο που τον συγκινούσε περισσότερο από νεαρή ηλικία ήταν η μουσική. Για πολλά χρόνια διετέλεσε μέλος και στη συνέχεια πρόεδρος του Συλλόγου Ανδρικής Χορωδίας της Βιέννης (Wiener Maennergesang-Verein), στις δημόσιες εκδηλώσεις της οποίας είχε εμφανιστεί κάποιες φορές ως μονωδός. Από τη θέση του αυτή προσέφερε εξέχουσες υπηρεσίες, γεγονός που είχε ως αποτέλεσμα να ανακηρυχθεί ομόφωνα το 1897 σε επίσημο μέλος του Συλλόγου. Ακόμη και σήμερα ο Σύλλογος Ανδρικής Χορωδίας διοργανώνει μια «Λειτουργία Δούμπα» στη μνήμη του ως ένδειξη ευχαριστίας για τη σπουδαία προσφορά του. Συνέθεσε μάλιστα και ο ίδιος κάποια λίγα κομμάτια, κυρίως όμως πολλοί Βιεννέζοι συνθέτες συνέθεσαν προς τιμήν του ή με την προτροπή του.

Ανέπτυξε και διατήρησε πολύ καλές φιλικές σχέσεις με τον Johann Strauss, η ιδιαίτερη εκτίμηση του οποίου τον είχε οδηγήσει το 1858 να γράψει την «Πόλκα των Ελλήνων» (Hellenen Polka op.203). Η πρώτη τους επαφή φαίνεται να έγινε όταν ο νεαρός μουσικός σε ηλικία 25 χρονών αφιέρωσε στο Σύλλογο Ανδρικής Χορωδίας το έργο του Sängerbahnen (op.41). Στην εξοχική κατοικία του Δούμπα, στις όχθες του Δούναβη, ο Strauss συνέθεσε και πρωτοπαρουσίασε το 1867 το περίφημο Βαλς του Δουνάβεως (Donauwalzer), ένα από τα δημοφιλέστερα κομμάτια της κλασσικής μουσικής. Τα μέλη της Ανδρικής Χορωδίας ωστόσο δεν ενθουσιάστηκαν από το έργο και ο Δούμπα τους ζήτησε όχι μόνο να μη γίνει αντιληπτή από τον συνθέτη η δυσφορία τους, αλλά με προσωπική του παρέμβαση πέτυχε να μην αποκλειστεί το έργο από την κριτική επιτροπή του Φεστιβάλ. Έξι μόλις μήνες αργότερα το εν λόγω βάλς γνώρισε μεγάλη επιτυχία στην Παγκόσμια Εμπορική Έκθεση του Παρισιού. Το 1870 ο Strauss αφιέρωσε με μεγάλα γράμματα στην παρτιτούρα του «στον πρόεδρο κύριο Νικόλαο Δούμπα» το βάλς «Νέα Βιέννη» (Neu Wien op.342) καθώς συνέβαλε όσο κανένας άλλος στην ολοκλήρωση του έργου. Στο βάλς αφήνεται να εννοηθεί η σχέση που υπήρχε μεταξύ του Δούμπα και του Schubert και ακούγεται το βασικό θέμα της σύνθεσης του τελευταίου, «Sechzehn Deutsche» (op.33, D783/1). Η συμπλήρωση των 50 ετών του Strauss αποτέλεσε για τον Δούμπα μια μεγάλη ευκαιρία να τον τιμήσει με εορταστικές εκδηλώσεις. Για τον σκοπό αυτό το 1894 τον επισκέφτηκε στο σπίτι του, ως μέλος της επιτροπής εορτασμού, συνοδευόμενος από τον κόμη Βίλτσεκ και τον διευθυντή του Θεάτρου της Αυλής και του πρόσφεραν ένα χρυσό αναμνηστικό μετάλλιο, ανακοινώνοντάς του παράλληλα την ανακήρυξή του ως επίτιμου μέλους της Εταιρείας των Φίλων της Μουσικής. Σε ευχαριστήρια επιστολή του προς τον Δούμπα ο Johann Strauss σημειώνει: «Τις θερμότερες και εκ βαθέων ευχαριστίες μου σε σας για τη γλυκιά ανάμνηση που μου δώσατε, με την ευκαιρία του Ιωβηλαίου μου.»²⁵

²⁴ Τζαφέττας, Konency, Νικόλαος Δούμπα, ό.π., 63-68

²⁵ Ο.π., 155, 158-161.

Ο Νικόλαος υπήρξε, επίσης, επιστήθιος φίλος του Johannes Brahms, με τον οποίο αντάλλαξε συχνά επιστολές πολλές από τις οποίες σώζονται μέχρι σήμερα. Μια από τις πλέον εξέχουσες προσωπικότητες της μουσικής που επισκεπτόταν και συνέθετε στην εξοχική κατοικία του του Δούμπα ήταν ο Richard Wagner. Το 1861, όταν στη Βιέννη γίνονταν οι προετοιμασίες της πρεμιέρας της όπερας «Τριστάνος και Ιζόλδη» (Tristan und Isolde) ο Wagner ήταν φιλοξενούμενος του Δούμπα και εντυπωσιάστηκε από το γεγονός ότι όλοι οι πρωταγωνιστές της όπεράς του διατηρούσαν φιλικές σχέσεις με αυτόν.²⁶

Το όνομα του Δούμπα, ωστόσο, έχει συνδεθεί άμεσα με την προστασία, τη διάσωση και την προβολή του έργου του Franz Schubert, καθώς υπήρξε ο κάτοχος της σπουδαιότερης συλλογής αυτόγραφων του σπουδαίου μουσικού, η οποία μετρά διακόσια χειρόγραφα του και πολλά μουσικά έργα ανάμεσα στα οποία και η παρτιτούρα της οπερέτας «Η μαγεμένη άρπα». Ο ίδιος διαφύλαξε και ανέδειξε το έργο του Schubert, δωρίζοντας τις Συμφωνίες του στη Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη της Βιέννης (Stadt-und Landesbibliothek) όσο ήταν εν ζωή, ενώ τα υπόλοιπα έργα του συνθέτη προσφέρθηκαν μετά το θάνατό του Νικόλαου. Ο διευθυντής της βιβλιοθήκης, Herwig Würtz, δήλωσε πως «χωρίς τον Δούμπα, ο Σούμπερτ θα μας ήταν σχεδόν άγνωστος. Τα λίγα διασκορπισμένα έργα που θα υπήρχαν, θα ήταν χωρίς νόημα, εάν δεν σωζόταν η συλλογή Δούμπα, η μεγαλύτερη σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο».²⁷

Στα τέλη του 1866 ο Νικόλαος Δούμπας εκλέχθηκε αντιπρόεδρος και διευθυντής της Εταιρείας των Φίλων της Μουσικής της Βιέννης (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde), η οποία τον Ιανουάριο του 1870 γιόρτασε την ολοκλήρωση των εργασιών του Μεγάρου του Συλλόγου Μουσικής Βιέννης (Wiener Musikverein) παρουσία του Αυτοκράτορα Φραγκίσκου Ιωσήφ (Franz-Josef I) και δεκάδων εξέχουσών προσωπικοτήτων και ανώτατων αξιωματούχων. Το λαμπρό κτήριο υψηλής αισθητικής και πολυτέλειας αποτέλεσε την έδρα του Συλλόγου και της περίφημης Φιλαρμονικής της Βιέννης (Wiener Philharmoniker). Η συγκέντρωση του υπέρογκου ποσού που απαιτούνταν για την ανέγερσή του ανατέθηκε σε 4μελή επιτροπή, στην οποία ο Δούμπας είχε δεσπόζουσα θέση. Στα ονόματα των μεγάλων δωρητών που συνέδραμαν στην αποπεράτωση του Μεγάρου και βρίσκονται σε μεγάλη επιγραφή στην είσοδο του κτηρίου διακρίνει κανείς το όνομα του πατέρα του Στέριου Δούμπα καθώς και αυτο του Σίμωνα Σίνα. Ο Νικόλαος ανήγγειλε επίσημα στον Αυτοκράτορα την ολοκλήρωση του Μεγάρου και του παρέδωσε προς υπογραφή το σχετικό έγγραφο.

Η κορυφαία συμβολή του Δούμπα και του σπουδαίου αρχιτέκτονα της εποχής Theophil Hansen στην ολοκλήρωση του νέου κτηρίου του Μουσικού Συλλόγου τους αναγνωρίστηκε επίσημα με την απονομή του παρασήμου του «Σιδηρού Στέμματος». Ο Hansen ήταν επηρεασμένος βαθύτατα από τον αρχαίο ελληνικό πολιτισμό εξαιτίας της οκτάχρονης παραμονής του στην Αθήνα, όταν και σχεδίασε τα κτήρια της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης, της Ακαδημίας, του Εθνικού Αστεροσκοπείου και του Ζαπτείου. Οι 32 χρυσές Καρνάτιδες που στηρίζουν τα θεώρια και ο Απόλλωνας με τις Μούσες που βρίσκονται στην οροφή της μεγάλης αίθουσας των συναυλιών, καθώς επίσης και οι ιωνικού ρυθμού κίονες που

²⁶ Ο.π., 185-186.

²⁷ Ο.π., 155-163.

υπάρχουν στην αίθουσα του Brahms (Brahms-Saal) θυμίζουν καταλυτικά τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό της αρχαιότητας. Η επιρροή του Δούμπα στο έργο του Hansen υπήρξε καθοριστική. Μαζί συνέβαλαν την ιδέα δημιουργίας μιας κλασικής ατμόσφαιρας για την κλασική μουσική.²⁸ Στο Μέγαρο της Μουσικής ο Δούμπας είχε το δικό του θεωρείο από το οποίο παρακολουθούσε τις παραστάσεις και ο στενός του φίλος Johannes Brahms.

Η μεγάλη οικονομική ευμάρεια της οικογένειας Δούμπα αποτυπώθηκε στην πολυτελή της κατοικία, γνωστή ως Μέλαθρον Δούμπα (Das Palais Dumba am Parkring), που βρισκόταν απέναντι από το δημοτικό πάρκο της Βιέννης. Η οικία τους αποτέλεσε το κέντρο συνάντησης όλων των μεγάλων καλλιτεχνών της εποχής και πολλών σημαινόντων προσωπικοτήτων της πνευματικής, πολιτικής και επιχειρηματικής ζωής, καθώς επίσης και μελών της αυτοκρατορικής οικογένειας. Το δωμάτιο εργασίας είχε φιλοτεχνηθεί από τον μετέπειτα δημοφιλέστατο ζωγράφο Hans Makart με εντολή του Νικόλαου, ο οποίος συνέβαλε καίρια στην ανάδειξή του. Έχει μείνει να αναφέρεται ότι ο Δούμπας μόλις έδωσε την παραγγελία στον Makart το 1872 του είπε να πάει στη Βενετία και να μην κάνει τίποτα άλλο εκτός από το να βλέπει και στη συνέχεια να έρθει και να του ζωγραφίσει μια ολόκληρη αίθουσα. Ο Makart επιστρέφοντας παρουσίασε αλληγορικά τα ενδιαφέροντα και τις δραστηριότητες του Νικόλαου σε μια εξαιρετική παράσταση οροφής και σε έξι παραστάσεις τοίχων, που αποτυπώνουν τη μουσική, τη ζωγραφική, τη γλυπτική, την επιστήμη, το εμπόριο, τη βιομηχανία και τη γεωργία. Έτσι δημιουργήθηκε το περίφημο «δωμάτιο Makart», το οποίο χαρακτηρίστηκε από τους συγχρόνους του ως «ένα από τα αξιοθέατα της Βιέννης». Η παράσταση της οροφής ήταν γνωστή ως «Αποθέωση της Μουσικής».²⁹

Μερικά χρόνια αργότερα ο Νικόλαος Δούμπας διακόσμησε μια ακόμη αίθουσα η οποία έμεινε γνωστή ως «αίθουσα Σούμπερτ», καθώς ο διάσημος ζωγράφος Friedrich Schilcher αποτύπωσε στο μέσο της οροφής τη νωπογραφία «Η αποθέωση του Σούμπερτ». Πρόκειται για μια τοιχογραφία που αναπαριστά σε κυκλική μορφή ένα σύνολο ερωτιδέων να χορεύουν γύρω από τον Σούμπερτ, κρατώντας μουσικά όργανα και στεφάνια. Τέσσερις κυκλικές τοιχογραφίες, μικρότερου εμβαδού, βρίσκονται στις τέσσερις γωνίες τις οροφής, έξω από την κύρια τοιχογραφία και αναπαριστούν μουσικές συνθέσεις του Σούμπερτ στις οποίες ο Δούμπας διακρίθηκε όταν τις τραγούδησε. Πρόκειται για τις συνθέσεις: «Ο Νεραϊδοβασιλιάς», «Ο Άτλας», «Η οργισμένη Άρτεμις» και «Ο Μπιστικός και ο Αρπιστής». Στην «αίθουσα του Σούμπερτ» υπήρχε ένα πιάνο και από τους τοίχους κρέμονταν βιολιά, πνευστά και κιθάρες όλα τους παλαιά και αριστοτεχνικά κατασκευασμένα. Το μουσικό σαλόνι του Δούμπα απέκτησε μεγάλη φήμη χάρη στη ζωγραφική παρουσία του Gustav Klimt, που φιλοτέχνησε στα αετώματα των δύο αντικρουστών θυρών την «Αλληγορία της Μουσικής» (Allegorie der Musik) και τον «Σούμπερτ στο πιάνο» (Schubert am Klavier).³⁰ Ο Klimt έγινε ο αγαπημένος και ευνοούμενος ζωγράφος του Δούμπα μετά το

²⁸ Ο.π., 176-178.

²⁹ Ο.π., 69-79.

³⁰ Ο.π., 95-109.

θάνατο του Makart, από τον οποίο είχε εμπνευστεί και θαύμαζε βαθύτατα. Στον Klimt ανατέθηκε έκτοτε η ολοκλήρωση του Μεγάλου του Δούμπα.

Τον Δεκέμβριο του 1857 ο Αυτοκράτορας Φραγκίσκος Ιωσήφ αποφάσισε το γκρέμισμα των τειχών της Βιέννης που είχαν έως τότε σκοπό την προστασία της πόλης από τις οθωμανικές επιδρομές. Με αυτοκρατορικό διάταγμα τέθηκε σε εφαρμογή ένα πρόγραμμα που περιλάμβανε την επέκταση και τον εξωραϊσμό της μοναρχικής πρωτεύουσας με νέα κτήρια και μνημεία, τα οποία -εκτός από την πρακτική χρησιμότητά τους- θα αποτύπωναν την αίγλη των Αψβούργων. Σε αυτό το έργο ο Νικόλαος διαδραμάτισε καθοριστικό ρόλο, ως μέλος της επιτροπής του προγράμματος επέκτασης της πόλης. Η εποχή της ανάπλασης έμεινε γνωστή ως «εποχή της Ringstrasse»,³¹ μεταμορφώνοντας κυριολεκτικά τη Βιέννη σε μια από τις ωραιότερες πρωτεύουσες του κόσμου. Η Ringstrasse, που προσέλκυσε τους σημαντικότερους αρχιτέκτονες της εποχής οι οποίοι έφτασαν στην αψβουργική πρωτεύουσα για να σχεδιάσουν όχι μόνο δημόσια κτήρια αλλά και ιδιωτικά, προκάλεσε την κατεδάφιση πολλών οικημάτων γεγονός που αποτυπώθηκε μουσικά στο έργο του Johann Strauss «Πόλκα της κατεδάφισης» (Demolierer - Polka). Η περίοδος αυτή της Νέας εποχής της Βιέννης αποτυπώνεται στα πνευματικά πράγματα της πρωτεύουσας ως RingstrassenEpoche.

Ως ένθερμος θαυμαστής του Schubert και την εποχή εκείνη πρόεδρος του Συλλόγου της Χορωδίας επιθυμούσε την ανέγερση ενός ανδριάντα αφιερωμένου στον σπουδαίο μουσικό. Ο ανδριάντας αυτός, το πρώτο μνημείο της πόλης αφιερωμένο σε καλλιτέχνη, ανεγέρθηκε στο δημοτικό πάρκο της πόλης (Stadtpark), ακριβώς απέναντι από την οικία του Δούμπα και άνοιξε το δρόμο για τον εξωραϊσμό της νεότερης Βιέννης, στην οποία έως τότε φιλοξενούνταν μόνο αυτοκρατορικά μνημεία. Η βάση του ανδριάντα είναι έργο του διαπρεπή Theophil Hansen. Το 1872, στα αποκαλυπτήρια του έργου ο Δούμπας έκανε μια βαθιά συναισθηματική ομιλία, εκφράζοντας τη σπουδαιότητα του Αυστριακού συνθέτη που: «...με τη μεγάλη καρδιά και τον πλούσιο συναισθηματισμό του...με το εύθυμο πνεύμα και τη βαθυστόχαστη ψυχή ήξερε να βρίσκει έκφραση για κάθε τι που αισθανόταν η ανθρώπινη ψυχή». Για τη μεγάλη επιτυχία του εορτασμού των αποκαλυπτηρίων ο Δούμπας τιμήθηκε από τον Αυτοκράτορα με τον «Σταυρό του Ιππότη του Τάγματος της Α.Ε. του Φραγκίσκου Ιωσήφ».³²

Ο Νικόλαος Δούμπας ήταν επίσης αντιπρόεδρος και στη συνέχεια πρόεδρος της επιτροπής που ανέλαβε την ανέγερση μνημείου του Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, στο οποίο και δώρισε 800 φιορίνια, στέλνοντας παράλληλα δεκάδες επιστολές σε άτομα και φορείς της Αυτοκρατορίας και εκτός αυτής προκειμένου να συγκεντρώσει τους απαιτούμενους οικονομικούς πόρους. Τα αποκαλυπτήρια του μνημείου έγιναν το 1896 παρουσία του Αυτοκράτορα και ο Δούμπας ως τελετάρχης της εκδήλωσης εκφώνησε τον πανηγυρικό της ημέρας. Οι υπηρεσίες του Νικόλαου αποτέλεσαν αφορμή ώστε ο Φραγκίσκος Ιωσήφ να τον διορίσει

³¹ Σχετικά με την Ringstrasse, τον σχεδιασμό, τη δημιουργία, την κριτική που δέχτηκε και τη σημασία της βλ. το κεφάλαιο «The Ringstrasse, its critics and the birth of urban modernism» στο Carl E. Schorske, *Fin de siècle Vienna. Politics and culture*, New York:Vintage, 1981, 24-116.

³² Τζαφέττας, Konency, Νικόλαος Δούμπας, ό.π., 162-163.

στο ύπατο αξίωμα του «Μυστικοσυμβούλου» του. Ο καθηγητής γλυπτικής Victor Tilgner, ο οποίος φιλοτέχνησε τον ανδριάντα του Mozart, του έγραψε χαρακτηριστικά: «σήμερα, σε ολόκληρη την Αυτοκρατορία, κανείς δεν δικαιούται τον τίτλο Εξοχότατος (Exzellenz), όσο εσείς [...] η δημόσια απονομή του τίτλου αυτού..είναι έκφραση επιθυμίας τόσων πολλών».

Από τον Νικόλαο ξεκίνησε και η ιδέα ανέγερσης μνημείου προς τιμή του μεγάλου μουσουργού και επιστήθιου φίλου του Johannes Brahms, οκτώ μόλις μήνες μετά το θάνατό του, το 1897. Ο ίδιος ανέλαβε προϊστάμενος της επιτροπής και δώρισε 2.000 κορώνες, ωστόσο δεν πρόλαβε να το δει ολοκληρωμένο. Καθοριστική υπήρξε η συμβολή του και στην ανέγερση του ανδριάντα του Ludwig van Beethoven, ως προϊστάμενος της επιτροπής της Εταιρείας Φίλων Μουσικής και δωρητής 1.000 φιορινίων. Τη φιλοτέχνηση του μνημείου ανέλαβε ο καθηγητής της γλυπτικής Caspar von Zumbusch, ο οποίος τοποθέτησε τον σπουδαίο συνθέτη πάνω σε βάθρο, που από την αριστερή του πλευρά ακουμπάει ο Προμηθέας Δεσμώτης και από τη δεξιά πλευρά η θεά Βικτώρια, θεά της νίκης, η οποία και προσφέρει στο συνθέτη ένα στεφάνι. Οι εννέα ερωτιδείς συμβολίζουν τις εννέα του συμφωνίες. Το 1880 σε μια λαμπρή τελετή στην οποία συμμετείχαν ο Αυτοκράτορας, οι αξιωματούχοι του, ο Δήμαρχος της Βιέννης και πλήθος κόσμου στα αποκαλυπτήρια του μνημείου ο Νικόλαος ήταν για μια ακόμη φορά τελετάρχης και εκφωνητής του πανηγυρικού της ημέρας. Σε ένδειξη αναγνώρισης της σπουδαίας προσφοράς τους ο Δήμαρχος της Βιέννης ανακήρυξε τον Νικόλαο και τον γλύπτη του μνημείου σε επίτιμους δημότες της πόλης.

Για τον Δούμπα η υλοποίηση ενός μνημείου στον ζωγράφο Hans Makart αποτελούσε προσωπική υπόθεση. Το τι σήμαινε για αυτόν ο Makart, τόσο ως καλλιτέχνης όσο και ως άνθρωπος το εξέφρασε γλαφυρά στο πανηγυρικό του λόγο στα αποκαλυπτήρια του μνημείου τον Ιούνιο του 1898, λέγοντας πως «...όπως τραγουδούσε ο Schubert, έτσι ζωγράφιζε ο Makart....αυτός από τους πρώτους βοήθησε να φτάσει η Βιέννη να λέγεται «καλλιτεχνική πόλη»... του οποίου η φύση ήταν ευγενική, ανώτερη και καλόκαρδη...ένας ανώτερος άνθρωπος...ο πιο πρόθυμος για βοήθεια φίλος». Κατά τη διάρκεια των εγκαινίων τραγούδησε η Ανδρική Χορωδία της Βιέννης. Ο ανδριάντας του Makart, όπως και αυτός του Schubert, τοποθετήθηκε μπροστά από την οικία του Δούμπα.³³

Εκτός από το Μέγαρο του Συλλόγου Μουσικής και τους ανδριάντες, το όνομα του Νικόλαου είναι στενά συνδεδεμένο και με την ανέγερση πολλών ιστορικών δημόσιων κτηρίων της Βιέννης. Με την ιδιότητα του φιλότεχνου αλλά, από το 1870, και του βουλευτή ανέλαβε μαζί με τον αρχιτέκτονα Hansen την ανέγερση του συγκροτήματος του Κοινοβουλίου της Βιέννης που περιλάμβανε το μέγαρο του κοινοβουλίου και το μνημειακό συντριβάνι με το άγαλμα της Παλλάδας Αθηνάς. Επίσης, αναμείχθηκε ενεργά στην οικοδόμηση του Πανεπιστημίου της πόλης, αναλαμβάνοντας την τακτοποίηση των δεκάδων διοικητικών και οικονομικών προβλημάτων που προέκυψαν και εξασφαλίζοντας άμεσα την αναγκαία συμπληρωματική χρηματοδότηση 200.000 φιορινίων.

Με έντονο ενδιαφέρον και σημαντική οικονομική ενίσχυση από μέρους του, ο Δούμπας παρακολούθησε στενά και την ανέγερση του Δημαρχείου (Rathaus)

³³ Για όλους τους ανδριάντες, βλ. ό.π., 115-133.

της Βιέννης, την ανακαίνιση του καθεδρικού ναού του Αγίου Στεφάνου και του Οίκου των Καλλιτεχνών (Kunstlerhaus). Τέλος μαζί με τον Αυτοκράτορα και τον Πάπα υπήρξαν οι βασικοί δωρητές του πομπώδους μνημείου της απελευθέρωσης της Βιέννης από τους Οθωμανούς που βρίσκεται μέσα στον καθεδρικό του Αγίου Στεφάνου και καταστράφηκε κατά τον Β΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο. Το 1880 εκλέχτηκε επίτιμο μέλος της Ακαδημίας Εικαστικών Τεχνών σε αναγνώριση της πολύτιμης προσφοράς του στην τέχνη.³⁴

Από το 1870 ο Νικόλαος αφιερώθηκε στην πολιτική.³⁵ Ως βουλευτής της Κάτω Βουλής αντιπροσώπευε τα συμφέροντα της πόλης του, της Βιέννης. Ως μέλος του Αυτοκρατορικού Κοινοβουλίου (Reichsrat), τα συμφέροντα της μισής χώρας και από το 1874 ως αντιπρόσωπος και μέλος της Αναλογικής Αυστρο-Ουγγρικής Αντιπροσωπείας, τα συμφέροντα ολόκληρης της μοναρχίας. Το 1885 διορίστηκε από τον Αυτοκράτορα «ισόβιο μέλος της Άνω Βουλής». Επρόκειτο για έναν σπουδαίο διορισμό που απονεμόταν μόνο σε εξαιρετικές περιπτώσεις. Διετέλεσε «Μυστικόσύμβουλος» του Αυτοκράτορα, εισηγητής του προϋπολογισμού των εξωτερικών υποθέσεων της Αυτοκρατορίας, της επιτροπής αποθεματικού κεφαλαίου της χώρας, της επιτροπής οικονομικών, της επιτροπής σχολείων, της επιτροπής κατασκευής συγκοινωνιακών έργων, καθώς και πολλών άλλων σημαντικών επιτροπών.

Από τις θέσεις αυτές προσέφερε πολύτιμο κοινωνικό έργο. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρεται ότι μερίμνησε για το νοσοκομείο παιδών, το ίδρυμα πτωχών και ανιάτων, το ίδρυμα περίθαλψης τυφλών και το σύλλογο κωφαλάλων, τη στήριξη των απόρων και τη θεμελίωση σχολείων. Η φροντίδα των αρρώστων, των εγκαταλελειμμένων παιδιών, των ορφανών και των χηρών αποτελούσαν βασικό του μέλημα. Όπως είχε τονίσει σε ομιλία του θα πρέπει «να βοηθάει ο δυνατός τον αδύναμο, ο πλούσιος τον φτωχό, ο ευτυχισμένος τον δυστυχή». Η φιλανθρωπική του δράση υπήρξε ιδιαίτερα γενναιόδωρη και στην Ελλάδα, την οποία συνέδραμε ποικιλοτρόπως. Με δωρεά της οικογένειάς Δούμπα έχει ζωγραφιστεί η ζωφόρος του κτηρίου του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, όπου τα ονόματα Στέργιος και Νικόλαος Δούμπας αναγράφονται στην πλάκα των ευεργετών στην είσοδό του. Λίγο πριν από το θάνατό του το 1900, κληροδότησε 30.000 φράγκα, ποσό τεράστιο για την εποχή, στο Νοσοκομείο Σερρών και πολλά φιορίνια στο δημοτικό σχολείο της Βλάστης, της Κοζάνης και των Σερρών. Στη Βιέννη, διατηρώντας την ορθόδοξη πίστη του πατέρα του στάθηκε αρωγός της ελληνορθόδοξης εκκλησίας, προς την οποία έκανε επίσης πολλές δωρεές, ενώ διατέλεσε και πρόεδρος της ελληνορθόδοξης εκκλησιαστικής κοινότητας του Αγίου Γεωργίου, απ' όπου διαχειρίστηκε με εξαίρετο τρόπο τα συμφέροντα των Ελλήνων της Βιέννης.³⁶

Την περίοδο αυτή η ευεργεσία, δηλαδή η πρακτική απόδειξη της φιλανθρωπίας, αποτελούσε μια από τις βασικότερες συνισταμένες απόδειξης όχι μόνο του ηθικού διαμετρήματος, αλλά και της χριστιανικής συνείδησης του ευεργετούντος. Παράλληλα με την κοινωνική τους διάσταση τέτοιου είδους χρηματικές εισφορές θεωρούνταν ότι εξασφάλιζαν εν πολλοίς την σωτηρία της

³⁴ Για τα δημόσια κτήρια της Βιέννης βλ. ό.π., 134-148.

³⁵ Για την πολιτική δραστηριότητα του Δούμπα βλ. αναλυτικά, ό.π., 205-218.

³⁶ Ο.π., 53, 252-253.

ψυχής του ατόμου, καθώς βρίσκονταν σε συμφωνία με το ιδεώδες της χριστιανικής πίστης. Η διάθεση που εξέφραζε για προσφορά απέναντι σε όσους την χρειαζόταν δήλωνε την επιθυμία του ατόμου να εκπληρώσει τον κοινωνικό του ρόλο και ταυτόχρονα συνιστούσε μια πράξη, η οποία θα του εξασφάλιζε εν πολλοίς και την σωτηρία της ψυχής του, σύμφωνα με την χριστιανική πίστη. Δεν είναι τυχαίο άλλωστε ότι οι εκκλησίες αποτέλεσαν έναν από τους σημαντικότερους αποδέκτες των κληροδοτημάτων.³⁷

Όπως και στις περισσότερες κοινότητες του εξωτερικού, έτσι και στη Βιέννη παρατηρήθηκε πολύ γρήγορα ότι η ιδιωτική άσκηση των φιλανθρωπικών αισθημάτων αποκτούσε εθνικές διαστάσεις, καθώς συνδυαζόταν σχεδόν πάντοτε με άξονες που ήταν δηλωτικοί της εθνικής συνείδησης των ευεργετούντων. Η έννοια του «καθήκοντος» δηλαδή προσέλαβε σύντομα εθνικές διαστάσεις, καθώς αυτό διοχετευόταν συνειδητά σε φορείς που εξέφραζαν την ελληνικότητα και διακήρυτταν την εθνική συνείδηση των συμβαλλομένων. Η πραγματικότητα αυτή αποτυπώνει ξεκάθαρα την εθνική διάσταση του «ευποιοτικού» ρόλου των πλούσιων αποδήμων, η οποία μάλιστα αποτελούσε πρότυπο για τις κοινωνίες της εποχής.³⁸ Σήμερα σώζονται δεκάδες έγγραφα με τις χρηματικές αφιερώσεις των κατά καιρούς ευεργετών πολλών κοινοτήτων του εξωτερικού, στα οποία σημειώνεται ο ειδικός «εθνικός» αφιερωματικός τους σκοπός, οικονομικού ρόλου που «όφειλαν», σύμφωνα με τους δωρητές τους, να επιτελούν τα κληροδοτήματα και να διαφανούν έτσι οι συγκινησιακοί-ψυχολογικοί δεσμοί που τα ένωναν με τα «μέλη της εθνικής οικογένειας».

Τον Μάρτιο του 1900, λίγο πριν συμπληρώσει το 70 έτος της ηλικίας του, ο Δούμπας πεθαίνει, προκαλώντας τη θλίψη μεγάλου πλήθους των συμπολιτών του. Σε πολλά δημόσια κτήρια της πόλης οι σημαίες κυμάτιζαν μεσίστιες, ενώ η σημαία του Δημαρχείου έφτανε στο έδαφος και η πρόσοψη του Οίκου των Καλλιτεχνών καλύφθηκε ολόκληρη με μαύρο ύφασμα. Στον ημερήσιο τύπο διάβαζε κανείς ότι η Βιέννη, μέχρι τότε, δεν είχε ξαναδεί τόσο επιβλητική κηδεία. Η σορός του κατευθύνθηκε από τον ελληνορθόδοξο ναό της Αγίας Τριάδας

³⁷ Για την ευεργεσία την περίοδο αυτή βλ. την εκτεταμένη, δίτομη μονογραφία της Ματούλα Τομαρά-Σιδέρη, *Ευεργετισμός και προσωπικότητα. Ευεργέτες Έλληνες του Καΐρου*, τ. Α', τ. Β', Αθήνα: Παπαζήσης, 2002, καθώς και την έκδοση των πρακτικών *Το φαινόμενο του ευεργετισμού στη Νεότερη Ελλάδα*, επιμ. Δημήτρης Αρβανιτάκης, Αθήνα: Μουσείο Μπενάκη, 2006. Βλ. επίσης Βασιλική Θεοδώρου, «Ευεργετισμός και όψεις της κοινωνικής ενσωμάτωσης στις παροικίες (1870-1920)», *Τα Ιστορικά*, 7 (1987), 119-154, Ελευθερία Νικολαΐδου, «Ηπειρώτες απόδημοι στη Ρωσία τον 18ο αιώνα και η συμβολή τους στην ανάπτυξη της Ηπείρου», *Δωδώνη*, 15 (1986), 103-128.

³⁸ Βασίλης Δαλκαβούκης, «Κληροδοτήματα και “περιφερειακή ανάπτυξη”: παρελθόν και παρόν μιας ειδικής κατηγορίας “οικονομικών πόρων”». Το παράδειγμα του Ζαγορίου στην Ήπειρο», Εισήγηση στο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Οικονομικής και Κοινωνικής Ιστορίας, Ρέθυμνο, 10-13 Δεκεμβρίου 2008, υπό έκδοση, Ίκαρος Μαντούβαλος, «Πρακτικές κληροδοσίας Ελλήνων της Τεργέστης. Μια πρώτη συγκριτική προσέγγιση αναφορικά με την περίπτωση της Βιέννης και της Πέστης (19ος αιώνας)», ό.π. Βλ. επίσης αναλυτικά Γεώργιος Βαβαρέτος, *Ο Γεώργιος Σταύρου και η Εθνική Τράπεζα*, Αθήνα: Η.Ε.Α., 1967. Για τους Βλάχους ως ευεργέτες βλ. Dušan Popović, *Αρμάνοι Βλάχοι στα Βαλκάνια. Ο Cincarina*, μτφ. Ι.Ν.Ε./Ε.Ι.Ε., επιμ.-προλ.-σχολ. Κωνσταντίνα Καρακώστα, Θεσσαλονίκη: Ε.Μ.Σ., 2010 308-310.

(Fleischmarkt) στον Οίκο των Καλλιτεχνών και από εκεί στο Μέγαρο Φίλων της Μουσικής όπου η χορωδία έψαλε το πένθιμο έργο του Schubert «Ruh' in Frieden Allerseelen». Η χορωδία, λίγο πριν τον ενταφιασμό, τραγούδησε ως επιτάφια άσματα, μέρη από τα έργα του Σούμπερτ «Ο Θάνατος & η Κόρη», «Grablied» και «Nobensonnen». Έτσι εκπληρώθηκε η επιθυμία του θανόντος, η οποία ήταν γραμμένη και στη διαθήκη του: «Κοντά στον τάφο μου, παρακαλώ το Σύλλογο να τραγουδήσει οποιοδήποτε χορωδιακό του Σούμπερτ». Ο Νικόλαος αρχικά ενταφιάστηκε στον οικογενειακό τάφο στο ελληνικό τμήμα του κεντρικού κοιμητηρίου της Βιέννης (Zentral-Friedhof), δίπλα στον πατέρα του και τον αδελφό του. Το 1903, όμως, έγινε εκταφή των λειψάνων του και ενταφιασμός τους σε τιμητική θέση που του αφιέρωσε ο Δήμος της Βιέννης στο τμήμα των μουσικών, δίπλα στους τάφους των Brahms και Strauss, στον ίδιο τομέα με τους Mozart, Beethoven και Schubert. Η οδός του Μεγάλου Μουσικής, που ονομαζόταν Οδός Καλλιτεχνών, πέντε μέρες μετά το θάνατό του μετονομάστηκε σε «Οδός Δούμπα» (Dumba-Strasse), με απόφαση του Δήμου της Βιέννης «σε εκτίμηση των μεγάλων προσφορών του εκλιπόντος».³⁹

Στις 23 Μαρτίου 2000 στη Βιέννη, στη μεγάλη αίθουσα συναυλιών του Musikverein τιμήθηκε σε πανηγυρική συναυλία ο Νικόλαος Δούμπας για τα 100 χρόνια από τον θάνατό του. Η Ανδρική Χορωδία της Βιέννης, η Συμφωνική Ορχήστρα της Εταιρείας Φίλων Μουσικής και κορυφαίοι εκπρόσωποι του μουσικού χώρου μέσα από τα έργα των Schubert, Brahms και Strauss απέτισαν φόρο τιμής στον επιβλητικό Έλληνα που η παρουσία του δέσποσε στη μοναρχική πρωτεύουσα του 19ου αιώνα.

Όπως αναφέρθηκε και στην αρχή της εισήγησης η οικονομική ευμάρεια της οικογένειας Δούμπα προκλήθηκε μέσα στο περιβάλλον των αλλαγών που επέτασσαν οι ευρωπαϊκοί συσχετισμοί της εποχής. Το εμπόριο αποδείχθηκε κάτι περισσότερο από μια οικονομική πρακτική. Αποδείχθηκε ως αντανάκλαση των πολιτικών συνθηκών της κοινωνίας.⁴⁰ Οι Έλληνες έμποροι πλούτισαν γιατί κατάφεραν να φέρουν σε επαφή δύο κόσμους, οι οποίοι διέφεραν μοναδικά τόσο οικονομικά, όσο και πολιτιστικά.⁴¹ Η οικονομική ανάπτυξη που γνώρισαν πολλοί από αυτούς τους διαφοροποίησε κοινωνικά και πολιτισμικά από το υπόλοιπο σύνολο και τους ανέδειξε σε πρότυπο για ολόκληρη την κοινωνία.⁴²

Ο Νικόλαος Δούμπας αποτελεί τον κατεξοχήν εκπρόσωπο του παροικιώδους «βιεννέζικου πνεύματος», της κοινωνικής και πολιτιστικής ζωής της πρωτεύουσας των Αψβούργων, την οποία κόσμησε με λαμπρά έργα. Εξαίρετος έμπορος και επιχειρηματίας διακρίθηκε για τη σημαίνουσα πολιτική, φιλανθρωπική και φιλόμουση δραστηριότητά του και αναγνωρίστηκε ως ένας

³⁹ Τζαφέττας, Konency, Νικόλαος Δούμπας, ό.π., 235-243.

⁴⁰ Henry Clark, *Compass of Society: commerce and absolutism in Old-Regime France*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007, xiii.

⁴¹ J. Lampe, «The Economic Legacy of Ottoman Domination», *Balkan Economic History*, ό.π., 21-49.

⁴² Μαρία-Χριστίνα Χατζηωάννου, «Ιστοριογραφικές προσεγγίσεις μιας διεθνοποιημένης δραστηριότητας: το εμπόριο (18ος-19ος αιώνας)», στο *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας 1833-2002*, Πασχ. Κιτρομηλίδης, Τριαντ. Σκλαβενίτης (επιμ.), τ. Β', Αθήνα: Κέντρο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών Εθνικού Ιδρύματος Ερευνών, 2004, 407-423.

σπουδαίος μαικήνας των τεχνών, διαδραματίζοντας σημαντικό ρόλο στην ανάπτυξη της μουσικής και της ζωγραφικής στην καισαροβασιλική πρωτεύουσα του 19ου αιώνα. Υπηρέτησε τη μουσική με πολλούς τρόπους προβάλλοντας και αναδεικνύοντας τις δημιουργίες των σημαντικότερων μουσικοσυνθετών της εποχής.

Ως Μαικήνας, φιλόμουσος και φιλότεχνος το όνομά του γράφτηκε στο Χρυσό Βιβλίο της Βιέννης. Το 1997 ο Δήμος της πόλης εξέδωσε το αφιερωματικό λεύκωμα: *Νικόλαος Δούμπας, πορτρέτο ενός Μαικήνα* (*Nicolaus Dumba, Porträt eines Mäzens*, 1997), στο οποίο σημειώνεται η παρακάτω αφιέρωση: «Αφιερώνεται φέτος από το Δήμο της Βιέννης, με ευγνωμοσύνη και τιμής ένεκεν, στον επιφανή αυτόν Έλληνα».

Filippo Termanini: Μια πρόωγη πρόσληψη των Μυλωνάδων στην Κέρκυρα (1836)

Κώστας Καρασαββίδης

Στο δεύτερο μισό του 19^{ου} αι. μια κωμωδία αγνώστου συγγραφέα, οι *Μυλωνάδες*, επανέρχεται σταθερά στις ελληνικές σκηνές από Έλληνες ηθοποιούς γνωρίζοντας τεράστια επιτυχία σε κάθε της παράσταση. Το «άγνωστο» στην Ελλάδα φεουδαρχικό αγροτικό περιβάλλον της υπόθεσης του έργου φαίνεται πως άρεσε και είχε απήχηση στο ελληνόφωνο κοινό των πόλεων σε Ελλάδα και στην καθ' ημάς Ανατολή. Με τον καιρό προστίθενται τραγούδια στο έργο και λόγω αυτού, σύμφωνα με τις ιστορίες νεοελληνικού θεάτρου, αποτέλεσε το πρώτο έργο ενός «νέου» ελληνικού θεατρικού είδους, του κωμειδουλίου, στο οποίο η μουσική και τα τραγούδια θεωρούνται απαραίτητα συστατικά. Η κριτική όμως τόσο στον 19^ο όσο και στον 20^ο αι. υπήρξε βασικά αρνητική στην πρόσληψη του έργου και μεγάλο ρόλο σε αυτό φαίνεται πως έπαιξε το γεγονός του αταύτιστου προτύπου του.¹

Η μέχρι σήμερα έρευνα ανέφερε την ύπαρξη δύο ελληνικών εκδόσεων και δύο χειρογράφων του έργου. Στις δύο αυτές ήδη γνωστές εκδόσεις σε Κωνσταντινούπολη και Σμύρνη το 1874,² έρχονται πλέον να προστεθούν με ασφάλεια ακόμη δύο με τόπο έκδοσης την Αθήνα: μία έκδοση του 1880³ και η μέχρι σήμερα λανθάνουσα⁴ έκδοση του Π. Ζαννουδάκη του 1890.⁵ Ενώ όμως η έκδοση του 1880 φαίνεται πως αναπαράγει το κείμενο των εκδόσεων του 1874, η έκδοση του 1890 διαφέρει αισθητά. Όχι μονάχα γιατί περιλαμβάνει πολλά περισσότερα τραγούδια από τα μόλις δύο σε αριθμό που περιλαμβάνουν οι τρεις προηγούμενες εκδόσεις, αλλά επιπρόσθετα γιατί η γλώσσα και το ύφος του κειμένου είναι διαφορετική: αρκετά πιο δημώδης και λαϊκότερη. Αλλά και ο αριθμός των χειρογράφων που διασώζουν το κείμενο αυξάνεται αντίστοιχα με τις εκδόσεις. Στα δύο που ήδη καταγράφει η Κατσιώτη,⁶ έρχονται να προστεθούν

¹ Για την μοναδική μέχρι σήμερα αυτοτελή και αρκετά εμπεριστατωμένη μελέτη σχετικά με τους *Μυλωνάδες*, που χρησιμοποιήθηκε ως βάση στην παρούσα μελέτη βλ. Ηρώ Κατσιώτη, «Οι Ερωτευμένοι Μυλωνάδες. Κωμωδία γνωστή και εις άκρον αστεία» στον τόμο *Πρακτικά Β' Πανελλήνιου Θεατρολογικού Συνεδρίου «Σχέσεις του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου με το ευρωπαϊκό. Διαδικασίες πρόσληψης στην ιστορία της ελληνικής δραματουργίας από την Αναγέννηση ως σήμερα»* (Αθήνα, 18-21 Απριλίου 2002), Κωνσταντζί Γεωργακάκη (επιμ), Αθήνα: εκδ. ERGO, 2004, σ. 223-238.

² Κατσιώτη, σ. 227.

³ Οι *Μυλωνάδες*. Κωμωδία εις πράξεις τέσσαρας. Εκ του ιταλικού. Παραφρασθείσα ελευθέτως υπό ***. Εν Αθήναις: Τύποις της Προόδου, 1880. Εντοπίστηκε στη Βιβλιοθήκη της Βουλής των Ελλήνων-Μπενάκειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Ταξ. αριθ.: ΨΥΧ 8016.

⁴ Για πληροφορίες περί την εν λόγω έκδοση βλ. Κατσιώτη, σ. 227.

⁵ Οι *Μυλωνάδες*. Κωμωδία εις πράξεις τέσσαρας. Μετά νέων ασμάτων των υπό του θιάσου Ταβουλάρη ψαλλομένων. Εκδίδεται υπό Π. Ζαννουδάκη. Αθήνησι: Τύποις Β. Κόκοτα, 1890. Εντοπίστηκε στη Βιβλιοθήκη Μουσείου Μπενάκη, Ταξ. αριθ.: Ν928 Ρ96m.

⁶ Κατσιώτη, σ. 227.

δύο ακόμη. Το πρώτο⁷ περιλαμβάνει την κωμωδία με εμβόλιμα τραγούδια, ενώ κατηγοριοποιείται στο κωμειδυλλιακό είδος.⁸ Το δεύτερο αντιγράφει την έκδοση Ζαννουδάκη του 1890.⁹ Σε καμία όμως έκδοση και σε κανένα χειρόγραφο δεν αναγράφεται ο τίτλος του πρωτότυπου έργου. Το πρόβλημα ταύτισης του έργου περιπλέκεται μάλιστα ακόμη περισσότερο, καθώς ενώ οι εκδόσεις κάνουν λόγο για μετάφραση «εκ του ιταλικού», κάποια θεατρικά προγράμματα του 19^{ου} αι. υπονοούν πως το έργο μεταφράστηκε «εκ του γαλλικού», καθώς η σκηνική του δράση διαδραματίζεται σε κάποιο χωριό της Γαλλίας.¹⁰

Ποιο είναι λοιπόν το άγνωστο αυτό έργο που γνώρισε τόσο μεγάλη επιτυχία στην Ελλάδα; Πρόκειται για το έργο *L' amore mulinaro*¹¹ του Pietro del Torre που καταγόταν από την ιταλική πόλη Cividale del Friuli. Το έργο, ολοκληρωμένο ήδη στα 1822,¹² γνώρισε τρεις διαδοχικές εκδόσεις στην Ιταλία το 1823,¹³ το 1829¹⁴ και το 1832,¹⁵ ενώ αναφορές των εν λόγω εκδόσεων υπάρχουν σε ιταλικά¹⁶ και αυστριακά¹⁷ περιοδικά του 19^{ου} αι. Η μεγάλη απήχηση που είχε το έργο στην Ιταλία, πέρα των εκδόσεων, καταδεικνύεται από δύο ακόμη γεγονότα: πως πολύ σύντομα, το 1836, στην πλοκή του εν λόγω έργου βασίστηκε η χορογραφία μιας παράστασης χορού στην Κέρκυρα¹⁸ και πως το 1837

⁷ Εντοπίστηκε στη Μουσική Βιβλιοθήκη της Κεντρικής Δημοτικής Βιβλιοθήκης του Δήμου Αθηναίων (Ταυτότητα εγγραφής: 005624), όμως δεν πρόκειται για το λιμπρέτο της οπερέτας του Ν. Χατζηαποστόλου *Οι ερωτευμένοι*, βασισμένης στην κωμωδία *οι Μυλωνάδες*, αλλά για την ίδια την κωμωδία που μας απασχολεί.

⁸ [Οι] *Μυλωνάδες*. Κωμειδύλλιον. 3 πράξεις.

⁹ Το εν λόγω χειρόγραφο βρίσκεται στην κατοχή του γράφοντος.

¹⁰ βλ. Κατσιώτη, σ. 235-238.

¹¹ Αν και όλες οι ελληνικές εκδόσεις του έργου παραδίδουν τον τίτλο του έργου ως *οι Μυλωνάδες*, πιθανότατα το ιταλικό πρότυπο ήταν γνωστό στους ελληνικούς θιάσους αφού με τον καιρό το επίθετο «ερωτευμένοι» άρχισε να συνυπάρχει στον τίτλο των παραστάσεων του έργου, ως *Ερωτευμένοι Μυλωνάδες*, κατ' αντιστοιχία προς τον ιταλικό τίτλο.

¹² βλ. έκδοση του 1823, σ. 5.

¹³ «*L' amore mulinaro. Commedia in quattro atti in prosa di Pietro del Torre da Cividale del Friuli*» στο *Scelto teatro inedito Italiano, Tedesco e Francese*, vol. XLIV, Venezia: tip. Rizzi, 1823 που περιέχει την έκδοση του *Giornale teatrale ossia Scelto teatro inedito Italiano, Tedesco e Francese*, vol. 88, Agosto 1823, σ. 1-73.

¹⁴ «*L' amore mulinaro. Commedia in quattro atti in prosa*» στο *Commedie di Pietro del Torre del Fu Giulio di Cividale del Friuli*, vol. I, Udine: tip. Vendrame, 1829, σ. 139-203.

¹⁵ «*L' amore mulinaro. Commedia di Pietro del Torre*» στο *Ape comica Italiana dopo il Goldoni*, vol. XXVI, Venezia: tip. G. Antonelli, 1832, σ. 1-69.

¹⁶ Για την έκδοση του 1829 βλ. *Biblioteca Italiana o sia Giornale di letteratura, scienze ed arti compilato da vari letterati*, vol. LVI (Ottobre, Novembre e Dicembre 1829), Milano 1829, σ. 302-305 στο τεύχος Δεκεμβρίου (Dicembre) 1829.

¹⁷ Για την έκδοση του 1832 βλ. *Österreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst, Geschichte, Geografie, Statistik und Naturkunde*, Hrsg. und redigiert durch A. Adolf Schmidl, Wien: Anton Strauss's sel. Witwe & Sommer, 1844, σ. 79 που περιέχει την έκδοση του *Österreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst*, no. 10, 21.02.1844.

¹⁸ «*Amor molinaro. Azione comica-coreografica. Composta e diretta dal primo ballerino Nicola Marchese da rappresentarsi nel nobile Teatro di S. Giacomo in Corfù nel Carnovale dell' anno 1836*» στον τόμο *La gioventù d' Enrico 5 ossia La bella tavernara. Melodramma buffo da*

διασκευάστηκε σε *opera buffa*¹⁹. Φαίνεται μάλιστα πως ως κωμωδία ήδη μέχρι το 1844 ξεπέρασε τα στενά όρια της Ιταλίας και παραστάθηκε σε γερμανόφωνες χώρες.²⁰

Οι αρετές του έργου δυστυχώς δεν εκτιμήθηκαν από την ελληνική κριτική του 19^{ου} αι. που έκανε λόγο για «καραγκιόζ μπερδέ»²¹ αστεία και που απορούσε για την επιτυχία του έργου. Σε αυτό μπορούμε να αντιπαραβάλουμε για αρχή την ίδια την άποψη του συγγραφέα των *Μυλωνάδων*: «[...] Non è bello quello che è bello, ma [...] è bello quello che piace. (μτφ. Δεν θεωρείται καλό αυτό που πραγματικά είναι καλό, αλλά θεωρείται καλό αυτό που αρέσει)»²² Και στην περίπτωση των *Μυλωνάδων* φαίνεται πως η συγκεκριμένη φράση έχει ισχύ, αφού το έργο είχε τεράστια απήχηση στο κοινό που ζητούσε συνεχώς μια επανάληψή του. Επιπλέον, ο ίδιος ο Pietro del Torre, αισθάνεται την ανάγκη να δικαιολογηθεί για την κωμωδία του έγραψε, αναφέροντας πως μια κωμωδία απευθύνεται και στους αγράμματους κάτι που είναι απόλυτα θεμιτό, καθώς ο ίδιος πιστεύει πως το θέατρο ως χώρος δημόσιας διασκέδασης οφείλει να ξεκουράζει τους κουρασμένους από τη δουλειά απλούς πολίτες.²³ Ωστόσο η ταύτιση του πρωτοτύπου μας ανοίγει νέους ορίζοντες ερμηνείας του κειμένου

rappresentarsi nel nobile Teatro di S. Giacomo in Corfù nel carnovale dell'anno 1836, Corfù: Tip. del Governo, 1836, σ. 41-51.

¹⁹ *L' amor mulinaro. Burletta comico-drammatica per musica. Espressamente composta per l'Accademia Filodrammatica di Ferrara dal C.F.A.*, Ferrara: tip. Pomatelli, 1837. Για αναφορές στην όπερα βλ. *Cenni storici intorno alle lettere, invenzioni, arti, al commercio ed agli spettacoli teatrali per l'anno 1837 al 1838*, vol. 27, Bologna: tip. Gov. della Volpe al Sassi, 1837, σ. 150 που περιέχει το *Teatri, arti e letteratura*, no. 696-vol.27, 01.07.1837· *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, vol. IV, 1837, σ. 562 στο τεύχος no. 31, 30.07.1837· *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger*, Wien: Tobias Haslinger, 1837, σ.132 στο τεύχος no. 33, 17.08.1837· *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (Jul ibis December 1837), Leipzig: Robert Friele, 1837, σ. 64 στο τεύχος no. 16, 25.08.1837· *The musical world. A weekly record of musical science, literature, and intelligence*, vol. VII, London: J. Alfred Novello, 1837, σ. 93 στο τεύχος LXXXIV-vol. VII, 20.10.1837· *The examiner. The Ballot 1837*, London: John & Leigh Hunt, 1837, σ. 695 στο τεύχος no. 1552, 29.10.1837· *New-York Mirror. A weekly journal devoted to literature and the fine arts*, vol. 15, New York: G.P. Morris, 1838, σ. 239 στο τεύχος no. 30-vol. 15, 20.01.1838· Hugo Riemann, *Opern-Handbuch. Repertorium der dramatisch-musikalischen Litteratur* (Opern, Operetten, Ballette, Melodramen, Pantomimen, Oratorien, dramatische Kantaten u.s.w.), Leipzig: C. A. Koch, 1887, σ. 18.

²⁰ «[...] „L'amor mulinaro,“ die auch auf der deutschen Bühne bekannte: „Liebe in der Mühle; [...]“ (μτφ. το "L'amor mulinaro," που είναι γνωστό στη γερμανική σκηνή ως: " Liebe in der Mühle;"» στο *Österreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst, Geschichte, Geografie, Statistik und Naturkunde*, Hrsg. und redigirt durch A. Adolf Schmidl, Wien: Anton Strauss's sel. Witwe & Sommer, 1844, σ. 79 που περιέχει την έκδοση του *Österreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst*, no. 10, 21.02.1844.

²¹ Κατωίωτη, σ. 228.

²² βλ. το κείμενο με τίτλο «L' autore al signor editore» που προηγείται της κωμωδίας στην έκδοση του 1829, σ. 141.

²³ «[...] si deve scrivere anche per gl' illitterati; [...] I teatri furono instituiti per i pubblici divertimenti, accioché gli uomini stanchi e sposati dale giornaliere fatiche e dale loro lunghe applicazioni, si ricreassero con delle gioviali ed, allegre rappresentazioni [...]» βλ. το κείμενο με τίτλο «Signor Editore Stimatissimo» που προηγείται της κωμωδίας στην έκδοση του 1823, σ. 4.

φωτίζοντάς το περισσότερο, αφού μας προσφέρει στοιχεία που ποτέ μέχρι σήμερα δεν είχαν επισημανθεί κατά την πρόσληψη του έργου. Πρώτα από όλα, η ιταλική έκδοση του έργου του 1832²⁴ εντάσσεται σε έναν συλλογικό τόμο με ιταλικές κωμωδίες «dopo il Goldoni». Μήπως επομένως η κωμωδία μας περιέχει στοιχεία της *commedia dell' arte* όπως εξελίχθηκε από τον Carlo Goldoni; Επιπρόσθετα, πληροφορίες που συσχετίζουν το υπό εξέταση έργο με τον Goldoni υπάρχουν και σε άλλες πηγές²⁵ καθώς οι τελευταίες σκηνές του έργου φαίνεται πως θύμισαν σε κάποιους το έργο *Il Feudatario* (αλλά και το *Il Falegname di Livonia*²⁶ που όμως δεν είναι του Goldoni). Και πράγματι, αν εξετάσουμε το έργο υπό το πρίσμα αυτό αντιλαμβανόμαστε πως στους *Μυλωνάδες* παρελαύνουν όλα τα γνωστά από την *commedia dell' arte* πρόσωπα με τα στερεοτυπικά χαρακτηριστικά τους: έχουμε δύο ζευγάρια ερωτευμένων νέων, τον Τσεκίνο με την Ροζίνα και τον Πίππο με την Κίττα (*Innamorati*), έναν πλούσιο γέρο που θέλει να νυμφευτεί με την νεαρή ηρωίδα και φέρνει εμπόδια στην ένωσή της με τον νεαρό αγαπημένο της, τον μπάρμπα Γιώργο (*Pantalone*), μια γριά ερωτευμένη με τον γέρο, κουτσομπόλα και ύπουλη, την γριά Σιλβέστρα (*Ruffiana*), και τον κουφό γέρο θείο, Θωμά, (χαρακτήρα ανάμεσα στον Tartaglia και τους Zanni).

Συγκρίνοντας το ελληνικό και το ιταλικό κείμενο της κωμωδίας διαπιστώνουμε τα ακόλουθα:

1. Το ελληνικό κείμενο ακολουθεί πιστά το ιταλικό του πρότυπο, παραμένοντας σε μεγάλο βαθμό ακρίβειας σύμφωνα με το ιταλικό κείμενο, αν και το αποδίδει ίσως με έναν πιο ελεύθερο τρόπο σε ορισμένα σημεία και προσθέτει εμβόλιμες φράσεις ή προτάσεις ιδίως στους ρόλους του μπάρμπα Γιώργου και της γριάς Σιλβέστρας προκειμένου να ενισχύσει την κωμικότητα των σκηνών.

2. Τα ονόματα των χαρακτήρων της ιταλικής κωμωδίας παραμένουν τα ίδια στις ελληνικές εκδόσεις. Έχουν δηλαδή μεταφραστεί επακριβώς.²⁷ Ωστόσο, παρατηρούνται κάποιες διαφοροποιήσεις στα ονόματα, παρόλο που πρόκειται για το ίδιο έργο, ανάμεσα στην ιταλική κωμωδία, την χοροθεατρική παράσταση στην Κέρκυρα και την ιταλική *opera buffa*.²⁸

²⁴ βλ. υποσ. 15.

²⁵ «[...] nelle ultime scene ci abbia una tal quale rimembranza del *Feudatario* del Goldoni e del *Falegname di Livonia*. [...]» βλ. *Biblioteca Italiana o sia Giornale di letteratura, scienze ed arti compilato da vari letterati*, vol. LVI (Ottobre, Novembre e Dicembre 1829), Milano 1829, σ. 305 στο τεύχος Δεκεμβρίου (Dicembre) 1829.

²⁶ Πρόκειται για ένα γαλλικό έργο με μεγάλη δημοτικότητα στην Ιταλία. Η κωμωδία *Le menuisier de Livonie*, ou *Les illustres voyageurs* (1805) του Alexandre-Vincent Pineux Duval ενέπνευσε τη σύνθεση της ομότιτλης όπερας του Giovanni Pacini σε λιμπρέτο του Felice Romani που παρουσιάστηκε στη Σκάλα του Μιλάνου (1819) και στη συνέχεια ενέπνευσε τη σύνθεση μιας ακόμη οπερατικής εκδοχής, ως *opera buffa* (1819), σε μουσική του Gaetano Donizetti και λιμπρέτο του Gherardo Bevilacqua-Aldobrandini.

²⁷ Conte Ernesto/Cecchino=Κόμης Ερνέστος/Τσεκίνος, Giorgio=Μπάρμπα Γεώργης, Rosina=Ροζίνα, Pippo=Πίππος, Silvestra=Γρηά Σιλβέστρα, Ghitta=Κίττα, Tommaso=Κυρ Θωμάς.

²⁸ Ο Giorgio λέγεται Janni, η Silvestra λέγεται Lugrezia και ο Tommaso λέγεται Pancrazio στην χοροθεατρική παράσταση της Κέρκυρας, ενώ ο ανώνυμος ακόλουθος του Cecchino

3. Κατά κάποιον τρόπο ο ιταλικός τίτλος *L' amore mulinaro* θα πρέπει να ήταν γνωστός στους ελληνικούς θιάσους, καθώς δεν πρέπει να θεωρηθεί τυχαία η ελληνική παραλλαγή του τίτλου στις θεατρικές παραστάσεις ως *Ερωτευμένοι Μυλωνάδες*.²⁹

4. Τα δύο τραγούδια στο ελληνικό έργο φαίνεται πως έλκουν την προέλευσή τους από την ιταλική κωμωδία, καθώς και σε αυτήν υπάρχουν αντίστοιχα δύο τραγούδια. Μπορεί βέβαια ο αριθμός αυτός να είναι ο ίδιος, ωστόσο μονάχα το ένα είναι κοινό σε ελληνικές και ιταλικές εκδόσεις. Στο ιταλικό κείμενο και τα δύο τραγούδια τα λέει ο Πίππος στην Τρίτη Πράξη του έργου. Από αυτά μόνο το πρώτο έχει μεταφερθεί στο ελληνικό κείμενο σχεδόν κατά λέξη μεταφρασμένο και με κάποιες ελεύθερες αποδόσεις στα νοήματα των στίχων, είναι η γνωστή «πατινάδα» του Πίππου. Το δεύτερο τραγούδι της ιταλικής έκδοσης δεν υπάρχει, προστέθηκε όμως στην ελληνική έκδοση το τραγούδι στο τέλος της κωμωδίας με αφορμή τους ταυτόχρονους τριπλούς γάμους των ηρώων: των δύο ζευγαριών των *Innamorati* και του μπάρμπα Γιώργου-γριάς Σιλβέστρας.

5. Δε διαθέτουμε πληροφορίες για την μουσική των τραγουδιών της ιταλικής έκδοσης, ούτε και για το τραγούδι του τέλους της ελληνικής έκδοσης, τουλάχιστον στο επίπεδο πρωτοτυπίας της σύνθεσης. Μπορούμε ωστόσο να πούμε με σιγουριά πως στην περίπτωση της «πατινάδας» του Πίππου δεν έχουμε να κάνουμε με πρωτότυπη σύνθεση, αλλά οι στίχοι τραγουδιόνταν στη μελωδία ενός άλλου γνωστού ήδη στην Ελλάδα τραγουδιού.³⁰

Ας περάσουμε τώρα στην παράσταση χορού του *Amor molinaro* στην Κέρκυρα (1836). Η εν λόγω *azione comica-coreografica* παρουσιάστηκε πιθανότατα την ίδια ημέρα μετά το τέλος της *opera buffa* *La gioventù d' Enrico 5* [quintissimo] ossia *La bella tavernara* στο θέατρο Σαν Τζιάκομο κατά την διάρκεια του καρναβαλιού του έτους 1836.³¹ Σε αυτό το συμπέρασμα μας οδηγούν δύο ευρήματα:

1. Η περιγραφή του μπαλέτου βρίσκεται σε ενιαία έκδοση με την προαναφερθείσα όπερα, στην οποία προτάσσεται το λιμπρέτο της όπερας και ακολουθεί η περιγραφή του μπαλέτου.

ονομάζεται πλέον Viscardo. Αντίστοιχα, ο Cecchino γίνεται Lubino στην *opera buffa*, ενώ δεν υπάρχουν καθόλου οι ρόλοι του Pippo και της Ghitta.

²⁹ Το επίθετο «ερωτευμένοι» δεν συνοδεύει τη λέξη *Μυλωνάδες* σε καμία από τις ελληνικές εκδόσεις. Παραπέμπει όμως στη λέξη *amore* του ιταλικού τίτλου.

³⁰ Τραγουδιόταν στη μελωδία του «Δρέψατε πάλιν ερασταί» (βλ. «112. Πατινάδα» (Μέρος δεύτερον, άσματα ερωτικά) στο Ανέστης Κωνσταντινίδης, *Ελληνική ανθολογία ήτοι Συλλογή των ελληνικών ασμάτων υπό Ανέστη Κωνσταντινίδου*, Αθήνα 1883⁶, σ. 285). Το «Δρέψατε πάλιν ερασταί» πρόκειται για παραλλαγή του πρώτου στίχου («Κόψατε πάλιν ερασταί») του ποιήματος του Αχιλλέα Παράσχου «Ο Μάιος» (βλ. «Ο Μάιος υπό Αχιλ. Παράσχου» (Μέρος Τρίτον, Ερωτικά άσματα) στο Ν. Αγγελίδης, *Ανθολογία ήτοι Συλλογή ασμάτων, ηρωικών, κλέπτικων και ερωτικών μετά των Λυρικών και Βακχικών του Αθαν. Χρηστοπούλου υπό Ν. Αγγελίδου*, Αθήνα 1869¹⁰, σ. 149-150).

³¹ Δεν έχει εντοπιστεί στις πηγές η ακριβής ημερομηνία της παράστασης είτε της όπερας είτε του μπαλέτου.

2. Η πρακτική που θέλει μια παράσταση μπαλέτου να ακολουθεί μια παράσταση όπερας επιβεβαιώνεται από τον Τύπο της εποχής για την Κέρκυρα, μια πρακτική που φαίνεται πως είχε ατονήσει σε άλλα μέρη. Σύμφωνα με τον Luigi Prividali³² (1836), στην Κέρκυρα «η ιταλική όπερα συνεχίζει να διατηρεί την αίγλη της, ακολουθώντας πάντοτε την παλαιά μέθοδο που τη θέλει να συνοδεύεται από παραστάσεις χορού, όπως τον καιρό της βενετοκρατίας»³³ ενώ σε άλλο σημείο κάνει λόγο για «ιταλική όπερα σε συνδυασμό με παραστάσεις μπαλέτου».³⁴ Το ίδιο μάλιστα δημοσίευμα μας δίνει πρόσθετες πληροφορίες πάνω στο θέμα. Μας πληροφορεί πως οι παραστάσεις χορού στην Κέρκυρα μπορούσαν να είναι πολύ επικερδείς για τους καλλιτέχνες ιδίως κατά τις «τιμητικές» τους βραδιές και πως για αυτές τις παραστάσεις έδειχναν ενδιαφέρον όχι μόνο οι Κερκυραίοι αλλά και οι Άγγλοι,³⁵ αφού βρισκόμαστε στα 1836 και τα Επτάνησα βρίσκονταν υπό βρετανική κατοχή. Ο Prividali δικαιολογεί επίσης το φαινόμενο να δίνονται παραστάσεις στην Κέρκυρα μονάχα 6 μήνες τον χρόνο, από το φθινόπωρο μέχρι την περίοδο του Καρναβαλιού. Αποδίδει το φαινόμενο στις καιρικές συνθήκες που επικρατούν στο νησί: στο γεγονός πως οι κάτοικοι προτιμούν τις συναυλίες των φιλαρμονικών στις εξοχές κατά την άνοιξη, ενώ το καλοκαίρι λόγω της ζέστης δεν επιλέγουν να κλειστούν σε ένα θέατρο. Το φθινόπωρο όμως, αναφέρει, πως αφού οι κάτοικοι έχουν ήδη μαζέψει τις ελιές και τα σταφύλια, επιστρέφουν στην πόλη δείχνοντας μεγάλη προθυμία να παρακολουθήσουν παραστάσεις όπερας και μπαλέτου, αναπληρώνοντας την πολιτισμική στέρση των προηγούμενων 6 μηνών.³⁶ Τα μπαλέτα που παρουσιάζονταν κάθε φορά στο κοινό ήταν 4, δύο την περίοδο του φθινοπώρου

³² Luigi Prividali, «Notizie estere» στο *Il censore universal dei teatri*, no. 76, 21.09.1836 που περιλαμβάνεται στον τόμο της εφημερίδας με τα τεύχη 1- 105 (02.01.1836-31.12.1836), σ. 304.

³³ «Corfù. Continua qui a sostenersi in credito l' opera italiana, seguendo sempre l' antico metodo di volerla accompagnata dai balli, come ai tempi della veneta dominazione; [...]» βλ. ό.π.

³⁴ «[...] opera italiana unita ai balli; [...]» βλ. ό.π.

³⁵ «[...] e come a quei tempi anche adesso per i virtuosi di qualche abilità quel teatro è molto proficuo, perchè sulle serate di loro particular beneficio calcolare essi possono forse di più che sulle loro paghe. Come il gusto per la musica, così i mezzi e la disposizione di premiare chi l' arte musicale esercita con valore, sono qualità comunissime in quegli abitanti, nè meno generosi di essi concorrono gli ospiti loro inglesi ad onorare il talento dei nostri artisti. [...]» βλ. ό.π.

³⁶ «[...] Tanto più poi riesce lo spettacolo melodrammatico a quei dilettranti gradevole, perchè stabile non lo possiedono per tutto l' anno. Tanto amena è in quell dolce clima la primavera, che anche i filarmonici più appassionati preferir devono la campagna in quella stagione al teatro; in estate il gran caldo la fa preferire per forza. In autunno, dopo raccolte le ulive e spogliate le viti, tutti rientrano in città; poi viene il carnevale, dedicato senz' altro più particolarmente ai pubblici divertimenti, e così quella privazione della musica nostra, per sei interi mesi, la fa per gli altri sei con più di fervor bramare, ascoltare con più di trasporto. Per le due stagioni quindi dell' autunno e del carnevale Corfù vuol ricrearsi ogn' anno coll' opera italiana unita ai balli; [...]» βλ. ό.π.

και δύο την περίοδο του καρναβαλιού, όλα όμως είχαν περιεχόμενο κωμικό με δραματικά στοιχεία.³⁷

Το *Amor molinaro* παραστάθηκε σε χορογραφία και σκηνοθεσία του primo ballerino Nicola Marchese ο οποίος υποδύθηκε και τον Conte Ernesto/Cecchino. Στη χορογραφία πήραν μέρος ο Filippo Termanini ως Janni, η Clementina Termanini ως Rosina, ο Giacomo Rossi ως Pippo, η Carolina Rossi ως Ghitta, η Augusta De Capitaini ως Lugrezia, ο Carlo Rebora ως Pancrazio και ένας ακόμη χορευτής, ανώνυμος, που υποδύθηκε τον ρόλο του Viscardo.³⁸ Ήδη από την επιλογή των ονομάτων διαπιστώνουμε κάποιες διαφοροποιήσεις από την ιταλική κωμωδία: στο μπαλέτο ο Giorgio ονομάζεται Janni, η Silvestra ονομάζεται Lugrezia, ενώ ο Tommaso ονομάζεται Pancrazio. Επιπλέον, ο ανώνυμος ακόλουθος του Κόμη της κωμωδίας, στο μπαλέτο έχει συγκεκριμένο όνομα και ονομάζεται Viscardo. Προς το παρόν δεν είμαστε σε θέση να απαντήσουμε γιατί στην παράσταση χορού άλλαξαν τα ονόματα των ηρώων, καθώς βασίστηκε στην ομότιπλη ιταλική κωμωδία. Εξετάζοντας την περιγραφή του μπαλέτου διαπιστώνουμε πως ακολουθεί με γραμμική ακρίβεια την βασική πλοκή της κωμωδίας, παραλείποντας ασφαλώς πολλές λεπτομέρειες. Η βασική διαφορά με την πλοκή της κωμωδίας εντοπίζεται στα παρακάτω σημεία:

1. Στο μπαλέτο ο θείος της Rosina, Pancrazio (=Tommaso/Θωμάς της κωμωδίας), υπόσχεται το χέρι της ανεψιάς του στον Janni (=Giorgio/μπάρμπα Γιώργο της κωμωδίας), ενώ στην κωμωδία ο Giorgio (=Janni του μπαλέτου) πολιορκεί ο ίδιος την Rosina χωρίς αποτέλεσμα, αφού στην προσπάθειά του να μιλήσει στον θείο της, Tommaso (=Pancrazio του μπαλέτου), δεν μπορεί να βγάλει κάποια άκρη μαζί του, αφού ο τελευταίος είναι βαρύκοος.

2. Στο μπαλέτο ο Conte Ernesto/Cecchino θέλει να σιγουρευτεί για τα ειλικρινή αισθήματα της Rosina χωρίς να της αποκαλύπτει την ταυτότητά του παρά μόνο στο τέλος, ενώ στην κωμωδία της το αποκαλύπτει σχεδόν από την αρχή.

3. Στο τέλος του μπαλέτου η Lugrezia (=Silvestra/γριά Σιλβέστρα της κωμωδίας) θα παντρευτεί τον Janni (=Giorgio/μπάρμπα Γιώργο της κωμωδίας) μόνο αν συναινέσει πρώτα στον γάμο της κόρης της Ghitta με τον Pippo, ενώ στην κωμωδία οι τριπλοί γάμοι ορίζονται από τον Conte Ernesto/Cecchino.

Επομένως, από την μέχρι τώρα εξέταση διαπιστώνουμε πως η κωμωδία γνώρισε μεγάλη επιτυχία με τρεις διαδοχικές εκδόσεις στην Ιταλία μέσα σε μόλις 9 χρόνια (1823-1832), παραστάθηκε στην Ιταλία και στην Αυστρία και διασκευάστηκε ως μπαλέτο στην Κέρκυρα. Πουθενά όμως δεν έχει εντοπιστεί κάποια πληροφορία σχετική με τη μουσική που χρησιμοποιήθηκε στις εν λόγω παραστάσεις. Ένα χρόνο αργότερα, το 1837, η κωμωδία διασκευάστηκε ως λιμπρέτο μιας opera buffa. Όμως ακόμα και στην περίπτωση της όπερας δεν έχει εντοπιστεί από τον γράφοντα η μουσική, αλλά μονάχα η έκδοση του λιμπρέτου.

³⁷ «[...] dei balli sono promessi quattro, due per ogni stagione; ma se i cantanti si adopereranno nel serio e nel buffo indistintamente, i ballerini sono destinati ai soli brillanti spettacoli di mezzo-carattere [...]» βλ. ό.π.

³⁸ *Amor molinaro*, σ. 42. Στη διανομή υπάρχει η ένδειξη N.N. (=Non Nomine) για τον ρόλο του Viscardo.

Η *burletta comico-drammatica*³⁹ per musica με τον τίτλο *L' amor mulinaro* σε μουσική Carlo Capelletti, που τον κάλεσε από την Μπολόνια ο ίδιος ο Rossini, και λιμπρέτο του Francesco Aventi πρωτοπαρουσιάστηκε από την Accademia Filodrammatica της Ferrara στο Teatro Comunale στις 15 Ιουλίου 1837 με μεγάλη επιτυχία.⁴⁰ Την ορχήστρα διηύθυνε ο Petrini-Zamboni, ενώ τους ρόλους υποδύθηκαν η πριμαντόνα Giuditta Castagnari ως Rosina, ο τενόρος Landi ως Conte Ernesto/Lubino, ο Giovanni Fabbri ως Silvestra και ο Giuseppe Guglielmino ως Giorgio.⁴¹ Στο έργο αυτό οι βασικοί ρόλοι έχουν περιοριστεί σε πέντε, καθώς έχουν αφαιρεθεί τελείως οι ρόλοι του ζευγαριού Pippo και Ghitta. Όλοι οι υπόλοιποι χαρακτήρες έχουν τα ίδια με την ιταλική κωμωδία ονόματα, με εξαίρεση αυτό του Conte Ernesto που εδώ δεν βρίσκεται μεταμφιεσμένος υπό το όνομα Cecchino, αλλά ως Lubino. Ο περιορισμός του αριθμού των προσώπων δεν ξέρουμε για ποιο λόγο έγινε, πάντως σίγουρα όχι για να ταιριάζει στις βασικές φωνές των λυρικών τραγουδιστών, αφού αρκεί να αναλογιστούμε πως πολλοί ήταν ηθοποιοί της Società Filodrammatica που μετατράπηκαν σε τραγουδιστές «εν μία νυκτί» χάρη του φιλανθρωπικού σκοπού για τον οποίο δόθηκε η παράσταση⁴² και πως τον ρόλο της Silvestra τον έπαιξε άντρας!

Εξετάζοντας την όπερα συγκριτικά με την κωμωδία, διαπιστώνουμε τα ακόλουθα:

1. Το ανώνυμο ιταλικό χωριό όπου διαδραματίζεται η δράση στην κωμωδία, στην όπερα έχει όνομα. Πρόκειται για το φανταστικό χωριό Liria⁴³

2. Το έργο τελειώνει μονάχα με τον γάμο του Conte Ernesto/Lubino και της Rosina.

Γυρίζοντας και πάλι στην Ελλάδα. Οι τρεις εκδόσεις της κωμωδίας του 1874 και του 1880 περιέχουν μονάχα δύο τραγούδια, ενώ η έκδοση του Π. Ζαννουδάκη του 1890 περιέχει 15 τραγούδια. Στην καταγραφή παραστάσεων του έργου που

³⁹ Μας φέρνει στο νου το «spettacoli di mezzo-carattere» (βλ. υποσ. 37).

⁴⁰ Λεπτομέρειες για την παράσταση αντλούμε από μια γερμανική εφημερίδα: «Ferrara. Mehre Schauspieler-Dialettanten der hiesigen Società Filodrammatica sind diesen Sommer auf einmal Sänger-Diltanten geworden; da sie es aber zum Vortheile des hiesigen Waisen-Instituts thaten, so muss die Kritik schweigen. Sie haben nähmlich eine vom Herrn Grafen Aventi neu geschriebene Opera buffa, l'Amor mulinaro, wozu der von Rossini vorgeschlagene Maestro Capelletti aus Bologna eigens die Musik komponirte. Die erste Vorstellung hatte am 15ten Juli im hiesigen Teatro communale Statt, und wurde mit der glänzdesten Aufnahme gekrönt. Der erste Akt insbesondere manches Hübsche in der Musik aufzuweisen. Die allerliebste Prima Donna Giuditta Castagnari machte die Rosina meisterhaft; der junge Landi, mit einer hübschen Tenorstimme, wusste als Lubino gar oft die Hände der Zuhörer in Bewegung zu setzen; Hr. Giovanni Fabbri war ein lustiger Silvestra, und der wirkliche Bassist von Profession, Giuseppe Guglielmini, gab die Rolle des Giorgio vortrefflich. Der rühmlich bekannte Petrini-Zamboni leitete das Orchester und musste gar oft des Biefalls wegen stille halten. Maestro und Sänger wurden mehrmals auf die Scene gerufen und die Oper einigemal wiederholt.» βλ. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, Neun und Dreissigster Jahrgang*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1837 σ. 731 στο τεύχος no. 45, 08.11.1837.

⁴¹ βλ. ό.π.

⁴² «[...] Mehre Schauspieler-Dialettanten der hiesigen Società Filodrammatica sind diesen Sommer auf einmal Sänger-Diltanten geworden; da sie es aber zum Vortheile des hiesigen Waisen-Instituts thaten, so muss die Kritik schweigen. [...]» βλ. ό.π.

⁴³ *L' amor mulinaro*, σ. 5.

παραθέτει η Κατσιώτη⁴⁴ ο αριθμός των τραγουδιών σχεδόν σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις που παρατίθενται είναι αδιευκρίνιστος από τις ίδιες τις πηγές, ενώ και τα χειρόγραφα δεν διαφωτίζουν περισσότερο σχετικά με το ποια και πόσα τραγούδια ακούγονταν στις παραστάσεις ή πότε προστέθηκαν αυτά, με αποτέλεσμα οι Μυλωνάδες να χαρακτηρίζονται ως κωμειδύλλιο. Ακόμη πάντως και στην περίπτωση της έκδοσης Ζαννουδάκη που περιέχει τα περισσότερα τραγούδια και που θα δικαιολογούσε την ένταξη του κειμένου στο κωμειδυλλιακό είδος, το έργο χαρακτηρίζεται ως κωμωδία. Ανεξαρτήτως χαρακτηρισμού πάντως, η υπό εξέταση κωμωδία θα δεσπόζει στη σκηνή καθ' όλο τον 19^ο αιώνα. Αρκετά αργότερα, το 1919, θα διασκευαστεί από τον Αντώνη Νίκα ως το λιμπρέτο της οπερέτας Οι ερωτευμένοι σε μουσική Νίκου Χατζηαποστόλου. Σε αυτή τους την εκδοχή όμως οι Μυλωνάδες αλλάζουν κατά πολύ, τόσο σε επίπεδο ονομάτων (πέραν του μυλωνά Κυρ-Γιώργη και του Θωμά, όλοι οι υπόλοιποι χαρακτήρες εξελληνίζονται: ο Κόμης Ερνέστος/Τσεκίνος γίνεται Πιπίνος, ο Πίππος γίνεται Βάσος, η Ροζίνα γίνεται Κατίνα, η Κίττα γίνεται Φρόσω και η γριά Σιλβέστρα γίνεται Κυρά Περμαθούλα), όσο και σε επίπεδο πλοκής, αφού παρελαύνουν πλέον πολλά πρόσωπα ξένα ως προς το αρχικό πρότυπο, αλλά που πλέον συμμετέχουν στην πλοκή.

Αναφορικά με τον Termanini. Ο Filippo Termanini, ιταλός χορογράφος και χορευτής, επισκέπτεται την Κέρκυρα τρεις διαδοχικές χρονιές (1834-5, 1835-6, 1836-7) ως μέλος τριών διαφορετικών ιταλικών μελοδραματικών θιάσων. Οι θιάσοι αυτοί, που παραμένουν κάθε φορά στο νησί για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα (από το φθινόπωρο μέχρι την περίοδο του καρναβαλιού), δίνουν τις παραστάσεις τους στο θέατρο Σαν Τζάκομο. Ως μέλος των συγκεκριμένων θιάσων ο Termanini όχι μόνο παίρνει μέρος ως χορευτής στα μελοδράματα, αλλά ταυτόχρονα συμμετέχει σε μεμονωμένες παραστάσεις χορού ή παρουσιάζει δικής του έμπνευσης χορογραφίες. Από τις μέχρι σήμερα πληροφορίες που έχουν συγκεντρωθεί για αυτόν διαπιστώνουμε πως την περίοδο 1834-1835 βρίσκεται στην Κέρκυρα και συμμετέχει ως χορευτής στο *ballo comico pantomimico L' idolo birmano* (φθινόπωρο 1834)⁴⁵ μαζί με τους χορευτές Federico Massini, Gaetano Massini, Carolina Massini, Giulia Durelli και Carlo Rebora.⁴⁶ Ο μελοδραματικός θιάσος που ακολουθεί αποτελείται από τους Orinzia Girri-Ceresini, Giuseppe Pennetti, Adelaide Sartori, Giovanni Zucchini, Giuseppe Liparini και Gherardini.⁴⁷ Την περίοδο 1835-1836 βρίσκεται στην Κέρκυρα ως μέλος του μελοδραματικού θιάσου που τον αποτελούσαν οι: Francesco Monari, Ferdinando Facchini, Annunziata Fanti, Paolina Fanti, Alessandro Meloni, Carlotta Ferrarini-Baschieri,

⁴⁴ Κατσιώτη, σ. 235-238.

⁴⁵ «L' idolo birmano. Ballo comico pantomimico in quattro atti. Composto e diretto dal primo ballerino Federico Massini per le nobili scene del Teatro di San Giacomo in Corfù» στο *Il furioso nell'isola di S. Domingo. Melo-dramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel nobile Teatro di San Giacomo in Corfù l'autunno dell'anno 1834*, Corfù, 1834.

⁴⁶ βλ. διανομή των ρόλων στην περιγραφή του μπαλέτου στην έκδοση του *L' idolo birmano*.

⁴⁷ βλ. διανομή των ρόλων στην έκδοση του λιμπρέτου του *Il furioso nell'isola di S. Domingo* που προηγείται της περιγραφής του μπαλέτου.

Francesca Amici, Giovanni Comno και Carlo Hilaret.⁴⁸ Εκτός από το *Amor Molinaro* όπου συμμετέχει ως χορευτής, παρουσιάζει επίσης το balletto buffo *Il barbiere di Siviglia* σε δική του χορογραφία (φθινόπωρο 1835).⁴⁹ Τέλος, την περίοδο 1836-1837 παρουσιάζει την δικής του έμπνευσης χορογραφία *L' allievo della natura* (καρναβάλι 1837)⁵⁰ μαζί με τους Clementina Termanini, Carlo Rebora και Angelo Miniscaldi.⁵¹ Στο δυναμικό των χορευτών είναι πιθανό να συμμετείχαν επίσης η Giulia Romagnani, ο Domenico Miniscaldi και η Augusta Decapitani.⁵² Ο μελοδραματικός θίασος που ακολουθεί αυτήν τη φορά αποτελείται από τους Antonietta Galzerani, Serafina Destefanis, Francesco Battaggia, Giovanni Comno, Carlo Hillaret, Lodovico Lodovici, Antonio Mazzetti.⁵³ Ωστόσο, στα ονόματα των τραγουδιστών του μελοδράματος *Un' avventura di Scaramuccia* που προηγήθηκε του μπαλέτου αναφέρονται οι: Benedetto Mazzeti, Enrico Sassi, Giovanni Comno, Chiara Albertini, Carlo Hilaret, Lodovico Parade, Domenico Ricci και Giuseppina Destefanis.⁵⁴

Από τις 12 παραστάσεις χορού που παρουσιάστηκαν στην Κέρκυρα κατά τις τρεις αυτές χρονικές περιόδους, έχουμε πληροφορίες μόνο για τις 4, δηλαδή για το 1/3 τους. Η περίπτωση Termanini ωστόσο είναι χαρακτηριστική για την επιτυχία των παραστάσεων μπαλέτου στην Κέρκυρα, καθώς ο ίδιος δεν θα ερχόταν υπό άλλες συνθήκες συνεχόμενα από το 1834 έως το 1837.

Κλείνοντας, θα πρέπει να τονίσουμε την σπουδαιότητα της εν λόγω χοροθεατρικής παράστασης των *Μυλωνάδων*. Παρουσιάζεται στην Κέρκυρα 34 χρόνια νωρίτερα από τη στιγμή που το συγκεκριμένο έργο θα εμφανιστεί στο ρεπερτόριο ελληνικών θιάσων (1870 κ.ε.) και έρχεται να συμπληρώσει το χρονικό κενό από την πρώτη του ιταλική έκδοση (1823) μέχρι την πρώτη του ελληνική παράσταση (1870) και έκδοση (1874) ως μια πρόωγη πρόσληψη του έργου από ελληνόφωνο κοινό.

⁴⁸ βλ. διανομή των ρόλων στην έκδοση του λιμπρέτου του *La gioventù d' Enrico 5 ossia La bella tavernara* και του *Eran due or sono tre* που προηγούνται της περιγραφής των αντίστοιχων μπαλέτων.

⁴⁹ «Il barbiere di Siviglia. Balletto buffo composto da Filippo Termanini. Rappresentato nel Nobile Teatro di S. Giacomo in Corfù l'autunno 1835» στο *Eran due or sono tre. Melo-dramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo in Corfù nell'autunno dell'anno 1835*, Corfù: Tipografia del Governo, 1835.

⁵⁰ «L' allievo della natura. Ballo di mezzo carattere in tre atti. Posto sulle scene del nobile Teatro di San Giacomo in Corfù nel carnovale dell'anno 1837 da Filippo Termanini» στο *Un' avventura di Scaramuccia. Melodramma comico in due atti da rappresentarsi nel nobile Teatro di San Giacomo in Corfù il carnovale dell'anno 1837*, Corfù: Tip. del Governo, 1836.

⁵¹ βλ. διανομή των ρόλων στην περιγραφή του μπαλέτου στην έκδοση του *L' allievo della natura*.

⁵² Prividali, ό.π.

⁵³ Prividali, ό.π.

⁵⁴ βλ. διανομή των ρόλων στην έκδοση του λιμπρέτου του *Un' avventura di Scaramuccia* που προηγείται της περιγραφής του μπαλέτου.

Domenikos Padovás: a “lesser” of an anniversary

Kostas Kardamis

Domenikos Padovás (1817-1892) has been known in the Greek community of musicology since the mid-1980s thanks to Georgios Leotsakos¹ as the author of the article “Poche parole sopra i scritti del Cav. Nicolò C. Manzaro” (April 1872),² which is considered to be a kind of an “apologetic” text on the creative activity of his teacher, Nikolaos Mantzaros (offering valuable information about the latter’s works). In the pre-1980s period, an observant reader could find scarce, potentially contradictory, information about Padovás’ life and works in the pages of Spyros Motsenigos’ emblematic book on Neohellenic Music.³ Today, we have satisfying information regarding the “lesser” composer of the 2017 anniversaries and we may reassess his activity. At the same time, his collaboration with the Italian patriot Severiano Fogacci, which has not been sufficiently illustrated, offers an alternative picture of Padovás’ contribution to the opera of his era.

Domenikos, the son of the scholar Ieronymos Markos Padovás and Maria Rodostamou, was born on 19.7.1817.⁴ His father was Roman Catholic, spoke various foreign languages and was an avid scholar of the ancient Greek literature. He also had a significant presence in the region’s educational matters, taught the English language (for which he wrote a course book)⁵ and in 1832 he published a book on the assassination of Ioannis Kapodistrias. Among other things, he was the headmaster of the schools of Lefkada and later of Ithaca,⁶ he had served at the Ionian Academy,⁷ where he was appointed archivist and librarian in 1845,⁸ and for a short period he

¹ Giorgos Leōtsakos: ‘Nikolaos Halikiopoulos-Mantzaros (1795–1872): gia ena mikro tou enkolpio’ [A short guide], *Mousikologia*, 5/6 (Salonica, 1987), 228–271.

² Domenico Padovani: ‘Poche parole sopra i scritti del Cav. Nicolò C. Manzaro’, *Ē phonē*, nos. 361–362 (12 and 20 April 1872). Leotsakos is also the author of the entries on Padovàs in the *Educational Greek Encyclopedia - International Biographical Lexicon* and in the 2001 edition of the *New Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, as well as of some brief relevant contributions in the 1980s Athenian press. The surname of the composer’s family appears in the sources as “Padovani(s)”, “Padovan(os)” and “Padovás”. Here the latter was preferred, since this is the form that eventually prevailed and is still in use.

³ Spyros Motsenigos: *Neoellēnikē moussikē: symvolē eis tēn historian tēs* [Neohellenic Music: a contribution to its history], Athens, 1958.

⁴ According to the records kept in the Catholic Archdiocese of Corfu (information kindly offered by the Archdiocese’s secretary, Mr. Spyros Gaoutsis). The date 14.7.1817 appears 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 Corfù*, Corfù, 1892), p. 3. See also Georgios Leotsakos, “Padovanis or Padovàs, Domenikos” *Educational Greek Encyclopedia - International Biographical Lexicon*, 10 vols, Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1991, viii, p. 95.

⁵ Kostas Dafnis (ed.), “L. Vrokini: Works,” *Kerkyraika Chronika* vol. xvi (1972), pp. 239-243: 240.

⁶ *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 227(20.4/2.5.1835), p. 4-5.

⁷ General State Archives of Corfu (GSAC), Ionian Senate 302, 2323 (21.2.1825).

⁸ *Gazzetta Ufficiale degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 17(14 /26.4.1845), p. 9.

was editor-in-chief of the governmental *Gazzetta*.⁹ He also wrote a number of poetic and literature texts, some of which offer a valuable insight into Corfu during the 1830s.¹⁰ It should be noted that the connection of Padovàs' family with the memory of Ioannis Kapodistrias was going to go even further: more than fifty years later, Domenikos Padovàs would compose a short work for wind band honoring the unveiling of the still existing statue of the First Governor of Greece.¹¹

Domenikos Padovàs shared several common aspects with his mentor, Nikolaos Mantzaros. Both of them were the sons of wealthy noble families.¹² Padovàs also grew up in an environment, where he had the opportunity to engage in art, which in his case was further enhanced due to the special achievements of his scholar father in the field of humanities. But Domenikos diversified himself from Mantzaros regarding his attitude towards music. Thus, while Mantzaros never considered himself a professional (in the sense of earning any financial gain) composer and music teacher, Padovàs did not hesitate to characterise himself as a professional music teacher from early on. It is characteristic that in 1842 and in 1847 he declared in official documents of the Ionian State his professional status as a music teacher,¹³ when at the same time other nobles scorned to declare any kind of profession or (like Mantzaros) described themselves as landowners.¹⁴ Consequently, Padovàs belonged to the earliest Greek music teachers, along with other important figures, such as Spyridon Xyndas and Pavlos Carrer, who, despite belonging in bourgeois and often noble families, they did not take into consideration the reactions of their social circles, broke the social barriers of their times, and "legitimised" their professional occupation with music.

In 1857 Padovàs, recognising Mantzaros' educational importance, states in the libretto of his opera *Dirce* that he had been his disciple for a decade without mentioning the specific time frame.¹⁵ The exact identification of Domenikos' apprenticeship next to Mantzaros, whom Ieronymos Padovàs knew personally, proves to be quite complicated, since the information coming from various sources is often contradictory. Dedicating his opera *Dirce* to the Corfu Philharmonic Society and to Mantzaros in 1857, Padovàs makes reference, as stated above, to his ten-year apprenticeship by the Corfiot composer and music teacher, giving the impression that this apprenticeship was continuous. Francesco di Mento in his obituary for Padovàs in 1892 states that the composer studied with Mantzaros after returning

⁹ Dafnis (ed.), "L. Vrokini: Works," *ibid*, 240.

¹⁰ It is characteristic that the *Critical observations on the Sketches of Corfu* (Corfù, 1835), in which the composer's father disproves the inaccuracies of the book of Frances Maclellan, *Sketches of Corfù*, London: Smith Elder and Co., 1835.

¹¹ This composition, along with other works by Padovàs, is exhibited in the Music Museum of the Corfu Philharmonic Society.

¹² According to contemporary sources, the father and the grandfather of the composer belonged to Corfu's nobility. See also *Famiglie Nobili dopo l'assedio di Barbarosa sino nel 1783*, manuscript recording of the noble families of Corfu, attributed to Lavrentios Vrokinis (Corfu Reading Society), GSAC, Passports 5021 and Dafnis (ed.), "L. Vrokinis: Works," *ibid*, 239.

¹³ GSAC, Passports 5021 and 5238.

¹⁴ GSAC, Passports 5045.

¹⁵ *Dirce, figlia di Aristodemo*, Corfù: Tipografia del Governo, 1857, [iii].

from Rome,¹⁶ where he had studied humanities accompanied by his father, a fact that can be dated quite accurately in the mid-1830s.¹⁷ This, however, is confusing, regarding Padovás' participation in the teaching staff of the Philharmonic Society of Corfu in 1841 and his activity there as a tutor of harmony, counterpoint and music composition,¹⁸ because the time elapsed since his return from Rome was less than ten years and, in any case, it would not have been sufficient both to complete such important studies (even in the context of Mantzaros' condensed, but effective, education programme) and for the presentation of his early musical compositions (1837). Other evidence supporting this view is the appointment of Padovás as the organist of the Catholic cathedral of San Giacomo in 1836,¹⁹ in the age of nineteen. It seems that, while being a student of Mantzaros, Padovás was probably taught to play the organ by Giovanni Ponzetta, a priest of the Catholic church of Corfu.²⁰ After all, as a Roman Catholic, it is not surprising that he familiarized himself to the organ. In addition, one should bear in mind the possibility of his future appointment as the organist at the Corfu's Catholic Cathedral (which, as mentioned, took place in 1836).

Given the above, one could argue that Padovás' apprenticeship period with Mantzaros must have taken place between 1824, when Domenikos' age allowed him to set up for such an endeavour, and 1837, the year when he composed an overture for orchestra. The apprenticeship must have started before Padovás departure for Rome, continued within the periods of his journeys in Italy (early 1830s), and was completed after Padovás final return to Corfu in the late 1830s. A possible period is the decade between 1826 and 1836. This period marks Mantzaros' first creative period in Corfu, having also completed his direct contact with the Italian musical world, while from an educational point of view he had already begun teaching advanced music theory. On the other hand, this was the period when Padovás was at an ideal age to study music.

Domenikos Padovás also had the opportunity to experience directly the "golden age" of the opera in Corfu during the 19th century. In the 1820s and 1830s, Rossini's operas (both his comic ones and, if not mostly, his serious ones) and later the operas by Donizetti, Bellini, and Mercadante monopolised the repertoire of Corfu's San Giacomo Theatre. Verdi and his operatic approach was still far away, while the verdian style was to be creative assimilated in the Ionian Islands through a composer born in Zakynthos twelve years after Padovás, i.e. Pavlos Carrer (1829-1896).

The exact date of Domenikos Padovás permanent return to Corfu has also not been yet identified. As already mentioned, in 1836 he was the organist of the Catholic cathedral and since 1841 he took part and taught at the ambitious educational and artistic experiment, the Corfu Philharmonic Society (founded in 1840).

¹⁶ di Mento, *Nei solenni funerali del compianto Cav[allie]r Domenico Padovani [...]*, *ibid*, p. 4.

¹⁷ Strong evidence, but not proof, is the succession of the composer's journeys with his father in Italy in the early 1830s, recorded in the governmental *Gazzetta*. See *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 121 (8/20.4.1833), p.6 and 227 (20.4/2.5.1835), p.10.

¹⁸ Motsenigos, *Neohellenic Music [...]*, *ibid*, p. 189, p. 226.

¹⁹ di Mento, *Nei solenni funerali del compianto Cav[allie]r Domenico Padovani [...]*, *ibid*, p. 4.

²⁰ *Ibid*

Padovás' presence at the Corfu Philharmonic Society was directly interwoven with Mantzaros himself. Mantzaros was appointed as perpetual Artistic Director ("Presidente perpetuo di Musica") of the Corfu Philharmonic Society on 1.4.1841. Soon after, he started to reorganize the Society's pedagogical curriculum in order to meet the standards of similar institutions in other European cities, setting up for this reason a special committee on musical matters. The committee, consisting of Mantzaros himself, Antonios Liberalis, Stylianos Dorias Prosalentis, and the mathematician Andreas Mavromatis, co-decided along with the elected administrative committee on issues of its competence.²¹ The election of Domenikos Padovás as a founding member of the Corfu Philharmonic Society on 22.4.1841 after Mantzaros' proposal²² should therefore be included in this context, as a way to strengthen the newly-founded Philharmonic Society. If not anything else, the Society had clearly demonstrated that it wished to overcome the character of a concert association, as it had been in its informal period of action. Indeed, Padovás, following Mantzaros and Liberalis' joint proposal, was appointed on 15.6.1841 as a "teacher in the subject of counterpoint", a place which also allowed him to participate in the aforementioned artistic committee.²³ Perhaps, the dedication "to the young music teacher Domenikos Padovás" of one of Mantzaros' settings of Petrarca's sonnet *Levommi il mio pensier* can be dated at that time.²⁴

All the above suggest that Mantzaros considered Padovás to be an accomplished musician already before 1840, adding a bit more to the speculation on the exact period of Padovás apprenticeship by Mantzaros' side. Besides, in 1839 Padovás had just been named "maestro filarmonico esercente" by the Accademia di Santa Cecilia on the occasion of the presentation of his melodramatic scene entitled *La delevita*.²⁵ Padovás' resignation in February 1843 from founding member of the Corfu Philharmonic Society²⁶ only suspended his participation in managing the Society's administrative affairs. Besides, in 1846 Padovás was named an Honorary Fellow of the Corfu Philharmonic Society.²⁷

It is still unclear, whether the teaching of music at the newly-established Ionian College in 1840 is associated to Padovás' aforementioned resignation. However, such possibility should be considered highly unlikely. In any case, it is worth mentioning that Domenikos Padovás in 1840 undertook the teaching of music at the Ionian

²¹ See related correspondence in Corfu Philharmonic Society's Archive.

²² Corfu Philharmonic Society / Administrative Archives (CPS/Adm), Proceedings of General Meetings, Session 42, 10/22.4.1841. It should be noted that on the same day Mantzaros also proposed as founding member the philosopher Petros Vrailas-Armenis. Padovás received an unusually large number of negative votes; he was, however, elected.

²³ CPS/Adm, Proceedings of the Administrative Committee 1, Meeting n. 30, 3/15.6.1841 and Correspondence Book 1, n. 51, 5/17.6.1841.

²⁴ Archives of the Benaki Museum / Archives of Nikolaos Chalikiopoulos Mantzaros 505/4/3; published by Venturini Publications in 1883 (Corfu Reading Society and Music Archives of the Corfu Philharmonic Society).

²⁵ Spyridon De Viazēs, "Hellēnes Kallitechnes: Dominikos Padovanēs" [Greek artists: Domenikos Padovanēs], *Hemerologion Syllogou Kallitechnōn* II (1898), 35-38.

²⁶ CPS/Adm, Book 3, Session 168, 28.2.1843.

²⁷ *Dirce, figlia di Aristodemo*, *ibid*, [iii].

College,²⁸ at which the music-related expectations and prospects were far less ambitious than those at the Corfu Philharmonic Society: music teaching in the general education system of the Ionian Islands had a rather limited presence, as was the case at other European educational systems of this period. The main aim of music instruction in this context was to offer rudiments of music and to teach the piano or singing, in order to cultivate a sense of good taste to the students, as well as to hold events within the schools and to add one more skill to the integrated education of the Ionian youth.

The professional music teaching as well as the “production” of professional musicians was undertaken in the rest of Europe by the specialised music educational institutions –and in Corfu by the Philharmonic Society, which made its initial steps officially in 1840. In this respect, it should be mentioned that the ten-year-old Pavlos Carrer also attended the Ionian College from 1839 to 1841, but without making any reference to Padovás at the beginning of his artistic memoirs.²⁹ Padovás, however, continued his activity at the educational structures of the general education of the Ionian Islands also after the annexation to Greece in 1864: after the abolition of the Ionian College in 1865, and as of 1870, he taught music at the legendary Arsakeion School of Corfu, inaugurating the musical tradition of this educational institution.

The Corfu Philharmonic Society, however, had always been the institution that allowed Padovás to fully unfold his musical and educational abilities and at the same time the springboard for the promotion of the original music production in the Ionian Islands. It is no coincidence that Padovás dedicated his opera *Dirce* to this Society in 1857. Similarly, it is no coincidence that Padovás’ first operatic effort, the comic one-act opera *Il ciarlatano presso per principe* (Carnival 1840) is to be found at the archives of the Society. The same applies for the orchestral overture to *Dirce*. The vocal score of the opera *Dirce* also used to be part of the same archive at least until the early 1980s

Similarly, it comes as no surprise that Padovás was appointed artistic director of the Society in March 1884 succeeding his teacher, Nikolaos Mantzaros. This office had remained vacant since Mantzaros’ death in April 1872 as an homage to the Corfiot composer and teacher. The Society’s artistic leadership was undertaken by the artistic vice directors, a practice that had resulted to various dysfunctions. For this reason, Padovás’ appointment at the office of Mantzaros was considered by the Administrative Committee a decision of utmost importance.³⁰

It remains to be confirmed whether the music composition contest organised by the Corfu Philharmonic Society in 1884 and completed one year later was the result of this change in the artistic leadership. The jury of the competition, however, was composed of three students of Mantzaros: Domenikos Padovás, Spyridon Xyndas, and the nephew of Mantzaros, Stylianos Dorias Prosalendis. The aim of the contest was to promote compositions that expressed the idea of “national music”. The report

²⁸ Nikos K. Kourkoumelis, *Education in Corfu during the British Protection (1816-1864)*, Athens: Association for the Proliferation of Greek Letters, 2002.

²⁹ Georgios Leotsakos, *Pavlos Carrer: Memoirs and Works*, Athens: Benaki Museum / Ionian University Department of Music Studies, 2003, p. 85.

³⁰ CPS/Adm, Proceedings of the Administrative Committee, 14.1.1883-25.11.1892, n. 28 (23.1.1884).

of this committee is not only one of the most original and historical publications of the Society, but also a valuable source regarding the aesthetic orientations of the so-called “Ionian School of Music”.³¹ However, it is worth noting that this initiative was an important event for the promotion of the music creation in Greece and gave the possibility for the participation of both established and emerging composers of Greece. Pavlos Carrer was one of the established composers, while Dionysios Rodotheatos (1849-1892, who received the first prize) and Dionysios Lavragas (1860-1941) were two of the emerging composers that stood out.

Padovás, however, was also present at the renewal of Corfu's music creation, as it was expressed by Spyros Samaras. Echoes of the Central European innovations had also arrived in Corfu –an important fact, considering that the interest for the compositions of the “German mentality” had increased in Italy only around 1860, while Wagner was first introduced in the theatres of northern Italy in 1871.³² Indeed, Padovás’ particular mention in 1872 to the works of Beethoven in connection with the works of Mantzaros cannot remain unnoticed in this context.³³ At the end of the 19th century, any musical developments reached Corfu mainly through the “filters” of the Italian peninsula. Characteristically enough, the first French opera was staged at the San Giacomo theatre by an Italian opera troupe in the 1853-1854 season.³⁴ In addition, Dionysios Rodotheatos, a pioneer composer in the field of orchestral music (even for Italy) had permanently settled in Corfu in 1874, having composed three orchestral works (all of which had been arranged for wind band by 1881),³⁵ as well as the opera *Oitona* (1876) based on the epic poems of Ossian.³⁶

³¹ *Report of the committee of the music contest of the Corfu Philharmonic Society*, Corfu, 1885.

³² This is the performance of *Lohengrin* in Bologna, followed by *Tannhäuser* in 1872. See Alan Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera. From Verismo to Modernism, 1890-1915*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2007, p. 16-17; also the in-depth study by Claudio Santini and Lamberto Trezzini, “La questione wagneriana,” in: Lamberto Trezzini (ed.), *Due Secoli di Vita Musicale: Storia di Teatro Comunale di Bologna*, Bologna: Nuova Alfa Edental, 1987, p. 101-158.

³³ Padovan, “Poche parole [..],” *ibid*, 361, 12.4.1872, p. 3.

³⁴ These are the Italian versions of Auber's *La muta di Portici* and Meyerbeer's *Roberto il Diavolo*. They were followed, indicatevely, by Gounod's *Faust* (1872-1873 and 1875-1876) and Halévy's *La Juive* (1886-1887), while in the spring of 1900 Massenet's *Manon* was also presented. The appointment of Charles Gounod as a honorary member of the Corfu Philharmonic Society in 1874 is perhaps another aspect of this transitional period.

³⁵ See Kostas Kardamis, “Dionysios Rodotheatos and his symphonic works,” *Mousikos Hellenomnimon* 1, September-December 2008, p. 18-23, and Kostas Kardamis, “Greece and symphonism. The case of Dionysios Rodotheatos through his symphonic poem *Atalia* (for wind band), 1879, *Six Studies for the Philharmonic Society of Corfu*, Corfu: Philharmonic Society of Corfu - Publications of the Museum of Music “Nikolaos Chalikiopoulos Mantzaros,” 2010, p. 111-126.

³⁶ An initial comprehensive approach in: Kostas Kardamis, “Dionysios Rodotheatos, *Oitona* (1876): A Celtic Myth in Corfu,” in: Ioannis Fuliás-Theodoros Kitsos (eds.), *Ancient Myths in the Musical Creation* (Proceedings of the Interdepartmental Symposium, Thessaloniki, 21st & 22nd October 2012), Athens: Department of Music Studies, University of Athens, 2014, p. 83-96 (see http://musicology.mus.auth.gr/?page_id=16). It is worth mentioning that this work in its four-act version would represent Greece, along with other compositions (including works of the young student of the Athens Conservatoire, Spyros Samaras) at the Paris International

The Corfu's garrison band presented in a concert in early September 1887 the *Rapsodie* by Rodotheatos along with a selection from the opera *Flora mirabilis* by Spyros Samaras, suggesting possibly that Samaras had become part of the era's modern musical potential in Corfu, as well as an attempt to make them accessible to large audiences.³⁷ Of course, the new circumstances did not go unnoticed to those who were skeptical towards innovations, leading to discussions regarding these new ideas. Padovás, along with Rodotheatos and Dimitrios Andronis (1866-1918), participated actively in such discussions.³⁸ The special mention of Andronis in the "big, real, and indeed serious artistic movement" that was taking place in Corfu at that time may imply some change in the preferences the audience had up to that point.

Samaras' presence in Corfu in February 1889 for the Greek premiere of the opera *Flora Mirabilis* may be considered as a highlight of the issue discussed above. It is indeed very interesting that Padovás met Samaras in person, since he was among those who welcomed Samaras on the steamship that brought him from Italy on 7.2.1889. But this was not the only time the two composers met.

The premiere of *Flora Mirabilis* a few days later confirmed with its unprecedented success the appreciation and the hopes that Corfu saw in Samaras. Indeed, at the performance of 21.2.1889, after the end of the first act, Domenikos Padovás, in fulfilling the decisions of the Administrative Committee of the Corfu Philharmonic Society, offered Samaras a silver wreath.³⁹ On this occasion, Padovás addressed Samaras with the following words: "Young man, you are filled with hopes. A glorious future already shines through thee. Continue your work in order to bring glory to Greece; once more our country has brought to the world the music and the fine arts; it has illuminated the world for one more time."⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that back in 1842 Nikolaos Chalikiopoulos Mantzaros used similar words in

Exposition in 1878; See *La Grèce et l'exposition de 1878. Catalog des exposants de la Grèce*, Athènes: Imprimerie de la Philocalie, 1878 p.6-7.

³⁷ See *Ugo Foscolo* I/10, 23.8/4.9.1887, p. 80. The musical importance of *Flora Mirabilis* is further underlined by the extensive reference of the article to the parts of the opera that were performed in the concert so as to familiarise the audience to this specific work, since the premiere of the opera in Corfu (and at the same time in Greece) would take place one and a half year later. The bandmaster of the military band was Leonidas Rafaelovich (a student of the Corfu Philharmonic Society and also of Rodotheatos) and the programme of this concert was formed in a way to present the evolution of music in the Ionian Islands from the beginning to those days, presenting both the "serious" and the "light" musical genres. In addition to the aforementioned works, there was a march by Iosif Kessarar, an orchestral overture by Mantzaros, a mazurka by Eugenio Martinelli, a waltz by Rafaelovich, and a patriotic hymn by Xyndas.

³⁸ See *Ē phonē* (newspaper of Corfu) 1147, 4.6.1887, p. 3 and 1148, 11.6.1887, p. 3-4, where there was an intervention from the part of Domenikos Padovás, Dionysios Rodotheatos, and Dimitrios Andronis in the musical controversy that had come up (see also "Spianata-Spianatini-Spianatoi," *Ugo Foscolo* I/1-2, 28.6/10.7.1887, p.6).

³⁹ "Samaras and *Flora Mirabilis*," *Evdomas* 7 (18.2.1889), "Samaras in Corfu," *Ephemeris* 45 (14.2.1889), p. 3 and "The third performance of *Flora Mirabilis* in Corfu," *Akropolis* 2423 (8.2.1889), p. 2.

⁴⁰ "Samaras in Corfu," *Ephemeris* 45 (14.2.1889), p. 3.

order to emphasise the importance of the ancient Greek past in the arts.⁴¹ The connection of the Greek ancient past with Samaras' career would return several times in the 1889 Corfu, as well as in the late-19th-century Greek kingdom. However, the same connection had reoccurred in the past, this time related to the presentations of the operas composed both by Xyndas and Padovàs himself. After all, the Ionian Islands of this period could boast that they were the only part of the free Greek Kingdom that had been in a continuous and direct creative connection with the attributes of the modern European culture to the Greek ancient past. A few days later, Padovàs, as the artistic director of the Corfu Philharmonic Society, also participated at the meeting of the Administrative Committee, in which Samaras was also present. Important decisions were taken with a view to reorganising the institute's educational aims taking advantage of Samaras' important acquaintances.⁴²

An until recently unknown activity of Padovàs is linked to the music potential beyond the conventional artistic and educational area, since he was actively involved in experimental applications of music for medical purposes. Indeed, in 1841 two people of the immediate social circle of Mantzaros, i.e. Angelos Kogevinas, a doctor from Corfu, and Francesco Orioli, an Italian patriot and scholar, conducted experiments on patients applying the controversial therapeutic method of the animal magnetism or, as it is also known, mesmerism.⁴³ The outcome and their observations were soon published.⁴⁴ During these experimental therapies, music was also used, since it was a common belief among mesmerists that the art of the sounds could cause such momentum to the subconscious of the hypnotised patients that would speed up their recovery. In order to incorporate this parameter to their experiments, Kogevinas and Orioli turned to the musicians of Corfu, both professional and amateur ones (usually relatives of the patients). Thus, in April and May 1841, Nikolaos Mantzaros and his son Spyridon, as well as Domenikos Padovàs, played the piano during the above mentioned therapeutic sessions.⁴⁵ The results offer a vivid glimpse into the importance of music for the society of Corfu, as well as a broader idea on the ways that the twenty-five-years-old Domenikos Padovàs viewed music.

Following the aesthetic criteria of simplicity and purity, Padovàs left a diverse body of compositional work. He composed orchestral overtures (*sinfonie*) already since 1837, vocal music, but also a large number of sacred works (four Masses and several hymns) for the needs of the Latin church, possibly as part of his tasks as the organist.⁴⁶ With regards to the opera, he composed the music for two works: the

⁴¹ Niccolò Calichiopulo Manzano, "Necrologia Biografica," *Album Ionio* in the Annex of the issue LII (16.1.1842), p. 417-418.

⁴² The relevant archival material of the CPS/Adm offers a colourful glimpse into those plans.

⁴³ This therapeutic method was also later presented by Petros Vrailas-Armenis ["On the Animal Magnetism," *Phoenix* A'-5 (July 1853), 111-118].

⁴⁴ Angelo Cogevina, Francesco Orioli, *Fatti relativi a mesmerismo e cure mesmeriche*, Corfu: Tipografia del Governo, 1842.

⁴⁵ Cogevina, Orioli, *Fatti* [...], p. 229, 260-263, 266.

⁴⁶ Copies of these works are kept in the archives of the Corfu Reading Society. See also "Musica Sacra," *Teatri, Arti e Letteratura* 1226 (5.10.1847), 185.

three-act opera *Dirce, figlia di Aristodemo* (February 1857) and the one-act opera *Il ciarlatano presso per principe* (Carnival 1840).⁴⁷

The opera *Dirce, figlia di Aristodemo* was premiered in Corfu in February 1857. The libretto was signed by Severiano Fogacci (1803-1885),⁴⁸ a political refugee from Ancona, based on Vincenzo Monti's classical tragedy, *Aristodemo*. The opera's explicit ancient Greek references become more revealing when approached through the era's events. The "national" contextualisation of the ancient Greek references, beyond the given and explicit connotations for the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary Greece,⁴⁹ is also associated with the librettist himself. Fogacci was a scholar and a patriot, participating actively in the Italian liberal movements and hence he was self-exiled to Corfu from 1831 to 1846, where he carried on with his patriotic activity, as he did after his return to Italy in 1846. During his stay in Corfu, Fogacci had also a prolific publishing activity, which was related to music as well, while at the same time he cooperated with Mantzaros and Padovás, he was a member of the Corfu Philharmonic Society, and married an opera singer. Fogacci assumed a leading role among the Italian patriots of Corfu and became the representative of Giuseppe Mazzini in the Ionian Islands.

Dirce's libretto was written in 1835, during Fogacci's early years in Corfu.⁵⁰ The Italian patriot had never concealed his admiration to Ancient Greece and the importance he attributed to it for the modern European culture. The use of classical plots and structures in the works of Vincenzo Monti were known to Fogacci, as well as the dissemination of Monti's and Alfieri's works. Besides, Monti had been long affirmed as "the translator of the Iliad"⁵¹ to the minds of the educated residents of the Ionian Islands and Monti's tragedy *Aristodemo* had been performed in Corfu twice – in 1826 and 1827.⁵²

⁴⁷ For a list of the works, see Leotsakos, "Padovanis [...], *ibid*, 95 and Kostas Kardamis, "Padovanēs, Domenikos", in the online version of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed; 18.1.2019). In addition, Padovas had received several honorary awards (honorary member of the music society of Regio, the Cross of San Silvestro from Pope Pius IX), facts that highlight certain aspects of his personality (see. di Mento, *Nei solenni funerali del compianto Cav[allie]r Domenico Padovani [...], ibid*).

⁴⁸ Biographic info in G. Monsagrati "Fogacci Severiano," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1960-2003, vol. 48, p. 415-417. Also, Giorgos Alissandratos, "The Italian scholar Severiano Fogacci and his publications in Corfu (1831-1846)" *Italohellenica: Rivista di cultura greco-moderna*, 4 (1991-1993), p. 11-23 and Kostas Kardamis, "Un Italiano in Corcira: Severiano Fogacci's music-related activities during his exile in Corfù" (1831-1846)," available at the online edition of the journal *Mousikos Logos* (Fall 2012), date of access [8.1.2019] at <http://m-logos.gr/issues/i0000/>.

⁴⁹ Indicatively, Anna Tambaki, *Modern Greek Drama and Western influences (18th-19th cent.): A comparative approach*, Athens: Ergo, 2002, p. 109.

⁵⁰ [Severiano Fogacci], "Dirce, figlia di Aristodemo: Tragedia per musica in tre atti," *Le muse: Miscellanea di letteratura e di morale: Ricordo per l'anno 1843*, Tipografia del Governo, Corfu, 1843, p. 181-235.

⁵¹ *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 333 (3/15.5.1824), p. 4 and 569 (10/22.11.1828), p. 5.

⁵² *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 426 (13/25.2.1826), p. 1 and 514 (22.10/3.11.1827), p. 1. Alfieri's *Orestes* and *Antigone* were also staged in Corfu in Modern Greek in 1825.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that the Greek translation of Monti's *Aristodemo* had been printed in Ermoupolis in 1835, the same year that Fogacci completed his libretto. The play had been performed at Syros two years earlier⁵³ by the Greek troupe of Theodoros Alkaios, with Tilemachos Paizis, an amateur actor from Ithaca, at the leading role. Paizis had also participated in Greek-speaking theatrical plays in Corfu and later he became a radical member of the Ionian Parliament.⁵⁴ The same play would be staged again at Ermoupolis in 1839 by the troupe of Charalambos Michalopoulos from Cephalonia,⁵⁵ as well as in 1843 by Leonidas Kapellos, described as a "Greek tragedy" because of its plot.⁵⁶

In addition, Monti's *Aristodemo* was the first work to be presented in the autumn of 1840 by the Athens Philodramatic Society, which was founded by the legendary actor and political activist Konstantinos Aristias (also associated with the performances in 1825 in Corfu). Aristias' activities were considered to be "closer to the Greek spirit", as well as virile and acting as an educational countermeasure to the excessive attachment of the Athenian audience, particularly the youth, to the Italian opera.⁵⁷ Also, a performance of this particular work was held by Leonidas Kapelos in Constantinople in February 1842, in an attempt to create there a Greek theatre.⁵⁸ In

Indicatively, *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie* 411 (31.10/12.11.1825), p. 1 and 418 (19/31.12.1825), p. 1.

⁵³ *Collection of Tragedies and Comedies published by Themist. M. Eleftheriadou: Aristodemos. Tragedy of the famous Monti from the Italian*, Ermoupolis 1835. See also Dimitris Spathis, *The Enlightenment and the Modern Greek Theatre*, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1986, p. 231.

⁵⁴ Dimitris Spathis, "The Ionian contribution to the foundation of the modern Greek scene and Antonios Manousos," in the volume *The Greek Theatre from the 17th to the 20th century*, ed. Iosif Vivilakis, Athens: Department of Theatre Studies, University of Athens, Ergo Publications, 2002, p. 89-106: 92. It should be noted that Paizis participated in the performance of Metastasio's *Demofonte*, which was staged in the Modern Greek language on 29.12.1826 at the Theatre of Corfu (notification on the above in GSAC, Ionian State 18).

⁵⁵ Dimitris Spathis, "Ermoupolis, theatrical capital of the Greek state (1829-1839)," *For Marika Kotopouli and the theatre in Ermoupolis. Proceedings of Symposium, Ermoupolis, Syros, August 1994*, Athens: Neohellenic Research Center of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1996, p. 187-201: 195. The publication by Fogacci in 1841 ["Visita di Alessandro Suzzo al Professore Teofilo Kairi in Sira", *Album Jonio*, I/XIV (14.4.1841), pp. 110-112] of extracts translated into Italian from Evanthia Kairis' tragedy *Nikaratos* (1826), which related to the fall of Messolonghi and was presented in Syros in January 1838 (Spathis, "Ermoupolis", *ibid*, p. 195) may imply an indirect relationship of the Italian patriot with the theatrical events of Ermoupolis. Fogacci is based on an extract from Kairis' work, translated in French by Alexander Soutsos (*Histoire de la Révolution Grecque*, Paris: F. Didot, 1829, p. 407-409). The lyrical structure of the Italian translation is closely related to that of an opera. Broader presentation of this specific work of Maria Kairi in Maria Perlorentzou, "The drama *Nikeratus* and its Italian echoes," *Andriaka Chronika*, 31 (2000), "Evanthia Kairi: Symposium Proceedings, Andros, 4th September 1999," p. 63-85.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 199, and especially a reference by Ioanna Papageorgiou, in "Leonidas Kapelos: His Contribution to the Theatre of Syros and the Formation of the Modern Greek Scene," *For Marika Kotopouli*, *ibid*, p. 203-215: 206

⁵⁷ Konstantinos G. Sabanis, *The opera in Athens during the Ottoman period (1833-1862) through the press and the travelers of the time*, Ph.D., Corfu: Ionian University Department of Music, 2011, p. 192-196. See also Tabaki, *ibid*, p. 113-114.

⁵⁸ Papageorgiou, "Leonidas Kapelos [...]", *ibid*, p. 209.

1859 this same actor would present *Aristodemo* in Zakynthos with significant cuts due to British censorship.

It is clear, therefore, that the choice of this subject by Fogacci seems to be in parallel with the choices of the Greeks, who sought to connect with the ancient Greek glory in an attempt to find a common ground. Monti's *Aristodemo* was staged in Corfu, Ermoupolis, Athens, and Constantinople, while the number of the known publications (in Italian or in Greek) allows us to assume that the educated part of the population had a clear view of the play. The emblematic significance of ancient Greek subjects, violent scenes, intrigue, and the anti-tyrannical character, evident to the unscrupulous anti-hero of the play, would be clear and familiar issues for the 19th-century audiences. The Italian prototype did not raise any problems, since Greece was projected as a common cultural space, while the ancient Greek plot was sufficient for a play to be considered appropriate for a Greek stage.

However, Aristodemus, as a dramatic person, had also appeared in the Italian opera stages.⁵⁹ More specifically, in 1807 Stefano Pavesi presented in Naples the opera *Aristodemo* in a libretto written by Gaetano Rossi and in 1820 the two-act opera *Aristodemo* was staged in Brescia in Vincenzo Puccita's music and Luigi Buonavoglia's libretto. Both were based on Monti's work, with the latter being closer to it. It is also worth mentioning the ballet *La morte di Dirce ossia L'incoronazione di Aristodemo*, which was first performed in 1802 in Cremona in a choreography by Domenico Grimaldi. An opera premiered after the creation of Fogacci's libretto should also be mentioned: it is Achille Peri's opera *Dirce*, based on the libretto of Pietro Martini, premiered in Lugo in September 1843.

Given his liberal spirit, Fogacci had every reason, therefore, to base his libretto on an ancient Greek subject, deriving from the work of a well-established writer, who, although from a political point of view could be characterized as inconsistent, in 1835 he appears to have expressed the momentum not only in the Ionian Islands (i.e. the end of Nugent's liberal administration and the beginning of the Douglas's traumatic one), but also in the Greek mainland (i.e. the transfer of the capital to Athens, consolidation of Otto's reign with various neoclassical symbolic approaches, confluence of admirers of the ancient Greek spirit in the Greek kingdom). In addition, Fogacci, as a patriot and a follower of Mazzini, should have seen in every attempt that strengthened the national identity of the Ionian Islands, particularly through the promotion of the Greek ancient past, the parallel indirect strengthening of the demand for the creation of an independent Italian state.⁶⁰

Despite the popularity of Monti's tragedy in Greece and its status in the Italian opera, however, Fogacci did not create a three-act opera version of Monti's five-act drama. Instead, his libretto narrates the events that preceded what appears in Monti's tragedy, based on Pausanias' writings. Fogacci creates detailed accounts of the psychology of his heroes and heroines, with particular emphasis on the tragic Dirce and the ruthless and ambitious Aristodemo, who does not hesitate to murder his daughter in order to obtain power in Messinia.

⁵⁹ According to the libretti to be found in Italian libraries, mainly at the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (Milan) and at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venice).

⁶⁰ For insightful remarks on the subject, see Perlorentzou, "The drama *Nikeratus* [...]", *ibid*, p. 74-78.

In light of all the above, the introductory text of the libretto, as it was published in 1843, is of particular importance.⁶¹ Fogacci presents there a brief manifesto of his views on the operatic performance of a work such as *Dirce*, criticizing the famous librettist Felice Romani and his collaboration with Bellini in the opera *Norma* (which actually was first staged in Corfu during the theatrical period 1834-35). In this way, Fogacci offers yet another essay on the aesthetics of music written in the Ionian Islands during the 19th century; he is also indirectly involved in the discussion on the place of opera, as expressed in Athens during the early years of the Ottonian period.

Despite the cultural importance of ancient Greece and his admiration for the ancient Greek theatre, Fogacci makes it clear from the beginning that the connection of his libretto with the classicist ideals surpasses any symbolic connotations and stresses that by writing *Dirce* he did not want to imitate or gain glory through them. On the contrary, he wanted to approach the way of thinking of the ancient Greeks and in particular to create realistic characters through the dramatic situations presented. Fogacci then focuses on the opera, criticising its current conventions, which in his opinion destroyed the structure and the coherence of an operatic work for the sake of creating ephemeral impressions. Fogacci claims that his intention with *Dirce* is to stop these detrimental practices.⁶² In the realm of tragic poetry he admits the superiority of Metastasio, but on the other hand he believes that Metastasio's music dramatic system no longer serves the needs of the 19th century. Indeed, he refers to very specific issues of musical structure, pointing out 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 rondós, one is able to create real tragedies, arising from recitatives interrupted occasionally by an arietta or a cavatina."⁶³

Fogacci, expressing in part Mazzini's concerns about the opera,⁶⁴ appears here to be directed to the principles that created the opera in Renaissance Italy, which tried, in a spirit of simplicity and clarity, to revive the way the ancient tragedy was supposed to be performed. Indirectly, however, it is a foreshadow to certain elements that, to some extent, would later define the Wagnerian music drama.

Domenikos Padovás seems to have respected Fogacci's suggestions and attempted to apply them to *Dirce*, creating an unconventional –and therefore not easily accessible– opera. The exact period in which Padovás composed the music of the opera is not entirely clear. Fogacci, however, seems to have been a person of the immediate family and social circle of Padovás, which means that some of the views of the Anconetan scholar must have been known to the composer from an early point. Probably, Padovás must have composed the opera after 1843, when the libretto and the above-mentioned manifesto were published. At that time, he had already

⁶¹ [Fogacci], "Dirce", *ibid.*

⁶² [Fogacci], "Dirce", *ibid.*, p. 183-184.

⁶³ "[...]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 [...]" *ibid.*, 185.

⁶⁴ Mazzini's famous *Filosofia della Musica* was printed in 1836.

presented to Corfu at least two compositions based on Fogacci's libretto, i.e. the "scena melodramatica" *La delevitta* (1838) and the one-act comic opera *Il ciarlatano preso per principe* (Carnival 1840), in which he clearly followed the aforementioned musical principles of the Italian patriot.⁶⁵

The presentation of *Dirce* in Corfu in February 1857, more than ten years after Fogacci's return to his homeland, seems to be the maturity's outcome of both the composer and the librettist. Fogacci was informed about the presentation of the opera and wrote a sonnet for its "primadonna".⁶⁶ At the same time, we should not fail to mention the context in which the opera was staged, i.e. in the aftermath of the Crimean War and in the turmoil caused by Britain's proposal for the colonisation of Corfu. As the memories of the revolution in 1848 were still fresh in the Ionian Islands and in Italy, and the two expressions of the Ionian liberalism (Reformers, Radicals) were active, the presentation of *Dirce*, an opera with an ancient Greek subject and an antityrannical character might have aspired to implicitly express these circumstances.

Besides, the opera of Padovás/Fogacci was regarded as national despite its Italian libretto. Padovás himself characterises it as such,⁶⁷ and the Corfu Philharmonic Society, accepting his dedication, emphasised that the opera demonstrated Padovás' activity "in the promotion of the national elements, glorifying the return of the light on the Greek land" and that "this proof is a precursor of [his] progress in the delightful science of music," not failing to make a special reference to Mantzaros' involvement.⁶⁸ The characterisation of *Dirce* as a Greek opera would have made a visible impact at least as late as 1876, on the occasion of another opera's presentation, that of *Oitona* by Dionysios Rodotheatos.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ di Mento, *Nei solenni funerali del compianto Cav[allie]r Domenico Padovani [...]*, p. 5. Compare also "Teatri," *Teatri, Arti e Lettertura*, 784, Supplimento (7.2.1839), p. 15.

⁶⁶ Historical Archives of the Benaki Museum, Mantzaros' Archives, 505, folder 10, n. 66.

⁶⁷ Letter of acceptance of the opera's dedication to the Philharmonic Society of Corfu, published in the libretto of the opera (Libretti Collection of the Reading Society of Corfu and Corfu Philharmonic Society).

⁶⁸ CPS/Adm, Correspondence 3 (1848-1858), n. 1329, 4.2.1857, and Proceedings 6 (1855-1858), Session 123, 1.2.1857.

⁶⁹ "Mousikon Deltion: *Oitona*, opera of D. Rodotheatou", *Ephemeris* III-24 (24.1.1876), p. 3.

DIRCE
FIGLIA DI ARISTODEMO
TRAGEDIA LIRICA
IN TRE ATTI
DEDICATA ALLA NOBILE
SOCIETA' FILARMONICA
DA RAPPRESENTARSI
NEL TEATRO COMUNALE
DI CORFU'
NEL CARNOVALE DEL 1857.



CORFU',
NELLA TIPOGRAFIA DEL GOVERNO.
1857.

The cover page of *Dirce's* libretto (Corfu Philharmonic Society)

Spiro Samaras' career on the stages of Europe as a learning scenario incorporating sociopolitical, historical and cultural events

Eleni M. Kokkinomilioti

Introduction

This chapter concerns a selection of events regarding the life and work of a Heptanesian composer, Spiro Samaras, to be used as a learning scenario narrating sociopolitical, historical and cultural events. An attempt is made to link the subject areas of History and Modern Greek Literature with the teaching of Music through the actual practice of the latter. In the present proposition, we approach analytically the educational process from the aspect of the Music class. During the school year, the students are prompted to look for resources, listen to melodies, lend an attentive ear to sociopolitical narratives as well as synthesize attitudes, ideologies and trends of the late 19th century era.

Music in Greece during late 19th Century

To begin with, what was the social and cultural context of this period? By 1890, one could find some well trained Italian, Bavarian, British and Greek musicians in the Heptanese.¹ Troupes and orchestras had been established and they contributed to the creation of a lively and remarkable musical environment. It is thanks to the Heptanesian musicians that these groups were constituted, as they played a crucial role in their formation. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, these ensembles had assimilated, apart from the obvious Ionian influences, the opera arias as well as the *bel canto*. These influences had reached all social stratas together with the literary movement of Romanticism – which was prevalent everywhere in Europe – and the rest of the existing intellectual trends. The foreign opera troupes and the military brass bands were the first music groups whose music reached the local population. This population, i.e. the audience, was not in a position to make choices, as the options were very limited: Greek troupes didn't exist at all, most of the performers were novices, and the works produced by Greek composers were scant. The halls that hosted such events could in no way be compared to their larger European counterparts of the same period in Paris, London, Vienna, Milan, or elsewhere.

Nevertheless, and though there was lack of experience and the number of composers and performers was not sufficient, the progress was rapid. Sometimes, there occurred coordinated efforts which temporarily brought about a sense of vigour and activity, but there were no long term results because these efforts were soon discontinued due to economic, political or strictly egoistic reasons. Composers of international status and remarkable studies chose – as it also happens today – to live in two or sometimes three different places, because thus they were able to maintain themselves, be promoted, update their knowledge of new trends, become equal members of artistic circles, and work for large foreign publishers instead of having to depend on poor local impresarios. The state, in terms of financial support, was deliberately absent, apart from a few exceptions which had only some slightly positive effects on the musical culture and education. The divergences

¹ Motsenigos G. S., *Neoelliniki Mousiki* [Modern Greek Music], Athens (n.p.), 1958, p. 368.

between European countries on this issue are huge and of crucial importance. State funding to music venues, theatres, academies, orchestras, as well as to the public education in general, has definitely to be reexamined. Then, as now, the artists' contributions to the art they were committed to were inversely proportional to the state support, and the same stands with regard to their desire for artistic development. It is a happy coincidence that the lack of material wealth does not rule out the presence of mental strength, which fosters emotional self-sufficiency and intellectual health and functions as a great source of power for the ones willing to take the challenge.²

The need to bridge the gap between historical resources and the educational process

Historical resources are considered to be an inextricable element of learning as well as a necessary documentation tool. Carr, in his book *What Is History*, says that “when we attempt to answer the question 'What is History?' our answer, consciously or unconsciously, reflects our position in time and forms part of our answer to the broader question what view we take of the society in which we live.”³

In an age overwhelmed by multisensory tools, rapidly advancing technology and augmented reality applications which can breathe new life into dinosaurs, monuments or historical personalities, the question emerges as to whether young people find any interest in spending their time being taught about the past. Actually, in many instances, the students experience the past as something vaguely remote, located in an indeterminate time. They get time periods, persons, places, and events chaotically mixed up. All too often, the students become indifferent or consider the study of history a tricky task, while they doubt its necessity.

The historical resources are, in some students' opinion, “unneeded texts, which tire you out”, “put you into trouble” or “do not let you sleep.” During adolescence, the conscious study of History is based on the need for a good overall grade at the end of each term, but a genuine love of history and an inner need to learn about the roots of the past are extremely rare. As Efi Avdela explains, the links between the past and the present help people understand the changes that occur in the course of time and foster tolerance towards what is different.⁴ Thus, there emerges a need for historical empathy. According to Dennis Shemilt, historical empathy skills are developed in five consecutive stages. In the first stage, the students do not seek to understand the reasons or the motives behind the events and people of the past, while they consider these people as intellectually and morally inferior.⁵

² Kokkinomilioti E., “The European influences of Romanticism on the Greek music and literature at the second half of the 19th century. Identifying the influences and utilizing them in the teaching act.”, Postgraduate Thesis, History Department of the Ionian University, 2014, p. 66.

³ Carr E., *What Is History?* (2nd ed.), London: Penguin Books, 1987, p. 8.

⁴ Avdela E., *Istoria kai Scholeio* [History & School], Athens: Nisos, 1998, p. 112.

⁵ Kokkinos G., Vouri S., Gatsotis P., Trantas P., Stefos E., *Istoriki Koultoura kai Sineidisi* [Historical Culture and Consciousness], Athens: Noogramma, 2005. Regarding Dennis Shemilt's model of progression in historical understanding, see: Shemilt D., “Beauty and the Philosopher: Empathy in History and Classroom”, in *Learning History*, Dickinson A., Lee P., Rogers P. (eds.), London: Heinemann, 1984, pp. 39-84. Kaimara et al., “Developing an interactive multisensory augmented reality system and a gaming scenario for the presentation of historical content to kids with special learning needs.” Publication in the proceedings of the interdisciplinary conference “Infokid - Kids and Information: Quests and Approaches of History, Law and Ethics, and Culture.” Corfu: 28-29 April 2017.

The many years of infertile rote learning remain an ever-present peril, swinging, as if a Damoclean sword, over the students' heads and often driving them to frustration, despite the fact that during recent years this tactic has given way to texts of a more critical character, which include sources, maps, new technologies and other modern methods, undoubtedly more favoured by the students. Archives, inscriptions, carvings, manuscripts, newspaper clippings, historical texts, posters, notarial acts, old books, photographs, coins as well as a host of other objects are not but mere tools, which initially provoke no emotional or other kind of identification that might be able to result in historical empathy.

Emotional engagement of the group members as contribution to learning

In contrast to the above, when there is no emotional or other kind of identification with the roots of the past, factors that bring the group together and create cohesive bonds are, according to Freud, intense feelings and emotions.⁶ The emotional experience constitutes the foundation of group bonding because this kind of experience does not establish an exclusive connection between separate members but it connects each specific person with the group as a totality of members.⁷ Human communication is, by its nature, multimodal and metaphorical, using metaphorical representations⁸ and non-verbal ways of communication. In this way, a community code is established, a component whose boundaries change constantly after the initial moment of the group's existence. This change leads to a distinct, personalized type of communication and exchange. Besides, communication with other people is the base that fundamentally influences all the complex activities, cognitive as well as performative, which occur in the course of life. This is owing to the fact that learning entails some change in the relationship between human beings and their environment – this change being directly dependent on the potentialities available in this environment – while at the same time learning is instigated by the development of a person's perceptual and action systems.⁹ Through the process of their involvement in groups, students benefit in multiple ways; nevertheless, in this project we focused on the benefits related to the student's emotional engagement and the forging of bonds in the attempt to improve group coordination.

Discussing Dewey's description of social human beings that have not yet developed their social awareness, Jean Houssaye explains that education is a social necessity and for this reason the educator has to understand very well the students' psychological structure and their activities, which should not be considered as remote to the experience; by doing so, the educator ensures a proper connection between the social and psychological development of the students.¹⁰ Young adulthood is defined as a period of agitation and tension as the young persons experience developmental changes concerning their emotions

⁶ Freud S., *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, London: The Hogarth Press, 1949.

⁷ Blanchet A., Trognon A., *Psychologia ton Omadon* [The Psychology of Groups - original title (in French): *La psychologie des groupes*] (2nd ed.), Athens: Savalas, 2002, p. 48.

⁸ Pourkos M., *Vioma, Metafora kai Polytropikotita* [Lived Experience, Metaphor and Multimodality], Katsarou E. (ed.), Thessaloniki: Nisides, 2001, p. 64.

⁹ Gibson E., Pick A., *Mia Oikologiki Proseggisi stin Antiliptiki Mathisi kai Anaptixi* [An Ecological Approach to Perceptual Learning and Development], Pourkos M. (ed.), Vakaki A. (trans.), Athens: Gutenberg, 2005, pp. 95-96.

¹⁰ Bertrand Y., Valois P., *John Dewey*, Houssaye J. (ed.), Athens: Metaihmio, 2000, p. 157-170.

and instincts, including their emotions for themselves as well as their environment, the sciences, their beliefs, the institutions and the educational system.¹¹

Group communication

The study of groups has an undeniably crucial importance in synthesizing knowledge, psychological as well as social, about attitudes and ways of reacting in various levels. However, in the school setting, this study plays an even more important role. According to Blanchet and Trognon's theory of group psychology,¹² understanding the way groups are created, the way they operate and the use of manipulation inside them – as well as the role of guidance, differentiation, similarity – are only some of the aspects that should be taken into account and be examined whenever they occur. A characteristic example of mitigation of rivalry between students is offered by Sheriff and Sheriff's experiment (1979).¹³ The relationships between teenagers, when infused with positive emotions, function as a powerful centripetal force and can build cohesion with regard to the whole group or certain parts of it. Interpersonal relationships formed in the school class during the realization of a learning scenario, as well as various interactions between the students, constitute an either functional or non-functional factor of learning, group coordination and personal development.

The educational process of the learning scenario entitled “Spiro Samaras: A Corfiot composer's career in opera”

The full title of the scenario was: “Samaras' career on the stages of Europe. A Corfiot composer travels around and outside Europe presenting his operas!”

In this approach, music and literature play a central role and the historical and political events provide the background to the composer's career. The composer, Spiro Samaras, was selected due to his being one of the most important Greek composers of the late 19th and the early 20th century. This choice of topic was not based on the procedure and the steps suggested by the standard project method and was not a part of a school curriculum. The project does not include any specific teaching approaches or methodologies, or particular aims concerning each school subject, or the arrangement of the class, or other instructions of that kind. The presentation comes with a table listing the proposed audio material together with additional information about the composer's works. Listening constitutes an integral part of the educational process. The project was realized in the context of the Music class, during the whole school year, while at the same time the mandatory syllabus included in the corresponding coursebooks was also covered. The learning scenario was a proposition put forward by the teacher; this proposition was included in her thesis of the Postgraduate Studies Program in Historical Research, Teaching and New Technologies of the History Department of the Ionian University, as a realization of a learning scenario for the ninth grade (in Greece, this is the third – and last – year of the lower high school). The title of the

¹¹ Kougioumtzakis J. (ed.), *Anaptixiaki Psychologia: Parelthon, Paron, kai Mellon* [Developmental Psychology: Past, Present, and Future], Solman M. (trans.), Heraklion: Crete University Press, 1995, pp. 77-78.

¹² Blanchet & Trognon, op. cit.

¹³ In this experiment, the researchers created two rival teams, taking care to separate some very good friends. Through the development of new relationships, the antagonistic behaviour was eliminated and group cooperation was enhanced: see Blanchet & Trognon, *ibid.*, pp. 44, 46.

postgraduate thesis was: “The European influences of Romanticism on the Greek music and literature at the second half of the 19th century. Identifying the influences and utilizing them in the teaching act.”

The participants were 20 persons, all students of the ninth grade of the lower high school of Kassiopi, Corfu, during the 2013-2014 school year. The equipment used comprised the teacher's personal laptop, a video projector and an audio system. The software used for the presentation was *Microsoft Office PowerPoint 2010*. The basic material, given to the students piecemeal during the course of the year, consisted of: three issues of the magazine *Mousikos Ellinomnimon* (which approximately translates to “Greek Musical Memory”) with reading selections,¹⁴ a book about the composer titled *Spiridon Filiskos Samaras*,¹⁵ as well as the 12-cd-collection “*Antis gia Oneiro*” (which translates to “Instead of a Dream”).¹⁶ In the appendix, you will find the whole discography offered to the students to choose from.

Our proposition does not aim to look at all the important facts of the 19th century, promoting thus sterile memorization; it seeks to capture some moments and use them properly to connect history and art so as to describe essential characteristics of this time period.

The project we presented in class mainly included events of Spiro Samaras’ life and work. But there are also other events which can be either included or ignored, depending on the time available and the direction planned by the teacher. More specifically, a presentation of the most important historical events, in the form of a timeline table, can be introduced. In every lesson, teachers and students can use this table as a point of reference, helping them present the topic at hand or even facilitating the combination of multiple topics, should they wish to do so. An additional fact is that the composer lived abroad during a period of different historical, sociopolitical and cultural events, which are considered worth mentioning or describing, each time the opportunity arises. In this paper, we did not refer to all these events. Nevertheless, for example, if the presentation was to be introduced in a six-month educational project, then it would be possible to include not only information related to music and literature but also other important historical facts related to movements, other composers, writers, painters, politicians etc. Let's give an example: The establishment of the Philharmonic Society of Corfu (also known as the “Old Philharmonic”), in 1840,¹⁷ is a topic which can include information about the British rule in the Ionian islands (1815-1864), such as Queen Victoria's decision, in 1837, to ban the participation of British military bands or musicians in religious parades of other faiths. This decision was the triggering event that led to the establishment of philharmonic societies in the Ionian islands. Plenty of references of this kind can be found and the educator has to seize the opportunities to combine events so

¹⁴ More specifically, Stella Kourbana's articles in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th issues.

¹⁵ Kardamis K. (ed.), *Spiridon Filiskos Samaras Anniversary Volume: In Honour of the 150th anniversary of his birth*, Corfu: Philharmonic Society of Corfu, 2011.

¹⁶ Greek Composers' Works (19th-20th cent.), *Antis gia Oneiro* [Instead of a Dream], Xanthoudakis H. (ed.), Athens: Universal, 2004.

¹⁷ The students, in working groups, might be assigned the task to find more events of the same decade in order to combine different pieces of information about the same period. For example, in the 1840's, the first photo of the Moon was taken, the bandoneon was developed, the Greek Constitutional Revolution took place, Pyotr Illits Tchaikovsky was born, the historic *Convention for the Pacification of the Levant* (Convention of London) was signed, significant telegraph systems were developed, etc.

as to stimulate the students' minds with a more comprehensive picture of each period's settings and atmosphere.¹⁸

Music as a key component in bridging the gap between art and history

Taking advantage of the amazing timeline created by researchers Kourbanas and Kardamis, our presentation started with the birth of Spiro Samaras in Corfu.¹⁹ Subsequently, the students had to choose the events they considered most important. You can see some of their choices which resulted in the following timeline. The cartoon symbol indicates that the students chose to listen to a particular piece of music.

Year	Events	
1861	Corfu: Birth of the composer Music lessons with Spyridon Xyndas	
1874	Athens: Violin & composition studies with Enrico Stancampiano	
1877	His adaptation of Errico Petrella's opera <i>La Contessa d'Amalfi</i> (1864) is published in Italy	
	Bologna: Publication of his works <i>Serenade</i> , dedicated to Queen Olga, and <i>Pensée</i> <i>mélancolique sur la mort de Dem. Bourbaki</i> .	
1879	<i>Sinfonia & Torpillae</i> (text and lyrics by V. Gavrilidis) in Athens . Sonata for violin & piano / <i>Ave Maria</i> , for tenor & piano / [Olao] [Olas] with Stancampiano and libretto by Fravassili	
1881	Paris: Composition studies with Dubois & Delibes / <i>Scènes Orientales</i> , for piano – four hands	
1884	Italy: Contract with the leading publisher Ricordi / <i>Medgé</i> , opera in 4 Acts	
1885	Paris: Première of <i>Chitarrata</i>	
1886	Milan: <i>Flora Mirabilis</i> , opera in three acts, libretto by Ferdinando Fontana - staged at the Carcano Theatre	
1887	<i>Lionella</i> , opera in 3 Acts, staged at La Scala, Milan, in 1891	
Year	Events	
1888	<i>O Psaltis tou Palermo</i> [The Chanter of Palermo] / Première of <i>Medgé</i> in Rome	
	Corfu: <i>Flora Mirabilis</i> is staged at San Giacomo /	
1889	Athens: <i>Flora Mirabilis</i> at the marriage of Konstantinos, heir to the Greek throne.	
1890	Composes the opera <i>Messidor</i> , based on <i>Le Chevalier de Maison Rouge</i> by Al. Dumas.	
1892	Paris: <i>Ioanna</i> , opéra comique, libretto by P. Milliet.	
1894	Naples: Première of <i>La Martire</i>	
1896	Athens: 1896 Olympic Games, Olympic Hymn (officially established in 1958), lyrics by K. Palamas	
1903	Milan: Première of the <i>Storia d'Amore</i>	
1905	Genoa: Première of <i>Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle</i> , opera in 4 Acts, libretto by P. Milliet	
1907	Athens: <i>Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle</i>	
1908	Florence: Première of <i>Rhea</i> , at Verdi Theatre.	
1911	Composes <i>Tigra</i> , opera in 3 Acts, unfinished (only Act 1 exists)	

Regarding Samaras' youth, we highlighted the fact that he was a student of the – also remarkable – composer Spyridon Xyndas and, apart from the additional timeline facts, no specific emphasis was given to other details. Subsequently, as mentioned above, the students had to choose the moments of Samara's career they considered most important, a process which could spark the students' interest to further research and listen to music as well as connect the already given information with the historical, political and cultural events of the time. As an example, we can refer to the momentous event of the performance of Spiridon Samaras' opera *Flora Mirabilis* in Corfu, which was combined with the rapturous reception the composer enjoyed at the port by Mayor Michael Theotokis. Information about the performance was given by the newspapers of the period, while the photos complemented the description of the festive atmosphere. It can be said that a bit more emphasis was given to facts related to the performance, such as the tailoring of the costumes, which were patterned after Swedish copperplate etchings of the 15th century, the scenery and the stage equipment, the slogans written on long ribbons which decorated the theatre boxes together with flower vases, the welcoming posters and the torn-up paper thrown in the air by the audience to celebrate the premiere. The conductor was the composer himself. The maestro's baton is kept at the "Nikolaos Chalikiopoulos Mantzaros"

¹⁸ Kokkinomilioti E., op. cit., p. 74.

¹⁹ Kardamis K., op. cit., pp. 11-14.

Museum of Music of the Philharmonic Society of Corfu.²⁰ Together with the students, we visited the museum and the students asked permission to take photos, which they incorporated into their works. We continued with the reception that Samaras received, after the performance, at the premises of the Philharmonic Society, the dinner held in his honour and the gifts he was given, including a silver wreath specially ordered from Trieste, 5,000 drachmas collected through fundraising, etc. We also discussed with the students the issue of the musicians' "rewards" in different time periods, and in our days as well, in its economic, moral and artistic aspects.

The composer's life path, first from Corfu to Athens and then travelling abroad (Italy, Germany, France, USA, Egypt), can facilitate greatly the creation of connections between events of the era through art. In Paris, Samaras took lessons with Leo Delibes, the famous opera and ballet composer.²¹ It is the Paris of the great sculptor Auguste Rodin and his *Thinker* (Le Penseur - 1902),²² the Paris of Victor Hugo, of Henri Matisse. It is Europe after the mid-19th century, where the pluralism of musical styles abounds: the national character in Verdi's operas and in the works of composers from other national schools, the national symphonic music of Saint-Saëns, Wagner's music drama, Gounod's lyrical drama, the realism in the works of Mussorgsky, Bizet και Janáček, Debussy's impressionism, the naturalism of Charpentier, Bruneau και Schreker, the modernism of Mahler's and Strauss's works after the end of the 1880's. All the above-mentioned composers' work does not lead us in establishing fixed boundaries between movements and currents, but it creates impressions in the same way that impressionism does; impressions imbued with the tone colours and the new chords from eastern and other civilizations, with the mood created in a moment where the past is reflected like a fleeting memory into the future, with the introduction of new instruments into the orchestras, with the existence of older elements which bear the stamp of the classical into the modern styles, with new forms of expression decidedly rooted in the traditional ones.

Next, we return to Spiro Samaras who seven years later – as the year around which all the aforementioned revolve was 1889 – was offered the chance to write the music of the Olympic Games' anthem. This is when he composed the "Olympic Hymn" that we still hear at the Olympic Games nowadays. After that, we headed towards Egypt, where we found our composer promoting his work in the thriving Greek community.²³ We even discovered Samaras' works on the website of the University of Adelaide, in Australia!

The movements of the era can become the main theoretical axes with which the composer's course, in the Europe of the late 19th century, can be connected. In this presentation, we chose to discuss the Italian movement of *Verismo* in Italy around 1877,²⁴ the

²⁰ In the Museum, the students will have the chance to see scores, paintings, musical instruments from Nikolaos Chalikiopoulos Mantzaros' era, etc.

George Dalkos claims that the approach of the past through museums' collections is significantly different from the academic approach attempted at schools, which describes things or historical events through the use of language. We totally agree with this view. See Dalkos G., *Scholeio & Mouseio* [School & Museum], Athens: Kastaniotis, 2000, p. 39.

²¹ To get an idea of the musical atmosphere, we listened to a fragment from "The Flower Duet" (*Sous le dôme épais*) from Léo Delibes' opera *Lakmé*.

²² We refer to August Rodin's famous sculpture.

²³ Kardamis K., *op.cit.*, p. 107.

²⁴ See Fistouris D., "Spiro Samaras contribution to the naturalistic-veristic movement of Italian and French opera", publication in the proceedings of the conference "Ionian Opera and Musical Theatre

Italian novels of morals-and-manners,²⁵ and realism through the writings of Honoré de Balzac and Gustav Flaubert. We explored Samara's contribution to the Italian verismo movement and the mix of historical events and figures in the operas *Storia d'Amore* and *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle*.²⁶ As regards realism, we took into account the fact that it is articulated through the work of several bright authors, one of the most eminent among them being Émile Zola. In addition, we referred to the influence that had on Zola the book of Claude Bernard *Introduction à la médecine expérimentale* ("An Introduction to Experimental Medicine"), which puts forward the importance of control through observation.²⁷ Some of the most important events of the 1850-1900 period were presented on a timeline produced by the students. To give some examples, there were references to various topics such as the Greek borders after the establishment of the modern Greek kingdom, the Greek revolution of September 3rd and the Constitution of 1844, the fall of the Bavarian dynasty and the accession of Prince George of Denmark to the Greek throne, the government of Trikoupis, the Cretan Revolt, the American Civil War, the political upheaval in the Balkans as well as many of the important discoveries and inventions of the time. This is an example of how one can successfully enhance their students' historical and critical perception.

Music listening as a means of creating connections with the past

To create a vivid image of the past, one should not only use historical timelines, battle facts, or paintings. We can easily "taste the atmosphere" of a distant era by listening to its music. At the press of a button, or by typing the address of an Internet site, we can listen to religious or secular music of other times and countries: we can come in contact with new soundscapes, different from the ones we experience in our modern schools. For example, by looking at a painting from the period we study, we travel into this time period and its scenery through the clothing, the colours, the artist's perspective, the facial expressions. By listening to musical compositions of a different era, the students can also understand the social dimension of music, its usage and the role it played through the centuries. In school, the listening procedure should be approached very meticulously. It includes many stages and involves many risks, an issue on which we considered it appropriate not to expand in the present paper. According to Benjamin Curtis, "the idea that Music is a 'universal language' means that it can communicate to everyone."²⁸ As a result, it can be understood by everyone, but each time through one's own apperceptions. Students who had this

until 1953", Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Department of Theatre Studies, 2010, p. 221-233.

²⁵ See Politou Marmarinou Eleni, "Ethography", at:

http://www.komvos.edu.gr/diaglossiki/pezography/Pirantello/Pirandello_6.htm [22.1.14]

²⁶ The *Storia d'Amore* (1903) is a work of historical naturalism, referring to the bloody battle known as the *Pasque Veronesi* or *Veronese Easter* (1797). The *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle* (1905), based on the novel of the same title by Alexandre Dumas, père (1726), falls into Samaras' third period of composition. It can be presented as a lyrical drama or comedy (*opéra comique*), depending on the finale. The main character is the duc de Richelieu, widely known as Cardinal Richelieu (1696-1788), who gets into a confrontation with young Lieutenant Sevrin due to a love affair and reasons of honour.

²⁷ This reference also gave us a chance to talk about the science of Psychology and its autonomy as a discipline, given that, in previous times, it was considered to be part of Philosophy. See Hayes N., *Eisagogi stin Psychologia* [Introduction to Psychology], Vol. 1, Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1998.

²⁸ Curtis B., *Music Makes the Nation: Nationalist Composers and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, New York: Cambria Press, 2008, p. 209.

experience from an early age – with different music pieces each time, from multiple genres and eras – enjoy the confidence of being able to relate to the past in a spontaneous manner, through the rhythm, the melody and, even more, the harmony, as well as the instruments and the different instrumentations. This could become one of the primary aims of Music Education.

Listening is, to a large degree, an experience of the senses. Csikszentmihalyi reports that we respond to these qualities of the sound that can trigger positive physiological responses, which are hardwired in our nervous system.²⁹ John Sloboda associates listening to music with memory arguing that the way one listens to music is crucially based on what one can remember from their earlier musical experiences.³⁰ It follows that creating musical experiences which will strengthen our students' memory is a matter of crucial importance and these experiences constitute a prerequisite to the students' ability to build their own musical experiences. Sometimes, the only missing ingredient is motivation. According to Susan Hallam, though there are a lot of theories on motivation and its development, nevertheless there are three basic categories on which most of them converge: a) motivation which is generated as an inner need of the individual, b) motivation that results from the influence of social environmental factors on the individual and c) motivation that results from interaction between the individuals and their environment, through the mediation of a cognitive process.³¹

Listening to a piece of music as a learning activity in class can give the students an opportunity to express what they felt, to criticize, to compare parts of different works of music, etc. At the same time, the students become familiarized with different music genres, such as the ones which existed, for example, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, while they develop their own relationship with their past and themselves. During the adolescence years, teenagers go through a phase in which they try to discover their personal identity. Sometimes, they see themselves through the eyes of their friends and on other occasions they try to distinguish their current self from what they were as kids or from their family stereotypes and influences on their character. It is essential that these concerns of young people be combined with autonomy of expression, on condition that this autonomy has been the outcome of conscientious work from an early time, so as to avoid its becoming a weapon of insult against individuals or the society as a whole.³² Personal quest is a never-ending process. Two different types of identity are described by Hogg: the social identity, which defines one's self through one's participation in various groups, and the personal identity, which defines one's self through their interpersonal relationships. Our social identities are, indeed, as many as the groups we feel we belong to, while our personal identities are as many as the relationships we are involved in and through which we have formed our distinct personality and behavior.³³ This points to a somewhat Husserlian

²⁹ Csikszentmihalyi M., *Roi: I Psychologia tis Eftihias* [Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience], Kelesidou A. (trans.), Athens: Kastaniotis, 2009, p. 154.

³⁰ Sloboda J., *The Musical Mind: The Cognitive Psychology of Music*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, pp. 174-175.

³¹ Hallam S., *Music Psychology in Education*, London: University of London (Institute of Education), 2006, p. 142.

³² Kokkinomilioti E., Professor's notes in "Educational Psychology of Music", Department of Music Studies, Ionian University, 2009.

³³ Hogg M., Vaughan G., *Koinoniki Psychologia* [Social Psychology], Alexandra Chantzi (ed.), Vasilikos E. & Arvanitis A. (trans.), Athens: Gutenberg, 2010, p. 178.

idealism, in which the main element is the experience in itself. As educators, we are interested in knowing the way the music was imprinted in the students' consciousness and its impact on them; we take great interest in the students' reports in their own words, because this is the guiding thread that will help us approach the student's inner world.³⁴ In a parallel course, we also deal with our own existential quests, our own identity, as well as the feelings of excitement and surprise we expect from music.

Afterword

In the educational process, the music educators' aim is the development of an artistic and aesthetic consciousness as well as the personal development of the student. In this paper, we present an attempt to fulfill this aim through the use of art as a necessary means of bridging the present with the past. This stands for projects related to musicology as well as subjects of different historical content or interest.

Engagement with the arts, as Keith Swanwick claims, contributes to discipline, dedication and attention to detail, imagination, inspiration and enhancement of creativity.³⁵ In addition, it fosters an environment of stability which promotes participation in the creative act, cooperation and social contribution. In this way, art becomes an organic part of everyday life, which is its genuine context. Nowadays, art has different functions and plays a different role in our lives than what it did in the past. Music was an indispensable part of every aspect of human life in many different cultures. Its presence is intertwined with human life: birth, moments of happiness, fears, struggles, death, love, amusement, prayer. The composers' needs, during the previous centuries, led them to integrate the music from the past with their own present. In other cases, there was a need to differentiate their present from the music of the past. However, in any case, music brings into our present situation, even through fragments, remnants of our older civilizations. The music we listen to is our link to the past.
















Appendix




















Musical Paths of the 19th Century













The table that follows is a summary of suggestions regarding an educational process that utilizes works of Greek composers of the 19th century. This selection was the outcome of careful study of a large part of the material available. It includes key information about each particular piece of work, its composer, style and length. The duration of each listening activity, i.e. each time the students listen to a piece of music, should be defined by the educational needs to be covered in general as well as the students, their age, and the particular educational goals. The table also includes comments pertaining to musicology and/or music education.

³⁴Freud writes in his book *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899) that the report is the guiding thread to the inner world of the person undergoing analysis. See Xiropaidis G., *Edmund Husserl & Martin Heidegger: Fundamental Concepts of Hermeneutic Phenomenology* (3rd part: Hermeneutic Phenomenology), at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DCn_Cq23W_4 [17.6.2017]

³⁵Swanwick K., *Music, Mind and Education*, New York: Routledge, 1988, p. 36.

TITLE	YEAR	COMPOSER	LYRICIST	GENRE	DURATION	ALBUM	TRACK		NOTES
Xenoula		Kamilieris, Lavrentios	Drosinis, Georgios	Song for Voice and Piano	1:36	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd12		
Deisi [Prayer]		Kamilieris, Lavrentios	Markoras, Gerasimos	Song for Voice and Piano	2:39	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd12		
Anthi tou Gremou [Flowers of the Cliff]		Kamilieris, Lavrentios	Drosinis, Georgios	Song for Voice and Piano	2:23	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd12		
Danse Orientale	<1905	Kamilieris, Lavrentios		Symphonic Music	9:07	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		
Romance	<1905	Kamilieris, Lavrentios		Piano Music	2:58	<i>Lichnos Ypo to Modion</i> [Light Under a Bushel]			E major
Horos [Dance]	<1905	Kamilieris, Lavrentios		Piano Music	2:18	<i>Lichnos Ypo to Modion</i> [Light Under a Bushel]			A major
Despo	1873-4	Carrer, Pavlos		Opera		<i>Despo</i>			The composer describes it as the 1st Greek tragic melodrama (considering Xynda's "Parliamentarian Candidate" as the 1st melodrama) [fragments]
Women's Chorus (Despo)	1873-4	Carrer, Pavlos		Opera	1:12	<i>Despo</i>	5		
O Gero-Dimos (Despo)	1859	Carrer, Pavlos	Valaoritis, Aristotelis	Opera	4:46	<i>Despo</i>	12		Form: A-B-A, voice & chorus
O Psomozitis [The Old Beggar]	1875	Carrer, Pavlos	Soutsos, Alexandros	Opera	7:48	<i>Despo</i>	13		Monody for baritone and orchestra
Din Don Polka	1885	Carrer, Pavlos		Instrumental Music	2:04	<i>Despo</i>	18		Instrumental in rondo form
Mavro Sinnefo [Black Cloud] (<i>Frossini</i> , 1st Act)		Carrer, Pavlos		Opera	2:02	<i>Frossini</i>	cd 1, 6		
Den Foveitai o Ali [Ali Is Not Afraid] (<i>Frossini</i> , 1st Act)		Carrer, Pavlos		Opera	2:09	<i>Frossini</i>	cd 1, 9		Ali's aria to Froso
Froso's Aria – Hymn to Nature (<i>Frossini</i> , 2nd Act)		Carrer, Pavlos		Opera	3:30	<i>Frossini</i>	cd 1, 15		Froso's aria
Ah, Treme, Treme [Oh, You Should Quiver in Fear] (<i>Frossini</i> , 2nd Act)		Carrer, Pavlos		Opera	0:37	<i>Frossini</i>	cd 2, 4		soprano, baritone
Thimou Ali [Remember, Ali] (<i>Frossini</i> , 3rd Act)		Carrer, Pavlos		Opera	2:22	<i>Frossini</i>	cd 2, 17		
Eis tin Gi Mavri Katara [On Earth, An Evil Curse] (<i>Frossini</i> , 3rd Act)		Carrer, Pavlos		Opera	2:45	<i>Frossini</i>	cd 2, 21		choral

Ah, Pethaino [Oh, I'm Dying] (<i>Frossini</i> , 4th Act, finale)		Carrer, Pavlos		Opera	2:09	<i>Frossini</i>	cd 2, 29		
Introduction (<i>Marathon-Salamis</i>)		Carrer, Pavlos		Symphonic Music	3:43	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		“The Dawn”
To Orfano [The Orphan]		Carrer, Pavlos		Song for Voice and Piano	4:18	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
Alexandra	1967>	Carrer, Pavlos		Chamber music	5:21	<i>Music of the Ionian School</i>			Birdwhistle, Polka brillante
La Pettegola		Carrer, Pavlos		Chamber music	2:15	<i>Music of the Ionian School</i>			Polka, Mazurka
Furia	1870-2	Carrer, Pavlos		Chamber music	2:36	<i>Music of the Ionian School</i>			Gallop brillante
Introduction (<i>Maria Antonietta</i>)	1873-4	Carrer, Pavlos		Opera	9:38	<i>Despo</i>			Incorporates a melodic part of the <i>Marseillaise</i> (1873-4) / Form: A-B-C-A coda / Realistic elements
I Skiti [The Skete; The Ascetic Settlement]		Lalas, Dimitrios		Choral Music	5:52	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 11		
I Giorti [The Feast]	1901 / 1907	Labelet, George		Symphonic Music	6:09	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		
I Anthostefanoti [Flower- Crowned Woman]		Labelet, George	Malakasis, Miltiadis	Song for Voice and Piano	2:28	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
To Oneiro [The Dream]		Labelet, George	Papantoniou, Zacharias	Song for Voice and Piano	2:28	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
Arvanitissa [Albanian Woman]		Labelet, Napoleon	Pallis, Alexandros	Song for Voice and Piano	2:27	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
O Chorismos [Separation]		Labelet Napoleon	Pallis, Alexandros	Song for Voice and Piano	2:18	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
Menuet - Gavotte	n.d.	Labelet, Napoleon		Chamber music	7:34	<i>Music of the Ionian School</i>			Graceful dances, in A- B-A form, written initially for piano - Discovered in 1981 at the Philharmonic Society of Corfu by Samoilis.
Tragoudistis [Singer]		Lavrangas, Dionysios	[Unknown]	Song for Voice and Piano	3:43	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
Sonata op. 16	1908	Levidis, Dimitrios		Piano Music	9:34	<i>Lichnos Ypo to Modion</i> [Light Under a Bushel]			
Serenade for String Orchestra		Lialios, Dimitrios		Symphonic Music	7:01	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 3		
To Ksipnima tou Klefti [The Thief Wakes Up]	1847	Liberalis or Liveralis, Iossif		Piano Music	8:45	<i>Lichnos Ypo to Modion</i> [Light Under a Bushel]			Beginnings of the modern Greek piano literature
Partimenti No 4 (Fidele Fenaroli)		Mantzaros, Halikiopoulos Nikolaos		Music for String Orchestra	1:17	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 7		
Thourios [Battle Hymn]		Mantzaros, Halikiopoulos Nikolaos	Velestinlis, Rigas	Song for Voice and Piano		<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]			there is a score / unpublished recording
I Stigmi Tora Provainei [Now The Moment Comes]		Mantzaros, Halikiopoulos Nikolaos	[Unknown]	Song for Voice and Piano	3:16	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		In the atmosphere of Romanticism

I Xanthoula [The Blondie]		Mantzaros, Halikiopoulos Nikolaos	Solomos, Dionysios	Song for Voice and Piano		<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]			there is a score but no recording
Symphony No 2		Mantzaros, Halikiopoulos Nikolaos		Chamber music	10:46	<i>Music of the Ionian School</i>			
Nani Nani [Lullaby]		Xyndas, Spyridon	Valaoritis, Aristotelis	Song for Voice and Piano	1:25	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
Athlia Psihi Kathimeni [Poor Soul Standing There]		Xyndas, Spyridon	Solomos, Dionysios	Song for Voice and Piano	5:25	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		Parallel text: paraphrase of <i>The Willow Song</i> (Shakespeare , <i>Othello</i> , Act 4, Sc. 3) Full Text: http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/view/s/plays/play_view.php?WorkID=othello&Act=&Scene=&Scope=entire&displaytype=print
To Oneiron [The Dream]		Xyndas, Spyridon	Paraschos, Achilleas	Song for Voice and Piano	2:09	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
I Avgoula [Sweet Dawn] ("The Two Brothers")		Xyndas, Spyridon	Solomos, Dionysios	Choral Music	4:05	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 11		See Politis L., <i>Dionysios Solomos: The Complete Works</i> (Vol. 1), Athens: Ikaros, 1999 / URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dd54LdMi00 [2.3.2014]
O Ipopsifios Vouleftis [The Parliamentary Candidate]		Xyndas, Spyridon		Opera	The 1st Greek opera with a libretto by Rinopoulos, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fg0kD0XLHg&list=PLCA8A78C62F56E319&index=17&ytbChannel=null [2.3.2014]				
Sinfonia a Piena Orchestra		Padovanis or Padovas, Domenicos		Symphonic Music	6:01	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		
Lo Cid, Andante		Rodotheatos, Dionysios		Symphonic Poem	4:18	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		Based on Corneille's work under the same title
Lo Cid, Moderato un poco mosso		Rodotheatos, Dionysios		Symphonic Poem		<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		
Lo Cid, Allegro mosso		Rodotheatos, Dionysios		Symphonic Poem		<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		
Lo Cid, Larghetto		Rodotheatos, Dionysios		Symphonic Poem	4:35	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		
Lo Cid, Andante un poco mosso		Rodotheatos, Dionysios		Symphonic Poem		<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		
Lo Cid, Vivace		Rodotheatos, Dionysios		Symphonic Poem		<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 1		Based on Corneille's work under the same title
Tis Kopellas to Nero [The Girl's Water]		Samaras, Spiro	Drosinis, Georgios	Song for Voice and Piano	2:00	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
Exomologisis [Confession]		Samaras, Spiro	Polemis, Ioannis	Song for Voice and Piano	2:54	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
S' Agapo [I Love You]		Samaras, Spiro	Kambouro- glou, Ioannis	Song for Voice and Piano	1:58	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
Mana kai Gios [Mother and Son]		Samaras, Spiro	Drosinis, Georgios	Song for Voice and Piano	2:27	<i>Antis gia Oneiro</i> [Instead of a Dream]	cd 12		
Serenade	1877	Samaras, Spiro		Piano Music	6:56	<i>Lichmos Ypo to Modion</i> [Light Under a Bushel]			Dedicated to Queen Olga
The Olympic Hymn		Samaras, Spiro	Palamas, Kostis	Choral Music					See: http://www.youtube.co

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Internet Discography

In order to help students have easy access to some exemplary works, we compiled the following selection from *YouTube*.

Spiro Samaras

Tigra, Sofia Symfonietta Orchestra, Byron Fidetis (cond.)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JtZ1dLFo9HU> [7.2.2014]

La Biondinetta, Symphony Orchestra and Choir of Sofia Radio, Byron Fidetis (cond.)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-0FWRqtMUM> [7.2.2014]

La Martire_atto I, The Pasardjik [Pazardzhik] Symphony Orchestra & The Municipal Choir of Corfu, Byron Fidetis (cond.)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=570MIrr28SI> [7.2.2014]

Flora Mirabilis, The Philharmonic Society of Corfu, Spyros Prosoparis (cond.)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5bP1lw4M> [7.2.2014]

Mademoiselle de Belle Isle, The Philharmonic Society of Corfu, Alkis Baltas (cond.)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vNS6MgYZ3C8> [7.2.2014]

Medgé, The Philharmonic Society of Corfu, Alkis Baltas (cond.)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIKyloOsGo> [7.2.2014]

The Olympic Hymn (lyrics by Kostis Palamas), Ekpaideftiki Tileorasi [Educational Television, at <http://www.projethomere.com>]

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r1692-i5IWQ> [2.3.2014]

Spyridon Xyndas

I Avgoula [Sweet Dawn], Hellenic Radio & Television Choir, Antonis Kontogeorgiou (cond.)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jxJhyUXW6MI> [7.2.2014]

O Ipopsifios Vouleftis [The Parliamentary Candidate], The Mantzaros Philharmonic Society, Stefanos Dolianitis (cond.)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fg0kD0XLaHg&list=PLCA8A78C62F56E319&index=17> [7.2.2014]

The opera in Smyrna in the 19th century according to the Greek- Smyrnian press

Georgia Kondyli

Since 1839, the Ottoman Empire has seen a tendency towards Westernization which, among all, has resulted in the introduction of European theater to the Ottoman court, which with the musical theater became popular types of entertainment in the 19th century, in many Ottoman cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Smyrna.

As far as Smyrna and its artistic life is concerned, it has received direct influences from Athens, Paris and Constantinople, leading to the belief that the aforementioned cities were the three cultural metropolises of Smyrna.

This research has been conducted in the Greek press that circulated in Smyrna in the 19th century and aims to present the opera performances in the city in order to broaden the appeal and the popularity of the genre to the Smyrnian public. Smyrna had a rich artistic life and according to Kalyviotis¹ the musical theater in Smyrna, the operetta and the melodrama, had a great impact on the audience. However, due to the limited time we will focus on the performances given by traveling operatic troupes (Italian, French, Greek and Armenian).

Before referring to the performances it is important to make a brief reference where the performances had been taken place. Besides the theaters² performances were given also to the cafes; for example Luke's cafe and Bella Vista or Paradise Theater³ while not missing from Smyrna and summer theaters such as Quai⁴ which later changed to a cinema,⁵ Splendid, which was demolished in 1908⁶ and the Elhambra.

Apart from the theaters of the city, however, the troupes were also performing in the theaters of suburbs, of neighborhoods or in neighboring cities such as in Burnova (theater of Havouzas)⁷ in Perea,⁸ and in Terpsithea. This is explained by the

¹ Aristomenis Kalyvioris, *Smyrna music life 1900-1900* (Σμύρνη μουσική ζωή 1900-1922), Music Corner, 2003, p.133

² The Camerata or Smyrna Theater, built in 1862 and destroyed in 1884 by a fire - Christos Solomonidis, *The theater in Smyrna 1657-1922* (Το θέατρο στη Σμύρνη 1657-1922), Athens, 1954, p. 62, 64 - the Sporting Club Theater inaugurated in October 1894 - Solomonidis, *op.cit.*, p.126 - which in 1920 was renamed the Kyveli theater, the theater Olympia, which was demolished in 1909 to create the Smyrna Theater in 1911 - *Amalthia* (Αμάλθεια) 12.3.1910, 15.04.1910 & 28.9.1910 & Solomonidis, *op.cit.*, p.203 - and Kraemer. Also see "Smyrna....before the disaster" (Η Σμύρνη....λίγο πριν την καταστροφή), <https://www.nsonline.gr/video-smyrni> (26.06.2018)

³ Solomonidis, *Ibid*, p. 172, Kalyviotis, *op. cit.*, p.27 and Chrysothemis Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou, "The theater in Smyrna" ("Το θέατρο στη Σμύρνη"), *Kathimerini-Epta Imeres* 3.5.1998, p. 23.

⁴ The *Amalthia* newspaper (29.5.1909) reports that "the Parthenon Summer Hall of the Callees was called the Waterfront Theater," but we do not know if it is the same theater.

⁵ *Amalthia*, 10.03.1910, 27.03.1910

⁶ *Amalthia*, 09.06.1908

⁷ Solomonidis, *op. cit.*, p. 139-140)

fact that sometimes the rent for the theaters of Smyrna was increased and there were many cases that due to the low attendance of the Smyrnian audience, the troupes did not cover their expenses.

According to Solomonidis, a lawyer and writer, born in Smyrna, the first public theatrical performance in Smyrna was given in 1775 by amateur actors⁹ and the first performance of Greek theater took place in 1846.¹⁰ Also Solomonidis referred that the first opera performance in Smyrna takes place in February 1842 from an Italian theater troupe called *Efterpi*.¹¹ For this performance we cannot find references to the remaining Greek Smyrnian press. The first reference to the Greek press of Smyrna for opera performances is in 1851 which, however, is not detailed but indicates the arrival from Patra of a melodrama troupe that would presented Verdi's operas.¹² Essentially from the last three decades of the century, we find to the press rich material for opera performances and for this reason we cannot have a complete view for melodrama performances before 1870.

Thus, the search starts from 1876 when the Labruna troupe visited Smyrna¹³ who, according to the Greek press, visited the city many times every year until 1896.¹⁴ The same troupe visited also other cities such as Patras, Syros, Thessaloniki and Constantinople. The troupe had a rich repertoire, with *bel canto* operas and Verdi's operas, which was enriched when in 1887 another troupe was incorporated with Labruna troupe.¹⁵ As the Smyrnian newspapers shows, Labruna troupe was popular to the Smyrnian audience.¹⁶

In 1880, Labruna, in collaboration with Castalla troupe, settled in the Elhambra Theater, from May to September, and gave mainly performances by Verdi's operas (*Rigoletto*, *Trovatore*, *Ernani*, *Traviata*, and *Simon Boccanegra*). The newspaper *Nea Smyrni* distinguished the opera *Ballo in maschera* as a great success because as it explained the audience appreciated the soloist's artistic abilities of the artists Rogina Aimò¹⁷ and De Angelis.¹⁸ Also from March to April 1884, the troupe performed Verdi's operas (*Nabucco*, *Aida*, *Il Trovatore*, *La Traviata*, *Un ballo in maschera*, *La Forza*

⁸ Whose theater had some problems: "poor scene and oil lamps that smoke" see *Amalthia* (Αμάλθεια) 05.05.1908

⁹ Solomonidis, *op. cit.*, p. 33

¹⁰ Solomonidis, *op. cit.*, p. 58

¹¹ Solominidis, *op. cit.*, p. 55

¹² *Amalthia* (Αμάλθεια) and *Smyrna* (Σμύρνη), 9.3. 1851

¹³ Labruna son, conductor, Labruna father, *maestro concertatore*, and Raphael Labruna, second tenor. See *The levant Herald* (Constantinople), 31.7.1875.

¹⁴ In 1876, 1877 and 1880 to the «Elhambra», Theater Labruna et Castalla: *Rigoletto*, *Il Trovatore*, *Ernani*, *La Traviata*, *Un ballo in maschera*, *Simon Boccanegra*. For the repertoire of Labruna troupe see G. Kondyli, "Les opéras de Verdi à Smyrne (1880-1900", proceedings *The Staging of Verdi & Wagner Operas*, Pistoia, September 2013, ed. Naomi Matsumoto, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, 2015, p.233-244

¹⁵ Solomonidis, *op. cit.*, p.120

¹⁶ In 1895 the net sum, which the theater of "Sporting Club" won thanks to the Labruna troupe, was 250 livres, an enormous amount. See *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 11.05.1895.

¹⁷ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 25.6.1880

¹⁸ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 1.7.1880 as the newspaper says, the artist had the favors of a light tenger, and for this reason he liked the audience.

del destino et Rigoletto). The newspaper, *Nea Smyrni*, focused on the opera *Aida*, which impressed the audience thanks to the costumes and the sceneries.¹⁹

Rigoletto was not only the most distinguished operatic performance in 1895 but also the most talked-about sight²⁰ in the city because the Smyrnian tenor Kokkinis, who was recognized to the Italians theaters, collaborated with Labruna troupe just for this performance. It is reported that, due to the presence of Kokkinis, the Sporting Club Theater, where the opera was performed, was full, despite the expensive ticket.²¹ The significance of the Labruna troupe can be confirmed by the receipts, as the newspapers just emphasizes, for the time being the *Sporting Club* Theater made a profit of 250 pounds, which shows not only that the Smyrnians loved the particular troupe but also the opera.²²

In 1884 the Camerano Theater was destroyed by a fire. At that time Smyrna had many places where performances were given.²³ However, two years after the fire a plan for the construction of a new theater was created, which took 4 years to be realized. So on 22 October 1894,²⁴ the new theater of the Sporting Club was inaugurated with the *opéra comique* by E. Audran, *Mascotte*. Before the inauguration, a Smyrnian composer, Jean Avolio, travelled to France to find artists to set up a suitable operatic troupe.

After the premiere of *Mascotte* and during its repetitions, a dispute broke out between the Greek and the French press published in Smyrna. The Greek press argued that the opera troupe was mediocre and the premiere was not as successful as it ought to be. The French newspaper, *Courrier de Smyrne*, in response to the Greek article, published the biographies of the artists to show that they were well known in France.²⁵ The rivalry was more benefited than hurt the troupe, since the performances continued and indeed the Smyrnian public entered with great fervor. However, it is not the first time that it is a matter of mediocrity. Lindau, a German writer, described the artistic life of Smyrna was quite modest²⁶ while he was convinced that the artists who came to Asia Minor were second-ranked. Also, he did not want to give his comments on the interpretations of the Greek artists because the

¹⁹ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 9.3.1884

²⁰ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 28.4.1896

²¹ For Ott. Turkish mescid see: Charles de, Scherzer, *Smyrna: geographical, economic and cultural perception* [Σμύρνη: γεωγραφική, οικονομική και πολιτιστική θεώρηση], Vol. A, translate into Greek Xeni Mpaloti, ed. Alekos Mamalis, Greek Historical Library, 1995, p. 196. See also the footnote 233, p.327.

²² *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 17.5.1895

²³ See Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou, *Op. cit.*, p.23.

²⁴ According to Solomonidis, *op. cit.*, p. 130, the premiere took place on November 22, 1894. However, this date does not seem correct because the Greek newspapers of Smyrna announce the first performance for October 22, 1894.

²⁵ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 16.11.1894

²⁶ Paul Lindau, "An der Westkuste Klein-Asiens: eine Sommerfahrt auf Agaischen Meere", in Enepekidis, *Trapezounta, Constantinople, Smyrne, three Hellenic centers of Minor Asia 1800-1923* (Τραπεζούντα, Κωνσταντινούπολη, Σμύρνη, τρία κέντρα του μικρασιατικού ελληνισμού 1800-1923), Athens, Okeanida, 1989, p.333.

representations, which he attended, were not, according to him, a representative example of the Greek theater.²⁷

Apart from the French and Italian troupes, Greek and Armenian troupes visited Smyrna, such as the Greek troupe,²⁸ under the direction of the baritone Rodopoulos, where, in June 1886²⁹ gave performances at the Elhambra Theater,³⁰ the melodramatic troupe of Ioannis Karagiannis in May 1889,³¹ and in July 1886 at the Elhambra Theater an Armenian.³² Among the repertoire of the Greek troupes was *Ipopsifios Vouleftis* (*the Candidate*) by the Greek composer Xyndas,³³ and among the repertoire of the Armenian troupe, the operetta, in Turkish language, *Hor hor Agha*³⁴ by the Armenian composer Tchouhadjian, and the Turkish opera *Pempe Kizi*,³⁵ by the Turkish composer Cherar Bay. It is worth mentioning that the performances of the Armenian troupe have attracted a lot of people, *Leblebidji Hor Hor Agha* sold 1650 tickets³⁶ and *Pempe Kizi* impressed with scenes from the life of gypsies and dances.³⁷

At this point we will focus on the repertoire of the troupe. As mentioned above, the Labruna troupe had a preference for the *Bel Canto* but mainly for Verdi's operas. Apart from Labruna, there were also other troupes that preferred the Italian composers and if we consider that Verdi at that time was mellowing in the opera world, the preference of the troupes in his creations it is easy explain. For example, in 1879 the French troupe mentioned above, under the direction of Avolio, performed the operas *La Forza del Destino*, *Macbeth*, *La Traviata* and *Nabucco*. In 1885, another Italian troupe of Riggi performed the operas *La Traviata*, *Ernani*, *Rigoletto*, *Il Trovatore*, *Un ballo in maschera* and *La Forza del Destino*. The articles refer that thanks to the voice and the stage presence of the soprano Calderazzi the performance have been a great success.³⁸ In 1898, 1899 and 1900, a well-known opera troupe, Gonzalez, impressed the Smyrnians performed Verdi's operas. Indeed, in 1899 *La Traviata* and *Rigoletto* was a great success thanks to the soprano Colobatti and to the baritone Scotler, who were members of the troupe. It is important to note that most Italian operatic troupes performed mainly Italian operas, while the French operatic troupes preferred French composers, although they did not even exclude the Italians creations.

²⁷ Enepekidis, *op.cit.*, p. 330.

²⁸ Ελληνικός Ωδικός Θίασος (Hellenikos Odikos Thiasos).

²⁹ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 13.06.1886.

³⁰ "In Saturday Baryton Rodopoulos with his wife and other artists will represent the Greek comic melodrama *Ipopsifios Vouleftis* (The Candidate), the dictum *Christina and her father* and a monody".

³¹ Theodoros Synadinos, "The first Greek melodramatic troupe" ("Ο πρώτος Ελληνικός μελοδραματικός θίασος") <https://www.recital.gr/2016/05/10/o-protos-ellinikos-melodramatikos-thiasos/> (20.04.2018)

³² Solomonidis, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

³³ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 10.04.1886, 13.06.1886 and 5 (17).11.1888 and Solomonidis. *Ibid.* p. 120

³⁴ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 23.07.1886.

³⁵ *Pembe kizi or the Gypsies* (3 acts), librettists Osman Nouri and Hussein Bey, compositor Cherar Bey.

³⁶ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 27.03.1886.

³⁷ *Nea Smyrni*(Νέα Σμύρνη), 11.08.1886.

³⁸ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 27.05.1885.

With regard to the works of other composers presented in Smyrna, we can say that on the Italian side Donizetti's creations were common in the repertoire of the troupes (*Maria di Rohan*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Lucia*, *La favor*, *Linda di Chamounix*, *La fille du régiment*, *Il Campanello* and *L'elisir d'amore*), while works by Bellini (*Norma*, *il puritani* and *la sonnambula*), Rossini (*Il Barbier di Seviglia* and *La generentola*), Leoncavallo, (*Pagliacci*), Mascagni, (*Cavalleria rusticana*) and Ponchielli, (*La Gioconda*), were also successfully presented. Also, at the end of the 1890s, the works of Puccini, *La Bohème*³⁹ and *Manon Lescot*⁴⁰ began to appear in Smyrna theaters.

Concerning the French creations, *Les Huguenots*, *Robert le diable* and *L'Africaine*, by Meyerbeer, although they did not have many repetitions, were part of the repertoire of some troupes, while *Carmen* by Bizet, *Faust* by Gounod, *Mignon* by Thomas, *Hérodiade* by Massenet, *Mascotte* by Audran, and *Samson and Dalila* by Camille Saint-Saëns had been also performed in Smyrna. However, *Carmen*⁴¹ and *Faust*⁴² were the two most renowned French operas.

Wagner's operas seem not to be preferred in the repertoire of the troupes, and there are few references to them. For example, in 1892, the Greek press of Smyrna refers to the presentation of *Lohengrin* in Paris⁴³ while at the same time the Lambropoulos troupe, been in Smyrna at the time, informed the public that its repertoire contained operas by Verdi and *Lohengrin* by Wagner, "an opera which had caused reactions in France".⁴⁴ Also, in 1897, the newspaper *Nea Smyrni* refers to a French troupe⁴⁵ whose repertoire included *Lohengrin*. After the performance the newspaper mentioned *Rigoletto* and the opera *Samson et Dalila* but not *Lohengrin*,⁴⁶ so we cannot be sure if it was presented or not and what were the reactions of the public.

In 1897, due to the Greek-Turkish war, the theatrical activity was interrupted for a period of time⁴⁷ to start again in the early 20th century, where there was an increase in the performances of the operetta, that appeared in the theaters of Smyrna from the last decades of the 19th century and indeed it was a spectacle favorable to the public.⁴⁸ At the same time there was a shift towards the new art of cinema; this trend was not only for the city of Smyrna but also for Europe. We, also, know that in Constantinople the operetta already thrived in 1874/5.⁴⁹

³⁹ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 04.06.1898, 12.10.1898

⁴⁰ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 16.11.1898 and 1899

⁴¹ See *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη) 24.10.1894

⁴² This opera has been represented in Smyrna since 1878, see *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 06.03.1878

⁴³ *Armonia* (Αρμονία), 12.9.1891. For more information see: <http://www.amadeusonline.net/almanacco.php?Start=50&Giorno=&Mese=&Anno=&Giornata=&Testo=Lohengrin&Parola=Stringa> p.3 (4.8.2014)

⁴⁴ *Armonia* (Αρμονία), 27.1.1892

⁴⁵ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 22.1.1897

⁴⁶ *Nea Smyrni* (Νέα Σμύρνη), 24.1.1897

⁴⁷ Solomonidis 1954, *op. cit.*, p.136 and Stamatopoulou-Vassilakou, *op. cit.*, p. 22

⁴⁸ Solomonidis 1954, *op. cit.*, p.194

⁴⁹ Adam, Mestyan, *A garden with mellow fruits of refinements, Music theaters and cultural politics in Cairo and Istanbul, 1867-1892*, Dissertation presented to the Faculties of the Central European University, Budapest, 2011, Supervisor Marsha Siefert, p. 178

In the first decade of the 20th century, there was a decrease in opera performances in Smyrna. The lack of suitable theatrical venues obviously contributes to this: in 1909 the artistic activity is characterized as incomplete and lacking, and the reason was the lack of suitable theatres for the opera performances since, as mentioned, the Quai Theater was turned into a cinema and the Olympia Theater was demolished.⁵⁰ Lindau, confirms the view of the inappropriateness of some theaters.⁵¹ The lack of suitable theatres, according to the Greek press, was an inhibiting factor for the visit of the troupes in Smyrna.⁵² Although in April 1911 the new theater of Smyrna⁵³ was opened in the hope that the interest of the theatres would be renewed, theatrical activity was suspended in 1912 due to the Balkan wars that prevented the theaters from visiting Smyrna.⁵⁴

As to the question of the popularity of the opera in Smyrna, based on newspapers, we can conclude that the opera was popular to a particular kind of audience that of the rich Smyrnians. We can mention, for example, one of the many articles⁵⁵ where it was reported that "the wealthy Smyrnians" prefer the melodrama performances and for melodrama was spent in a short time 3,000 pounds, while in favor of a theatric company, which was at the same time in the city, was spent 3,000 piasters.⁵⁶ In addition, the information on the price of the opera ticket, which was more expensive than the ticket price of the operetta, is also worth mentioning, which reinforces the view that opera and operetta were addressed to a different audience.⁵⁷

According to reports from the Greek press of Smyrna, but also from other sources and researches, the city had a rich artistic activity during the 19th century. More specifically, the opera, performed in Smyrna from the middle to late 19th century, was a favorite genre of entertainment aimed at a particular kind of audience, an audience affluent and perhaps more cultivated and intellectual. As for the language it seems that the operas plays were often performed and the plot was already known, but as far as the music is concerned and not the language, it was matters. Besides the cosmopolitanism that prevailed at that time in Smyrna made many people to speak two or three even four languages. Towards the end of the 19th century, the rising genre of the operetta also enters to the theatres of Smyrna and alternates with the opera performances. However, the performances of the opera began to decrease in the early 20th century due to the popularity of the operetta and the upcoming Seventh Art.

⁵⁰ *Amaltheia* (Αμάλθεια), 12.3.1910, 15.04.1910 & 28.9.1910, Solomonidis, *op.cit.*, p. 203

⁵¹ Paul Lindau, in Enepekidis, *op. cit.*, p.333.

⁵² *Amaltheia* (Αμάλθεια), 27.03.1910 and 24.10.1910.

⁵³ Solomonidis, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁵⁵ *Smyrna* (Σμύρνη), 11.12.1870

⁵⁶ A former coin of Turkey, the 100th part of a lira: replaced by the kurus in 1933.

⁵⁷ *Nea Smyrna* (Νέα Σμύρνη) 15.11.1896

Hermoupolis, the lost Atlantis of our musical culture

Stella Kourmpana

Hermoupolis is the fruit of the War of Independence of 1821 and of the vision of a reborn Greece; a city built literally from the beginning by Greek refugees, who, chased by the Turks, reached the rocky coast of Syros in order to survive, and managed in less than half a century to make of Syros the biggest port of the East-Mediterranean Sea. The story of this newborn city constitutes a unique phenomenon of Modern Greek History; because of the multiformity of its population (consisting of Greeks coming from different areas of the Aegean Sea), unified only by the goal of survival and of national regeneration, the city of Hermes (Hermoupolis) became an economic and cultural center of 19th century Greece, often surpassing the activity of the Greek Capital. The vision of the citizens of Hermoupolis was the development of a new world, based on the model of neoclassical Europe, which, as a conduit for the civilization of ancient Greece, was always destined to be their sole point of cultural reference, as all things eastern were viewed as symbols of their protracted slavery. In addition, as Western culture was considered the natural evolution of Ancient Greece, the Opera (created on the model of ancient Greek drama), was the cultural product *par excellence* of this evolution. Hence, operatic life was not only a powerful symbol of bourgeois European society, but also an ultimate example of a cultural re-borrowing: the Greek renaissance brought about by the 1821 revolution marked the hour when the products of ancient Greek culture that had decamped to Europe came back home. Europe's new state wanted its cultural capital back, and with interest.

The Opera quickly became popular on the Island of Hermes (Hermoupolis took its name after Hermes, the God of Commerce and Letters). Hermoupolis was one of the first Greek cities to build schools after the Revolution (on 1826 private educational institutions existed already, as well as the well-known, for its quality, "High School of Syros" – which, founded on 1833, was the first public school of Greece); printing houses existed since 1828, public institutions, hospitals, industries, and entertainment venues. On 1821 – the year of the Greek Revolution – professional musicians arrived on the island. On 1831 music and dance teachers existed in Syros. Musical education was not restricted to private teaching, since, around the same period, Music – singing, and a couple of years later, instrumental music – was taught at several schools. Even during the War of Independence, but also the first years of liberty, theatrical performances had taken place in Syros. Dimitri Spathis, referring to the decade 1829-1839, named of Hermoupolis the «Theatrical Capital of the Greek State».¹

Thus, when on Spring 1840 (only a couple of days after the beginning of the first full operatic season in Athens) Luigi Ricci's, *Chiara di Rosembergh*, was performed in Syros, the public of the little town seemed to be ready to receive this new cultural event, which was meant to dominate everyday life of the small island of the Aegean. For this first melodramatic performance in Syros, the French scholar Jean-Alexandre Buchon (1791-1849), informs us that it was a very decent effort, that reminded him of several performances on cities of Southern Italy;² Buchon also mentioned that he had often seen performances in Savona and Napoli much

¹ Dimitri Spathis, «Hermoupolis, Theatrical Capital of the Greek State (1829-1839)», in *For Marika Kotopoulou and the Theatre in Hermoupolis*, Proceedings of Symposium, Hermoupolis-Syros, August 1994, Athens: Section of Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1996, p. 187-201.

² Jean Alexandre Buchon, *La Grèce Continentale et la Morée. Voyage, séjour et études historiques en 1840 et 1841*, Paris: Librairie de Charles Gosselin, 1843, p. 47.

less well presented. It also important to note that the French scholar welcomed the rapid growth of the island after the revolution, admiring the fact that Syros often pioneered as far as the quality of the entertainment was concerned, in comparison with «so many great cities of France that, deprived of Italian opera, can be proud only of their vaudevilles».³

The opera performances sporadically continued until the construction of the «Apollo Theatre», which, since 1864, functioned systematically offering full operatic seasons. But the lovers of music on the little island of the Aegean had also other opportunities to listen to music, besides the Opera House. Music was cultivated in clubs, in private houses, but also in the streets and squares, where bands played daily, in order to entertain, as well as to cultivate the inhabitants of Hermoupolis. Musical education was also theoretically supported very early on the island of Hermes. Apart from the innumerable articles on music that one can find in newspapers and periodicals, the librettos published on the daily Press, and the – often – high level musical criticism held by the newspaper columns (that gave everyone the opportunity to read musical analysis of the operas presented in the theatre), the History of Music and Opera was taught at schools. The extent of familiarity with Opera can be traced in a school book, published in Hermoupolis in 1845 by the headmaster of the Syros Gymnasium, Georgios Serouios: *Kalliopi, or Short Theory for teaching. On Poetry in general, on Bucolic Poetry, on Epic Poetry, on Dramatic Poetry, on Lyric Poetry*. In this teaching manual, the important Enlightenment scholar included the Opera among the genres of lyric poetry, mentioning that the opera «is greatly flourishing also today among the Europeans (indeed by Rossini and Bellini)»,⁴ and described the characteristics of Lyric Poetry of the Ancient Greece with examples from the Opera; that means that he used the paradigm of the familiar – the opera – to explain the unknown. It is important to remember that this took place in Hermoupolis of 1845. So, talking about Pindarus, he mentioned:

“[...] Perhaps he was named so [High Pindarus] also because of his invention of new harmonies and melodies, as one can see from the new genre of his verses; as a result he can be considered as the Paganini, or Rossini, or Bellini of that time.”⁵

The Press seemed to face the opera in a equal way. The newspaper *Eolos* would advertise the book as:

“[an] original work, containing the best ideas about the exact comprehension of the eight modes and the melodies of our church, as well as the poetical measures, which refer to the verses and melodramas of our ancient poets.”⁶

³ Buchon, *op. cit.*

⁴ «Ἀκμάζει τὴν σήμερον εἰς ὑψηλὸν τινα βαθμὸν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Εὐρωπαίοις (ὑπὸ τὴν φόρμιγγα μάλιστα τοῦ Ροσσίνη καὶ τοῦ Μπελίνη)», Georgios Serouios, *Kalliopi, or Short Theory for teaching. On Poetry in general, on Bucolic Poetry, on Epic Poetry, on Dramatic Poetry, on Lyric Poetry*, Hermoupolis: N. Varvaressos, 1845, [*Kalliopi, itoi Theoria synoptiki pros didaskalian. Peri Poiiseos en genei, peri Voikolikis, peri Epopoias, peri Dramatikis, peri Lirikis*, En Ermoupolei: ek tis Tipografias N. Varvaressou, 1845], p. 89. For Opera also see p. 48 and 61.

⁵ «Ἵσως δὲ ἐπωνομάσθη οὕτως [ὑψηλὸς Πίνδαρος] καὶ ὡς ἐφευρέτης νέων συνθέσεων ἀρμονιῶν καὶ μελεασμάτων, ὡς φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὸ καινουργὸν εἶδος τῶν στιχουργημάτων του· ὥστε δύναται νὰ θεωρηθῇ ὡς ὁ Παγανίνης ἢ ὁ Ροσσίνης ἢ Βελλίνης τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου», *op.cit.*, p. 86.

⁶ «Πόνημα πρωτοφανὲς εἰς τὸ εἶδος του, [που] παρέχει τὰς καλυτέρας πρὸς ἀκριβὴ κατὰληψιν τῶν ὀκτῶ ἤχων καὶ τῶν μελωδιῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μας ιδέας, καθὼς καὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν μέτρων, τὰ ὁποῖα

In this advertisement text music seems to be the only interest on a book about Poetics. The mentioning of «melodramas of our ancient poets» is characteristic of how the Hermoupolites faced the relation between Opera and the Ancient Tragedy, reminding us of the role of the opera as a carrier of the ancient Greek culture in modern times. For the citizens of the 19th century Hermoupolis, the opera was not an imported product, but a cultural genre that was flourishing again on its homeland.

We do not know exactly at how many schools of Hermoupolis one could learn Music, but at the private «Lyceum Evangelides» Music was regularly taught three times a week,⁷ by the Bavarian music teacher, Julius Henning. On February 1851 the pupils this school represented Racine's *Esther* translated in Greek by the 16th year old Dimitrios Vikelas,⁸ the writer who later connected his name with the Olympic Games of 1896. Julius Henning had composed original music for this school performance and was responsible for its execution. The performance was received by the society of Hermoupolis with great enthusiasm. The newspaper *Eolos* wrote that the choruses of the tragedy were set to "European music", explaining that the students of the Lyceum had been studying this "European music" for five months.⁹

Jean Racine had written *Esther* on 1688, upon a request by Madame de Maintenon, the director of the "Saint-Cyr Girls' School", with the goal to help the pupils of the school to work on «a kind of poem where song would be mixed with narration and the whole would be integrated by an action that would make it more alive and less tedious»,¹⁰ as noted Racine on the preface of the publication of his play. The French writer explained that his aim was to unify, like in Greek Tragedy, the choruses with the song and the action. For this purpose he collaborated with the composer Jean-Baptiste Moreau,¹¹ who composed music for the choruses and for soloists; the performance, which first took place on the 26th of January 1689, in front of Louis IV, was characterized as «opera».¹²

ανάγονται εἰς τὰς στιχουργίας καὶ μελοδράματα τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν μας», *Eolos* [Αἴολος], 13.10.1845.

⁷ See «Program of the courses of 1853-1854 for the pupils of the Greek Luceum», *Enossis* [Ἐνωσις], 27.8.1853.

⁸ Dimitrios Vikelas, as notes in his autobiography (see Dimitrios Vikelas, *Complete Works A*, Alkis Angelou (ed.), Athens: Syllogos pros diadosin ofelimon vivlion, 1997 [Δημήτριος Βικέλας, *Ἀπαντα Α'*, ἐπιμέλεια Ἀλκης Ἀγγέλου, Ἀθήνα: Σύλλογος πρὸς διάδοσιν ὠφελίμων Βιβλίων, 1997], p. 56), had began the translation of *Esther* while he was in Odessa around 1849-50 and afterwards he finalized it for the school performance.

⁹ *Eolos* [Αἴολος], 24 .2.1851.

¹⁰ «Une espèce de poème où le chant fût mêlé avec le récit, le tout lié par une action qui rendit la chose plus vive et moins capable d'ennuyer», Jean Racine, *Œuvres*, d' après l'édition de 1760, [Paris]: Collection des Grands Classiques Français et Étrangers, Tome II, «Préface à *Esther*», p. 256.

¹¹ The composer Jean-Baptiste Moreau (1656-1733), the music teacher of the king Louis IV, would also collaborate with Racine for the "Saint-Cyr Girls' School" in 1699 and the performance of *Athalie* - a work with many resemblances with *Esther*, as the important role of music. His contribution to the success of *Esther* seemed to be decisive, as the play did not receive the same success when published (see *Anecdotes Dramatiques*, Tome I, Paris: Chez la veuve Duchesne, 1775, p. 325).

¹² By the Marquis de Dangeau: «Racine par ordre de Madame de Maintenon, fait un opéra dont le sujet est *Esther et Assuerus*. Il sera chanté et récité par les petites filles de Saint-Cyr. Tout ne sera pas en musique. C'est un nommé Moreau qui fera les airs», Marcelle Benoit, *Les événements musicaux sous le règne de Louis XIV, Chronologie, La vie musicale en France sous les rois Bourbons*, No 33, Paris: Éditions

We can not know exactly how the performance of *Esther* presented by the pupils of the «Lyceum Evangellides» was, but we should consider most probable that the stage instructions made by the French writer and translated in their entirety by Vikelas (e.g. «singing behind the stage», Act I, Scene II, «the rest of the scene is sung» and «the following four strophes are sung successively by one voice and by the chorus each one of them», Act III, Scene III)¹³ were fully respected and that a musical speech was adopted. This school performance made a great impression at the society of Hermoupolis and it was repeated next year three times. For the second round of performances, on 1852, the newspaper *Eolos* wrote:

“The Hermoupolites are enviable indeed, because they do not need Italian troupes any more; [...] the prudent director [of the school] has foreseen everything so that he would not be at disadvantage in comparison to the Italian Theatre; since last September he created a class of music courses, with many young people of the city, in order to use them as baritones in the performances, and that is what has happened.”¹⁴

After the first successful performance of the play, the director of the school decided to reorganize the music classes so that he could create an opera troupe. Despite Evangellides' ambitious plan, the undertaking of the establishment of a melodramatic school troupe did not seem to have any continuation.

Besides the music courses at schools, there was also the private music lessons, at home. Julius Henning, the music teacher at the Evangellides' School, also taught privately. We know that in 1851 (the year of the first performance of *Esther* in Hermoupolis), Henning gave private music lessons to Demetrius Vikelas and his sisters), and of course there were many other music teachers. The writer Emmanuel Roides, who was a pupil at the same school (and who actually did not participate at those performances since he already had hearing problems), testifies how the learning of music was possible for all the inhabitants of Hermoupolis, at the time:

“[...] Corresponding to this custom and to the large number of teachers was the prize of the musical courses; all the lovers of music, regardless of their social class, would take advantage of the opportunity to learn how to play the instrument of their preference, for only a small financial sacrifice [...]. Nowhere else, did ever resound so many violins, flutes, trumpets, pifferi,

Picard, 2004, p. 218. Louis IV, who in 1683 had secretly married the future director of the Saint-Cyr Girls' School, Madame de Maintenon, and, as a result, had highly supported the functioning of this school, was present in many rehearsals, as well as performances of *Esther*.

¹³ «ἄδουσα ὀπισθεν τῆς σκηνῆς», «τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς σκηνῆς ἄδεται», «Αἱ ἀκόλουθαι 4 στροφαὶ ψάλλονται ἀλληλοδιαδόχως ἀπὸ μίαν φωνὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ ὅλου ἢ κάθε μια», *Racine's Esther and other poems* by Demetrius Vikelas, Hermoupolis: Melistagis Makedon, 1851 (= Demetrius Vikelas, *Complete Works* vol. H), [Ἐσθήρ, *Τραγῳδία τοῦ Ρακίνα καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα ποιήματα*, ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Βικέλα, Ἐν Ἑρμουπόλει, Τύποις Γ. Μελισταγοῦς Μακεδόνας, 1851 (= Δημήτριος Βικέλας, *Ἀπαντα Η'*)], p. 217-261. The publication of *Esther* as well other Vikelas' poems, proposed and supported by Evangellides reveals of course the progressive disposal of the director of the school, who wanted to print his 16th year old pupil's work, but it is not an exemption for Hermoupolis as it was quite common to encourage the younger, even school pupils to publish their literary work.

¹⁴ «Ἐπίζηλοι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ εἶναι οἱ Ἑρμουποῖται, διότι δὲν θέλουσιν ἔχει πλέον ἀνάγκην Ἰταλικῶν ἐταιριῶν. [...] τὰ πάντα προέβλεψεν ὁ ἔμφρων διευθυντὴς ἵνα μὴ μείνῃ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλάττων τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ θεάτρου· ἀπὸ τοῦ παρελθόντος Σεπτεμβρίου συνέστησε τάξιν μουσικῶν μαθημάτων, ἐκ διαφόρων τῆς πόλεως νέων, ἵνα μεταχειρισθῇ αὐτοὺς ὡς βαρυτόνους ἐν ταῖς παραστάσεσιν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο», *Eolos* [Ἀἴολος], 16.2.1852.

mandolini, horns and clarinetti, as those days in Syros. Whoever walked in the narrow streets of the city – especially on Syndays – would get drowned into the waves of melodies that bursted from any window.”¹⁵

The information provided by Roides is quite important, not only because it testifies the number of musical instruments that were taught in Hermoupolis in the middle of 19th century, but also because it is noted that the learning of a musical instrument was something possible even for the financially weak. That fact seems to be in line with the general education, from which no one was excluded. As noted in the newspaper *Ekklesiastis* in 1883, among the 300 girls studying in a Girls' School, the majority were girls from lower class of the society.¹⁶

The foundation of the «School of Poor Children» in 1874 proved to be quite important as far as musical life of Hermoupolis was concerned, since one of the goals of the institution was the musical education of the children as well as the creation of a band. That fact gave to the weakest members of the society a good professional opportunity – the Opera orchestra being a good professional option¹⁷ – and, at the same time entertained the Hermoupolites with concerts given twice a week in the central square of the city. The repertory was usually inspired by the operas that had been performed at the Opera House that same season; the words of a music Critic,¹⁸ that the Hermoupolites were familiar with Verdi's *Ernani*, thanks to the concerts of the Band of the Poor Children, can be a proof of that. At the same time that band would very often perform works of Greek composers, even in first execution (as the program of those concerts included at least one Greek work in every concert). The band of Poor Children played a significant role in the musical activity of Hermoupolis. As a result, the following newspaper article of 1886, should not sound strange:

“Everyone, even the little Regina of this young newspaper seller, who is continuously singing in his mouth, whistling loudly, to the most delicate lady who is performing musical pieces on the 'enviable' piano are already crazy about *Napoli di Carnovale*.”¹⁹

¹⁵ «Ἀνάλογος τῆς τοιαύτης τοῦ βίου συνηθείας καὶ πληθώρας διδασκάλων ἦτο τῶν μουσικῶν μαθημάτων ἢ τιμῇ, οἱ δὲ φιλόμουσοι πάσης κοινωνικῆς τάξεως Ἑρμουπολῖται ὠφελοῦντο τῆς εὐκαιρίας ὅπως διδαχθῶσι ἕκαστος ἀντὶ μικρᾶς θυσίας τὸ ὄργανον τῆς ἐκλογῆς του [...]. Οὐδέποτε, οὐδαμοῦ ἀντήχησαν ὅσα τότε εἰς τὴν Σύραν βιολία, φλάουτα, τρόμπαι, πίφερα, μανδολίνα, κόρνα καὶ κλαρινέτα. Ὁ περιερχόμενος τοὺς στενωποὺς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς Κυριακάς, ἐπνίγετο εἰς κύματα μελωδίας ἐξορμῶντα ἐκ παντὸς παραθύρου», Emmanuel Roides, «The Story of a Dog», *Complete Works IV*, edited by Alkis Angellou, Athens: Hermes, 1978 [Εμμανουήλ Ροΐδης, «Ἱστορία ενός σκύλου», *Ἀπαντα Δ'*, φιλολογικὴ ἐπιμέλεια Ἀλκης Ἀγγέλου, Αθήνα: Ἑρμῆς, 1978], p. 384. For Roides' musical quotes see Stella Kourmpana, «"Such a deprivation of Music seems rather non-explainable..." Musical Glossary in Emmanuel Roides' *Complete Works*» *Bulletin of the Hellenic Music Lab*, Ionian University, Music Department, vol. 4 (October-November-December 2006), [Στέλλα Κουρμπανά «"Τοιαύτη Μουσικὴ στέρωσις φαίνεται μάλλον δυσεξήγητος..." Μουσικὸ γλωσσάρι στα Ἀπαντα του Εμμανουήλ Ροΐδη», *Δελτίο Ἑργαστηρίου Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς*, Ἰόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, Τμήμα Μουσικῶν Σπουδῶν, τχ. 4 (Οκτώβριος-Νοέμβριος-Δεκέμβριος 2006)], pp. 5-10.

¹⁶ «[...] Ἐξ ὅλων σχεδὸν τῶν τάξεων τῆς κοινωνίας· πολυαριθμοτέρᾳ δὲ φοίτησις εἶναι ἢ ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λαοῦ», *Ekklesiastis* [Ἐκκλησιαστής], 2.7.1883.

¹⁷ «We are flattered to believe that next year the musical band of the Poor Children will be used at the opera performances at the Opera House», *Fanos* [Φανός], 3.7.1879.

¹⁸ *Patris* [Πατρίς], 13.12.1899.

¹⁹ «Ἦδη δὲ πάντες, ἀπὸ τῆς Περγίνας τοῦ μικροῦ ἐκείνου ἐφημεριδοπώλου, ὅστις ἀδιακόπως μουσουργεῖ διὰ τῶν χειλέων του, συρίζων παταγωδῶς, μέχρι τῆς ἀβροτέρας δεσποινίδος, ἥτις

The little daughter of the newspaper seller probably knew the arias from the opera of Nicola de Giosa thanks to the band playing every afternoon, but it is also very possible that she had come familiar with this and every other opera performed in Hermoupolis by visiting the Opera House, as we know that those days the «Apollo Theatre» had special prizes for children.²⁰

It was not only the rich musical life that made of 19th century Hermoupolis a special chapter of our musical history; it was also the theoretical discussions that were consequently developed in that city. Music Criticism had already shown high quality examples, dating from the middle of the century, but, during the last quarter of the century, Hermoupolis claimed a leading role in the Greek musicological discourse of the time. The writings of the doctor and music Critic Ioannis Foustanos, and in particular his opinions about programme music, caused the reaction of a younger Critic, the lawyer Dionysios Klades; as a result, it was in 1886 Hermoupolis that the first musicological debate in modern Greece took place. The debate was carried out through the Press and lasted three years; soon other Critics were involved in the discussion and the debate was ended when Foustanos decided to support his opinion about the capacity of music to describe, by composing a programme music work, *Le Réveil* – a composition that described the awakening of the day.²¹

It is really impossible to summarise in a few pages the miracle that took place in Hermoupolis one and a half century ago. It is even more difficult to realize how this miracle was made, but also why the star of Syros started to disappear little by little. What is certain is that the phenomenon of Hermoupolis should impress us, but also motivate us to explore the reasons for its existence and disappearance. Hermoupolis was a city made by Greek refugees coming from different parts of today's Greece, refugees who carried different cultural elements from their homeland, that were all merged together – like in a New World – in an effort to construct a new European city. This new city, a little state in the middle of the Aegean, was constructed and organized by some people, who were not dominated by foreign Commissioners (like in the Ionian Islands), or foreign kings (like in Athens of King Otto), but by Greeks who were making their own decisions and by their own initiatives had chosen to adopt European models; and as far as music is concerned to embrace and to love the Opera. Their example is, according to my opinion, an exceptional historical paradigm of what can be achieved by a group of people who have a common cultural vision; the vision to build an ideal state, a state that only mythical can appear to us today, exactly like the lost Atlantis.

ἐκτελεῖ μουσικὰ τεμάχια ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιφθόνου κλειδοκυμβάλου, τρελλαίνονται διὰ τὴν *Napoli di Carnovale*», *Patris* [Πατρίς], 13.11.1886.

²⁰ *Efimeris* [Εφημερίς], 1.11.1888.

²¹ On Foustanos, see Stella Kourmpa, «Foustanos Ioannis», in *Grove Music Online*, also available here: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0002270791>. See also, Haris Xanthoudakis-Stella Kourmpa, «Ioannis A. Foustanos, a Spartiat doctor in Hermoupolis. The first Greek Music Critic», *Koini Gnomi* (Syrou), 4 and 7.7.2006 [Χάρης Ξανθουδάκης-Στέλλα Κουρμπανά, «Ιωάννης Α. Φουστάνος. Ένας Σπαρτιάτης ιατρός της Ερμούπολης, Ο πρώτος Έλληνας μουσικοκριτικός», *Κοινή Γνώμη* (Σύρου), 4 και 7.7.2006], also available here: <https://users.ionio.gr/~GreekMus/articles/foustanos.htm> (access: 1.10.2018).

The Life and Works of Georgios Sklavos

Dionysios – Ioannis Kyriakoulis

Origins of the Sklavos Family

Some early traces of the Sklavos family have been detected in Odessa in the beginnings of the 19th century. His grandfather, and possibly the earliest progenitor of the family, was a wine merchant.¹ According to some other sources, he was a ship owner.² His name was Marinos Sklavos.³ There are references indicating his involvement in the collection of the body of Grigorios V, the Patriarch of Constantinople, after his execution (10.4.1821) during the reign of Mahmud II. According to these reports, Marinos, who was the captain of a ship, found the dead body which had been dropped into the sea, picked it up, and carried it to its funeral mass.⁴

Another reference regarding the transportation of the Patriarch's corpse to Odessa was found in the monthly journal *Parnassos*.⁵ The writer mentions that the Patriarch's larnax was found at the church of Domata.⁶

It is not yet known whether Marinos Sklavos was the captain of a ship or a wine merchant, but, in all possibility, he originated from Domata. The hypothesis that he followed both occupations is currently under research.

Another published reference comes from the Ecumenical Patriarchate. It is a text about the life of Patriarch Grigorios V. The writer confirms that the corpse of the Patriarch was transported by captain Nikolaos Sklavos.⁷

According to naval records, two ships, *Agios Nikolaos* and *Fani*, were owned by someone named M. Sklavos⁸ and registered at Siros and Kefalonia, in the years 1854, 1869, 1875, 1880. Sklavos N. was indeed the name of the captain of the ship *Agios Nikolaos* which was registered in the years 1870, 1875, 1880. Moreover, Sklavos N. was also the name of the ship owner of *Agios Nikolaos* at the years 1850, 1860 and 1865.⁹

Regarding all the above, these fragments of information have not been fully interpreted yet. This is because it is not clear yet what the profession of Marinos was as well as what the relation between and the roles of Marinos and N. Sklavos were. Were they relatives? Or did they just have the same surname?

Marinos's son was Konstantinos Sklavos (1848 – 1936), born in Odessa. His studies were related to commerce. He moved to Vraila in 1867, when he was permitted to teach the Greek language in the private and public schools of the Greek Community of the city.¹⁰

In 1878, Konstantinos married Maria Vasopol, who worked as a handicraft teacher, for the Greek Community too. Maria gave birth to four children; The first one was Georgios (1888),

¹ Hristian și Pricop, 2009.

² Charlafti and Vlassopoulos, 2002, pp. 73, 428.

³ Hristian și Pricop, 2009.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Tsitselis Helias, Term: "Domata", *Parnassos*, January 1877, footnote No4, p. 853.

⁶ A place in Kefalonia. Tsitselis, 1877.

⁷ Metallinos, n.d.

⁸ It has not been confirmed yet whether this "M." stands for "Marinos" or not.

⁹ Charlafti and Vlassopoulos Nikos 2002, pp. 73, 428.

¹⁰ Hristian și Pricop, 2009.

the second was Eleni (1890), the third was Evangelos (1893) and the last one was Katerina (1898).¹¹

After the death of Maria, Konstantinos was married Maria Patis (in 1901), who remained his spouse until the 88th year of his life. Apart from his profession, he offered services to the Greek Community of Vraila as a secretary.

Georgios Sklavos was born in Vraila (in 1888). When he was a student, he started to attend classes at "Lyra," the music School of Vraila.¹² In the year 1905, a diplomatic crisis ensued between Greece and Romania. As a consequence, many Greek schools in Vraila had their operations suspended. Probably, this could have been a serious reason for a young man to move to another place to complete his studies in music.

According to research data, Georgios Sklavos arrived in Greece somewhere between 1905 and 1906.¹³ It is not yet confirmed whether he moved together with other members of his family or he travelled alone.

Athens Conservatoire

In the year 1906, Sklavos registered to attend Theory of Music with A. Marsick (*counterpoint and fugue*). In the following year he registered to attend *Instrumentation* lessons and *Wind Band Instrumentation* at the class of S. Kaisaris. He took his degrees in 1912 (*Wind Band Instrumentation*) and 1915 (*counterpoint and fugue*), all with First Class Honours (Excellent).¹⁴ The first achievements of Sklavos's systematic work, artistic talent and teaching became manifest shortly after his graduation. Given that there is not sufficient information yet about the other places he worked, we focused mainly on his activity in the Athens Conservatoire. The other places he worked will not be presented here in detail due to lack of sources.

During the years 1913-1969, as a professor, George Sklavos taught many subjects in the Athens Conservatoire. The classes he taught were the following: History of Music, Music Theory, Harmony, Counterpoint, Fugue, Instrumentation for Wind Band, Choir Training and Solfege.¹⁵ Some of his students were Georgios Sisilianos, Michalis Adamis, Giannis Ioannidis, Andonis Kokkinos, Alekos Xenos, Giannis Markopoulos, Mikis Theodorakis, Dimos Moutsis,¹⁶ Lazaros Kouzinopoulos, George Kouroupos, Dimitrios Agrafiotis and several others listed in the researcher's databases.

The following timeline provides an overview regarding the number of students who attended Sklavos's lessons in the Athens Conservatoire.¹⁷ George Sklavos was a professor there until 1969.¹⁸

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. The only documents proving his arrival, due to his registration in the Athens Conservatoire, are his degrees: 1. *Instrumentation* (printed in 1912, Athens Conservatoire) 2. *Counterpoint* (printed in 1915, Athens Conservatoire).

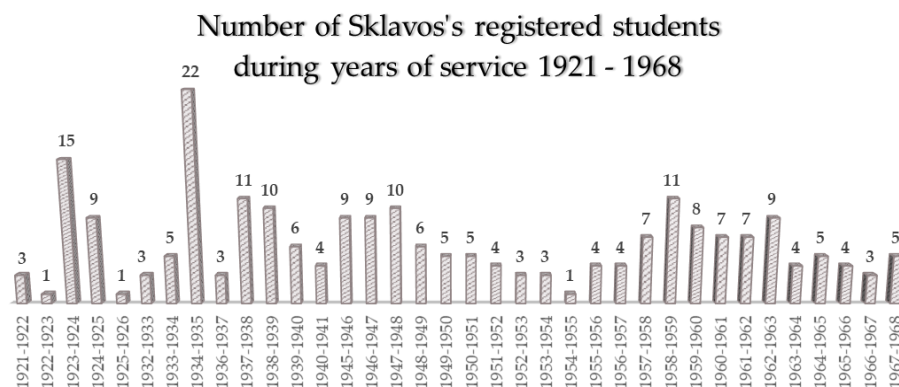
¹⁴ Sklavos's degrees; 1. *Instrumentation* (printed in 1912, Athens Conservatoire) 2. *Counterpoint* (printed in 1915, Athens Conservatoire).

¹⁵ See records named "Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton" (Detailed Report of School Years), with period range 1923-1976.

¹⁶ "Elenchos Mathiton" (Students' School Reports), 1957-1958.

¹⁷ "Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton", 1923 – 1969. There are also many other students not listed in the volumes of "Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton".

¹⁸ "Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton", 1923 – 1926.



This timeline gives some general information about the number of people who attended Sklavos's lessons.¹⁹ Only some tendencies can be traced. There is more information in the Athens Conservatoire Archives that has to be analyzed and confirmed, especially with respect to the exams, the degrees, and the graduation announcements.

He was also a teacher at the Piraeus Conservatory of the Piraeus Society, where he also served as a principle; other principles of the Conservatory were Filoktitis Economidis, Michail Veloudios, Jose de Bustinduy, Konstantinos Kydoniatis.²⁰

Systematic Work

In this chapter, we present a range of activities related to music research, musicological practices as well as the written contributions of Sklavos.

In the Athens Conservatoire, Sklavos took the position of librarian at the Conservatoire's library in 1911.²¹ Sklavos also wrote texts for program notes. There are texts related to biographical information or analysis of the works performed.²²

Translations have also been another aspect of his work. He translated the scenic play *Gamoi tis Giannoulas* (text: Karre M. & Barbier I., music: Victor Massé).²³ Moreover, a systematically organized project he worked on was the translation and edition of Hugo Riemann's *History of Music* (1933).²⁴

Another important activity was his collaboration with *Megali Elliniki Engyklopaideia* ("Great Greek Encyclopaedia"). Findings retrieved from his personal folder in the Athens Conservatoire Archives reveal that he had received several orders for entries regarding musical terms. In addition, the name of the composer is listed together with the other contributors in the corresponding volumes. The contributors come from different fields of occupation. There are, for example, lawyers, university professors, school teachers, journalists, historians, doctors, artists, military officers, judges, and bishops. Also, Stelios Sperantas is listed there too.²⁵

¹⁹ "Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton", 1923 – 1969.

²⁰ The conservatory of the *Piraeus Society* was founded in 1903 (Piraeus Society, n.d.).

²¹ "Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton", 1923 – 1926.

²² "Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton", 1923 – 1969.

²³ The first performance of the play was staged by the Melodramatic School of the Athens Conservatoire on 14.04.1912 and Sklavos participated in the cast as "Giannis". Barbier I., 1912.

²⁴ Greek National Opera, n.d.

²⁵ *Megali Helliniki Engyklopaideia* ("Great Greek Encyclopaedia"), 1934.

During research, some more definitions of terms, not included in the aforementioned orders, were discovered. Thus, there is a possibility that the composer wrote other entries that have not been confirmed yet.²⁶

The entries mainly pertain to biographical notes of composers and singers (for instance, “Fugère”, “Fauré”).²⁷

Another field of study, in which the composer offered his contribution, is organology. The definitions related to this category are: “foinikion”, “accordéon”, “orchestrion” and others.

Some of the composer's most extended entries are about music theory, such as “fugue”, for example. Sklavos gives a description of this musical form.²⁸

Another extended Sklavos's entry in *Megali Helliniki Engyklopaideia* is “Orpheus”.²⁹ Also, in the term “orchestra”, Sklavos gives an outline of the setup of an orchestra. More specifically, he describes the purpose of several specific layouts, depending on the music genre and time period.³⁰

One of the last extended Sklavos's entries that have been discovered is titled “Hellas” and has to do with the music of Greece. Sklavos wrote a detailed entry, initially describing the music system of the ancient Greeks. Then, he analyzed the music system of the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. He proceeded with theoretical and historical notes related to *dimotika tragoudia* (folk songs) and to several researchers of this genre. The next chapter of his narration is titled *Music in the Independent Greece*. He started it with a description of the life of Greek Communities in Europe during the 19th century. Then, he referred to the music of the Ionian Islands, beginning with the vocal tradition. Afterwards, he gave some information about wind bands. The *Polyphonic Church Music* was the next topic as the entry went on. Coming closer to the 20th century, Sklavos gave information about Greek composers, Unions and Societies. Greek artists, musicologists and critics are some of his concerns worth mentioning.

In the corpus of musicologists and critics, he recorded himself as well. Then, he gave a short historical background of the Athens Conservatoire as well as statistic information about its teachers, students and subjects. He described the Conservatoire of Thessaloniki too and, afterwards, he wrote about the music movement in Corfu. The entry ends with an extended list of sources.³¹

The latest known presentation related to Sklavos's systematic work was made at the 3rd Panionian Conference, which was centered on the music of the Ionian islands and of Greece in general.³²

Music Trends

In the following pages, we attempt to provide a quick glance on two works of the composer. It is not known yet if they should be considered the most important or characteristic of him. They are, nevertheless, characteristic examples of his music style and his relation to the concept of the National Music School. The works are the symphonic poem *Eagle* (“Aetos”) and the scenic one *Lily at the seashore* (“Krino st' Akrogiali”).

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ *Megali Helliniki Engyklopaideia*, XXIV vol., 1934.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ *Megali Helliniki Engyklopaideia*, X vol., 1934.

³² Sklavos, 1969, pp. 326-330.

The Symphonic Poem *Eagle*

Sklavos was inspired by the Greek folk poems, the so-called *dimotika*. As it is known, most of them narrate stories from the period of the Ottoman Rule.³³

He started submitting his ideas related to the concept of the Greek National Music School with the works *Kyra Frossini* and *Eagle*. During the summer of 1920, Sklavos and his teacher, Armand Marsick, worked together on *Kyra Frossini*,³⁴ and Sklavos dedicated the *Eagle* to Marsick, his preceptor and friend. The *Eagle* was presented for the first time at the *Olympia Theater* on 26th December 1923, during the Festival of Greek Composers.³⁵

The composition was based on the popular song *Enas Aetos Ediavene*, which means “an eagle was going by”³⁶ (See Appendix A for a translation of the poem). It was based on the short poem *O Kakos Dimogeron* (which translates to “the evil local governor”). The poem presents the confession of the governor. The eagle holds the decapitated head of the governor and talks to it, and then the head responds to the eagle.³⁷

The collector of the song points out that it is an interesting example expressing the hatred of the oppressed people towards the Greek governors (*proestoi*) during the years of the Ottoman Rule.³⁸

In the orchestral score of the *Eagle*, there is another version which may be related to this specific symphonic work.³⁹ It was also included in the program notes of the Athens Conservatoire.⁴⁰

The two poems have completely different meanings. Did the composer, finally, choose the one that describes the bravery of a rebel? With the lyrics of the *Eagle*, he could express not only the ideas of the Greek National School, but also the romantic ideas of nationality and national identity.⁴¹

Music of the *Eagle*

According to an interview of the composer, this work was the one in which the concept of the National School was perfectly integrated.⁴² It begins with a stormy introduction given from the strings in unison, in the very high volume of *fortissimo*. Then, the reeds respond, conveying the cold atmosphere of the inevitable, the punishment (See Appendix B, Figure 1, for the first measures of the *Eagle*).

After this prologue (See Appendix B, Figures 2 & 3, for the main theme of the *Eagle*), the chromatic movement of the French horns at the 7th measure gives a sense of anguish. The agony of a death convict who walks towards his execution. The whole atmosphere, enhanced by the pizzicato of the strings, somehow reminds of the decapitation in the “March to scaffold” in Berlioz’s *Fantastic Symphony*.⁴³ This part, which contains the basic melody of the poem played by muted trumpets as it is shown in the score, resembles a funeral march. The repeated

³³ Sklavos, *Aetos*, 1957.

³⁴ Sklavos, 1967.

³⁵ “Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton” 1924 - 1925 (program notes), p. 63.

³⁶ Synadinos, 1925, p. 101.

³⁷ Synadinos, 1925, p. 63.

³⁸ Aravandinos, 1880, p. 298.

³⁹ Michaelidis, 1957.

⁴⁰ Synadinos, 1925, p. 101.

⁴¹ Siopsi, 2005.

⁴² Sklavos, 1967.

⁴³ Pinchas Steinberg, 1988

motif of the trumpet (figure 2, 3) seems to foretell the end of the rebel, whose head is held by the eagle.

Performances of the *Eagle*

The Athens performance

The work was performed at the Athens Conservatoire in 1921.⁴⁴

The Romania performance

Sklavos wrote in his notes that the performance of the *Eagle* in Voukourestis was a great success. It was presented on one of the first days of January 1924, by the Philharmonic Orchestra of Bucharest.⁴⁵

The Spain Performance

The venue of the performance in Spain was at St. Sebastian and the date was 18.8.1928. The critic Lusho Mondis reports that, apart from the other works at that concert, there was also a work of a Greek composer named George Sklavos listed in the program. The critic seems rather surprised and admits that the audience really enjoyed his music. It released a feeling of strength and awe. The composer seemed to have mastered the art of contemporary orchestration, producing a highly sophisticated work. The general impression was that if someone heard this work again, they would discover even more interesting music elements.⁴⁶

The Minneapolis performance

In April of 1939, the *Eagle* was performed in Minneapolis, under the baton of Dimitri Mitropoulos. Johan Mc Egilarud wrote: “[...] Sklavos's fantasy, the *Eagle*, is very strong and beautiful. It contains many music themes, very well written, with a very interesting orchestration. The composer uses the orchestra in a very modern way [...] the *Eagle* of Sklavos has a very demanding orchestration. It brings out a natural feeling of emotional expression and demonstrates the truculence of a primitive race”.⁴⁷

The Berlin Performance

The *Eagle* was also performed in Berlin at 26.7.1938. It was a great success.⁴⁸

Krino st' Akrogiali

The opera *Krino st' Akrogiali* (“Lily at the seashore”) is one of Sklavos's lyric dramas exemplifying the trends related to the concept of the National Music School. Unfortunately, only fragments of the recording are saved, kept in the Athens Conservatoire Archives. In this recording, Antiochos Evagelatos held the conductor's baton.⁴⁹ This recording is probably one of the few Sklavos's rehearsal recordings that exist in our days.⁵⁰

This play comprises three acts and four scenes. The libretto was composed by Stelios Sperantzas and this was the second collaboration between Sklavos and Sperantzas. It took the composer four years to finish this work. The plot was, as Sklavos mentions in the program notes, a good opportunity to give a description of the island landscape, via all of the music gear

⁴⁴ “Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton”, 1921 - 1922.

⁴⁵ [Autobiography notes, found in Sklavos's personal folders, Athens Conservatoire].

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Critic Rud. Gal, ibid.

⁴⁹ Evangelatos [Rehearsal recording of *Krino st' Akrogiali*], 1966 (the accuracy of this date has not been thoroughly verified yet).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

he had at his disposal in his music atelier. Sklavos considers this work to be full of musical idioms.⁵¹

Synopsis of the Plot

MAIN CASTING

Smaragda	The stepmother of Krinio
Michalis	The uncle of Krinio, a ship carpenter
Krinio	The main character, a young woman that symbolizes purity
Stamatis	Vaso's husband, the captain of the new ship that is about to be named after Krinio
Diamandis	A sailor under the orders of Stamatis
Varvara	A middle-aged woman who arranges weddings, a matchmaker
Vaso	The wife of Stamatis

In a nutshell, the main plot is based on a love quartet between Krinio,⁵² Diamandis, Vaso, and Stamatis. Stamatis and Diamandis are in love with Krinio. Vaso is the wife of Stamatis. Diamandis is under the orders of Stamatis.⁵³

In the first act, a conversation takes place at the house yard of Krinio's stepmother, Smaragda. Varvara gossips with Smaragda... One of the main topics of their conversation is the fact that there is a newly-built ship, without a name yet, at the port... Later, Krinio enters the stage and reveals her feelings of love for Diamandis. After a few moments, Stamatis arrives at the door of the house yard and blocks the way of Krinio, while she is walking out. Stamatis flirts with Krinio and makes a revelation: The new ship is going to be named after her! After a while, when Stamatis is about to organize a feast, Diamandis shows up, quarrels with Stamatis, runs off with Krinio and, then, they get married.⁵⁴

The second act begins with Krinio in her new house. Krinio seems to do some sewing work. Then, Michalis, Krinio's uncle, enters the house and tells her that the marriage was not approved by her stepmother. He offers to give her some money to help her. Krinio refuses to take it.⁵⁵

Some minutes later, Stamatis arrives at Krinio's home. He tells her that he suffers seeing her living in poverty, so he has decided to help her by canceling a loan contract between her father and himself. Stamatis leaves and, moments later, Diamandis arrives at the house. He becomes suspicious that someone was there before. Krinio does not reveal the visit of Stamatis. After a heated argument between Diamandis and Krinio, Diamandis demands that she leave the house.⁵⁶

In the third act, Krinio's uncle, Michalis, walks and talks with Krinio, sharing and participating in her sorrows. Diamandis is watching them from a distance. When they meet, Krinio tries to persuade Diamandis for her loyalty. But Diamandis is not convinced and pushes her away... Afterwards, Smaragda tells her that she feels very embarrassed due to her acts and that she is not welcome in her house anymore. Some moments later, Stamatis shows up and promises that everything will be settled down.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Sklavos, *Krino st' Akrogiali*, 1965-1966.

⁵² Sklavos, *Krino st' Akrogiali*, 1965-1966.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

In the beginning of the final act, many young women come to fill their pitchers at the center of the village. Some conversations about Krinio can be heard. Vaso enters the stage, quarrels with Krinio, and insults her. Krinio loses her temper, kicks Vaso's pitcher and runs. She climbs on a cliff and lets herself fall.⁵⁸

Music of *Krino st' Akrogiali*

The first measures of the introduction in *Krino* (See Appendix B, Figure 4), seem to move around a Dorian F minor key, on condition that the enharmonic notes a^b or g[#] can be considered as same sounds. The fundamental F in the basses and timpani gives the impression of a F minor modal scale lying underneath. The continuous chromatic movements of the French horns during the measures 2-6 convey the feeling of Krinio's tragic end. It looks like the whole story will end up in tragedy.⁵⁹

The measures 20-21 (See Appendix B, Figure 5), which move in polyrhythmic motives (quintuplet towards sixteenth notes), somehow bring to mind the *Rite of Spring* of Stravinsky. The feeling of suspense becomes more colorful with the descendance of the chromatic chords in the last measure. It conveys the sense of a V in major scale.

Although the harmony texture is moving freely without focusing on a specific tonality, there are some cadences that end to three note voicing chords, like, for example, in the measure 21. There is an impression of a B^b minor chord, originating from a **Dorian mode**, due to the bass movements.

The notation material of this work comes from a manuscript found in the composer's library (Athens Conservatoire Archives). In all probability, it constitutes a sample of the composer's handwriting.⁶⁰ Due to possible copy errors, a critical approach was adopted during the transcription. This means that some elements were added, removed, or edited. For reasons of brevity, these changes will not be discussed here.

Critical Reception of *Krino st' Akrogiali*

Krino st' Akrogiali was performed many years after it was composed. The critics were very keen to attend its premiere. From 1943 onwards, this can be seen in their articles. The November of that year some orchestral parts were performed by the Athens State Orchestra. The critic Alexandra Lalaouni was quite excited: "Mr Sklavos is a great master of orchestration [...] we all hope to watch the play very soon at the Greek National Opera".⁶¹

According to an unknown critic (under the pseudonym "Omega"), the music of this composition follows the style of the musical movement of *verismo*. Another fact he gives is that *Krino* was very demanding, and the musicians needed much time to prepare.⁶² According to the critic, the whole work is a kind of ethnography referring to the residents of the Aegean Islands, quite extended in its overall duration regarding both text and music at the choral sections.⁶³

The composer gives a slight sense of the character of the Greek folklore style, as he avoids copying exact motifs from the traditional music of the Aegean islands. "Omega" believes this

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Evangelatos, [Rehearsal recording of *Krino st' Akrogiali*] 1966 (see fn. 54).

⁶⁰ Sklavos, n.d., manuscript of *Krino st' Akrogiali*

⁶¹ Lalaouni, 1943.

⁶² "Omega", 1966.

⁶³ Ibid.

last characteristic was one of the reasons the audience was so enthusiastic at the end of the performance. The visual elements, such as the costumes and the background, were also very interesting. It was an obvious fact that the designs of the costumes (women and fishermen) were heavily influenced by the European fashion of the time.⁶⁴

Other critics wrote:

“The symphonic orchestra performed for the first time parts of the lyric drama *Krino st’ Akrogiali* [...] The beautiful introduction in the second act calls to mind impressionistic images.”⁶⁵

“Very powerful work, especially the choral parts. Some of the most interesting moments are the song of Diamantis and the song of the fishermen.”⁶⁶

List of Works and Collaborations

The list below shows some of Sklavos's most famous works that have been bibliographically recorded up to now. The second column lists the years of composition.⁶⁷

Sklavos collaborated with several artists in the composition of his works. Two cherished partners of his were Armand Marsick and Dimitri Mitropoulos. Mitropoulos conducted several Sklavos's works: *Kritiki fantasia* (1929), *Aetos* (1930), *Dyo Eidyllia* (1931), *Nissiotikos Gamos* (1937).⁶⁸ Sklavos expressed publicly his appreciation to Dimitri Mitropoulos at the honor reception, given at 2.10.1955 at five o'clock in the afternoon at the Athens Conservatoire, by saying the following: “[...] I will never forget when you were sixteen years old and Armand Marsick invited us in Rome [...]. Year after year we all were watching your continuing success [...] every achievement of yours means success for us too⁶⁹ [...] Now [...] Dimitris, that you are succesful [...] you still remain for us [...] the modest young Dimitris [...] Keep going and don't forget us!”⁷⁰ Other conductors who presented works of his were Paridis,⁷¹ Evangelatos,⁷² and Vavayannis.⁷³ Two of his main librettists were Takis Daralexis and Stelios Sperantsas.⁷⁴

Title	Year
Niobe	1919
Three Songs	1920
Kyra Frossini	[1921]
Aetos (Eagle)	1922
Arcadian Suite	1922
Kritiki Fantasia (Cretan Fantasy)	1922
Lestenitsa	1923

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Dounias, 1955.

⁶⁶ Drakou, 1966.

⁶⁷ Leotsakos, 2001.

⁶⁸ Garoufalis & Xanthoudakis, 2011, 185, pp. 187, 206, 232.

⁶⁹ Here, “Success for us” means “Success for the Athens Conservatoire”.

⁷⁰ Garoufalis and Xanthoudakis, 2011, pp. 138,139.

⁷¹ Dounias, 1955.

⁷² Sklavos, *Krino st’ Akrogiali*, 1965-1966.

⁷³ Lalaouni, 1943.

⁷⁴ Sklavos, *Krino st’ Akrogiali*, 1965-1966.

Heroiko Poiema (Heroic Poem)	1926
Dyo Eidyllia (Two Idylls)	1928
Kassiani	1936
Nissiotikos Gamos (Marriage on a Greek Island)	1937
Krino st' Akrogiali (Lily at the Seashore)	1941
Five Songs	1958
Amphitryon	1960
St' Ai Ghiorghis to Panyghiri (At St. George's Feast)	1962
Harmonizations of Byzantine Chants	[?]

In His Own Words: The Composer, His Work, and the Past and Future of Art Music

There are four sources of information presented in this chapter, in which the composer himself gives information about his works.

The first one is a text found in his personal writings, inside the folders of the Athens Conservatoire Archives. This text may possibly be the remainder of a work that Sklavos planned to send somewhere for some reason (possibly: publication, collaboration, or performance) not known yet, giving details about his collaborations as well as his art and systematic work.⁷⁵

The second source is an article of the newspaper *Mesimvri*, by the interviewer Evangelos Psirakis.⁷⁶ In this article, Sklavos spoke about his work *Krino st' Akrogiali*, which was about to be performed at the Greek National Opera. Due to insufficient funding, this performance was canceled. In this article, the composer describes all the stages of preparation of his lyric drama, from composition to orchestration. "I started working on the *Krino* in the Summer of 1937. The instrumentation was finished after the Nazi occupation of Athens in 1941. [...] The basic theme of this lyric drama is about a love between a poor mariner and a young woman, with whom his rich superior was also in love. The story takes place on a Cycladic island."⁷⁷

The composer's views about the Greek Contemporary Music are not very encouraging... He believes that the dodecaphonic music techniques – and the electronic music as well – are not an evolution. He also complains about the increasing popularity of the *bouzouki*. To make matters worse, the Greek National Radio does not care about our national composers. He advises that some measures be taken. The only encouraging signs are coming from the conservatories. Sklavos claims that the number of musicians with a degree is rising. Everyone wants to become a professional.⁷⁸

The third source is a radio interview, recorded in February 1967. The composer talked to the Greek National Radio about his work, in a few words, for only two minutes.⁷⁹

He started with his first stage work, *Niobe*, which was never performed in its total duration, but some parts of it (Scherzo and Ballet) were presented in 1920, by the Symphony Orchestra of the Athens Conservatoire, with his teacher Armand Marsick as conductor.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Sklavos's biographical note, Athens, 1949.

⁷⁶ Psirakis, 1965.

⁷⁷ Psirakis, 1965.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Sklavos, 1967.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

The same year, Sklavos started composing *Kyra Frossini* in the village of Vitina, where he was also spending time with Armand Marsick. The work was performed one year later, in relation to the 100th anniversary of the 1821 Greek Revolution of Independence. According to the composer, the performance was a real success... There was a large orchestra and the preparation was very good. Some parts of this work were staged quite a few times in Germany the following years.⁸¹

The next work mentioned in this interview was the *Eagle*. In this symphonic poem, he started to use elements related to the concept of the Greek National School that can be traced in many of his other works too.⁸²

The fourth source comprises some notes about the music score of *Kassiani*, a Sklavos's work which was published, in piano reduction, by the Ministry of Education. The introduction seems to be a historical and aesthetic narration, aiming to justify his way of writing music. He admits that, in his time, it is difficult for a composer to write a lyric drama. This is why several technical issues usually appear. The composer claims that someone who writes music in the 20th century has to decide about the music style and the melodic and harmonic language.

According to Sklavos, the last four generations of the audience have experienced the style of Verdi, who was inspired by Wagner (even in masterpieces like *Othello* and *Falstaff*). The composer believes that, with reference to the operatic scenes, Wagner is one of the most exceptional cases. The role he assigned to the orchestra has influenced all the next generations of composers and, apparently, Sklavos himself. On the other hand, he envies the movement of impressionism, and Debussy, with his dramatic work *Melisande*. He also believes that even Richard Strauss is a follower of Wagner. Moreover, Sklavos states that the music artists of his days are forced to try something new, but without changing the melodic style that is the base of the Italian dramatic works.⁸³

Sklavos also believes that the *verismo* movement did not leave notable memories. For Sklavos, *verismo* begun with Spiro Samara and ended with Puccini.⁸⁴

He continues by stating that, after World War II, the dodecaphonic music system is used. The only remarkable music work of this period, according to Sklavos, is Alban Berg's *Wozzeck*. Then, he discusses aesthetic examples describing national schools; he talks about the Russian School, says he regards *Boris Godounov* of Mussorgsky as a masterpiece, and comments on Greek Art Music implying that Greeks have to follow a similar course, based on their own national elements.⁸⁵

His last remark is that in his work *Kassiani* he used elements of all the above-mentioned styles, adding – “dressed in a harmonic cloth” – ancient Greek modes which were evolved by the Christian church music. He points out that this style, in his opera *Kassiani*, constitutes an image of a national idiom.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Sklavos, *Kassiani* music score (program notes), n.d.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Sklavos, n.d.

⁸⁶ Sklavos, *Kassiani* music score (program notes).

Material and Methodology of the Research

Material

The basic material of this research was discovered in the Athens Conservatoire Archives. The archive documents include printed and handwritten music scores, newspaper articles, personal notes of the composer, fragments of recordings, and various other printed documents of the Athens Conservatoire, such as the Record Books of the Registry of the Melodramatic Association,⁸⁷ interviews, photographs, books, etc.

One of the first sources of information about Sklavos, which we discovered during our very first visit in the Athens Conservatoire Archives, was a notebook that was later found to contain a list of the items he planned to donate to the Athens Conservatoire! Amalia Papadopoulou-Symeonidou was entrusted by Aris Garoufalidis with the task to list a number of Sklavos's items – and, more specifically, reading material of the composer – that had been donated to the conservatoire.⁸⁸ This task was carried out during the summer of 1986[?], according to Symeonidou.⁸⁹ “I remember cataloguing the contents of many boxes, piled so high they almost reached the ceiling!”, she mentioned. This catalogue is as valuable as a treasure map!⁹⁰

Another important source of information comprised three tapes containing a recording of a rehearsal of *Krino st' Akrogiali*, probably a few days before its performance. The digitization of the rehearsal recording of *Krino* was performed by Dionysios Batzakis at the Music Studies Department of the Ionian University, through the use of a reel to reel recorder.

Computer Software & Data Processing

In this research, the whole material was processed and organized through multiple software tools.

The main tools used are listed below:

- **Adobe PDF (Portable Document Format) files.** This format was utilized to create viewable computer documents out of most of the archive material used. As PDF allows for word and exact phrase search as well as adding notes and highlighting or underlining content, we took advantage of these opportunities and created a bank of keywords and key-phrases related to Sklavos's teaching work, artwork, articles, etc. All these additional tools can not only facilitate greatly the retrieval of information about work titles, events, and many other topics, but also can help detect certain parts which call for special edition (music notation for example) before publishing.
- **Microsoft Access (Database Management System).** Archive materials including titles of Sklavos's musical works, photographs and newspaper articles were organized into databases. They were also sorted and filtered (e.g., photographs were sorted according to date, place, and/or persons appearing).
- **Microsoft Excel worksheets.** This application was used in order to organize catalogues of Sklavos's students in lists and categories according to year of attendance, teaching subject, and origin. All these can be sorted in many different ways according to the selected criteria.

⁸⁷ It contains: students' catalogues; announcements of concerts, exams, and other events; organization charts; degree awards; etc. (in this survey, these volumes are referred to as *Leptomeris Ekthesis Scholikon Eton* – see fn. 18).

⁸⁸ Papadopoulou-Symeonidou, “Information about Sklavos's donation”, 2016.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

- **Microsoft Word.** We used this program to present printed or handwritten texts of the composer, accompanied by informational lists we created. These lists include, organized in categories, persons related to certain passages, ensembles, venues, or works referred to in the respective texts.

- **Finale (Music Notation Software).** Handwritten or printed music scores of Sklavos were transferred onto digital format and edited by means of this program. This procedure (editing) is often utilized to transcribe orchestral scores into piano reductions.

The piano reduction of the *Eagle* was based on the version adopted by the Union of Greek Composers.⁹¹ In the case of *Krino st' Akrogiali*, a transcription was made out of handwritten material, written by the composer himself. Due to the possibility of copy errors, some modifications were introduced, which we were not able to present in this paper for reasons of brevity. The whole procedure included transcribing, editing and combining the instrument parts with the intention to reproduce the original orchestral score of the introduction of *Krino*. The reduction was notated on two and five line staves.

All the above tools and procedures were utilized with the aim of organizing the unrefined material and, in addition, create metadata to be used for the purposes of this survey. We keep on working on and plan to present this aspect of our work in detail, in the future.

The Last Moments

On Friday 19 March 1976, at 23:30, Georgios Sklavos passed away. The cause of death, according to the doctor Christos Efthymiou, was respiratory failure and heart attack. Moreover, he suffered from kidney disorders. The certificate records his occupation, as director of the Athens Conservatoire, the name of his wife (Magdalini Angelopoulou), his place of birth (Romania), and his residence (Kastri, Kifisia, Athens). There are no children mentioned.⁹²

Sklavos was much appreciated and loved by his students, friends and colleagues, as well as other contemporaries of his who were familiar with his work and life achievements in general, and the news of his passing was met with a lot of grief and sorrow. Our research in the Athens Conservatory revealed significant findings testifying to this (See Appendix C).

The Imprint of the Composer

Most of the titles of Sklavos's works emit the aura of the Greek landscape. Seashores, Greek feasts, place names such as *Lestenitsa*, *Ai Ghiorghis*, *Arcadia*, *Crete*. Symbols of traditional folk songs, such as eagles. Music intervals and themes that evince an oriental origin... These are some of the means of artistic expression the composer uses in his work. It is not only the texts that convey images of the Greek culture of the late 19th and the early 20th century, but also the language of harmony. His teaching work was also notable. "As a teacher, he was a discreet and noble person devoted to his work":⁹³ These are the words of Aikaterini Papaioannou, one of his students. On the 23 April 1968[?], the Athens Conservatoire honored the composer with an award in recognition of his 50-year passionate work and contribution to the faculty. During the time he was an active music artist, the composer's work was well appreciated. This can be proved by the following facts:

⁹¹ Sklavos, *Aetos*, 1957.

⁹² Death certificate of Georgios Sklavos, Registry office of the Municipality of Athens, Register reference: VI/91/79, retrieved: 16.8.2017.

⁹³ Papaioannou A., 2017.

The Award of *Lestenitsa*

On the 23 November 1924, the Averof awards committee⁹⁴ announced the recipients of its annual awards. Sklavos's work *Lestenitsa* was ranked second best. The committee pointed out that its modern technique showed off the composer's skills. It was also mentioned that the whole progression of the work and the perfectly balanced sound of the orchestra, especially in the introduction and the intermezzo, proved the virtuosity of the composer.⁹⁵

On the other hand, the composer was criticized on the grounds that, from a technical point of view, the wide melodic range of the vocal parts wore out the musicians. Another point was that some of the orchestral parts were extravagant and the scenery was lackluster. Yet, in spite of these drawbacks, the committee was favorable to Sklavos. The fact that *Lestenitsa* was one of his first works was of crucial importance, but it was also stated that his distinction was a result of his ability. A prize of 7,500 drachmas was given to the composer. The librettist, Takis Daralexis, was also awarded with a prize of 750 drachmas.⁹⁶

Kassiani

In the summer of 1959, the administration of the Greek National Opera had to decide on the program of the coming period. Kostis Bastias had to select a work of a Greek composer to be presented at the start of that season. He insisted that this specific composer had to be of Greek origin. He finally picked out *Kassiani* of Sklavos, written in 1936, with the text of Stelios Sperantsas. Some days before the performance, he wrote: "I adopted [...] *Kassiani* with great relief and I accepted the responsibility of this risk in person. Sklavos, in his music, avoided the tyrannical influence of the Italian style of *bel canto* [...]. This fact distinguishes this specific work from the predominant melodramatic ones of this era and makes it a praiseworthy endeavor. The lyricist Stelios Sperantsas retained into *Kassiani* the spiritual atmosphere of the Orthodox hymns".⁹⁷

Sklavos and the Music of Greece

First of all, as his own words testify, from the time of his first work, and especially in the *Eagle*, Sklavos adopts the concept of the Greek National School and sees himself as one of its representatives. He refers to national ideas.⁹⁸ On the other hand, a personal view cannot, in itself, verify any claim whatsoever; in this work (the *Eagle*) the concrete evidence comes from several elements which express the principles of nationality, such as the exotic elements,⁹⁹ the augmented second melodic intervals, and the westernized harmony of the orchestral parts. Furthermore, he uses a traditional, folk song (*Enas Aetos Ediavene*) to develop the core idea of his symphonic poem, directly deriving his material from his domestic cultural heritage.¹⁰⁰

Through the known works of the composer, we attempted to draw some reasonable inferences regarding their national and/or cultural identity, by focusing both on the music color and the texts.¹⁰¹ *Krino st' Akrogiali* offers a characteristic example. It is worth mentioning that a

⁹⁴ The members were Dionyssios Lavrangas, Aimilios Riadis, Dimitri Mitropoulos (Garoufalas and Xanthoudakis, 2011).

⁹⁵ Garoufalas and Xanthoudakis, 2011, pp. 82-84.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Kostis Bastias, *Orthodoxos Pnevmatikotis*, 1959.

⁹⁸ Sklavos, 1967.

⁹⁹ Siopsi, 2005, p. 270.

¹⁰⁰ Siopsi 2005, p. 270.

¹⁰¹ Siopsi 2005, p. 273.

serious obstacle we had to face was that these criteria, in themselves, are not always sufficient to shed light on the relationship between Sklavos and the ideas related to the Greek National School. Hopefully, in the future more findings will show up to help us better understand the composer's life and works.

From a general perspective, this paper gives an outline of Sklavos's life and works. He was devoted to his music and concentrated on his teaching, trying to offer his knowledge and talents to his students and to his native music. He was also a master of orchestration, a musicologist, an intellectual, but also a noble, ethically sound person. Reviews described his music as impressionistic, veristic, etc. He taught more than 200 students in his career.

In conclusion, Georgios Sklavos was a very important musician, composer, professor, intellectual, for over a half a century. Despite this, few people know about him (See Appendix D for a rough sketch of Sklavos's face). One of the main purposes of this survey was to help identify and elucidate more aspects of his legacy, in relation not only to the audience but also to the next generations of musicians. We are hopeful that in the near future we will have the chance to study, analyze and present more findings regarding his life and works.

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[01c_music material of Eagle[1]



[01c_music material of Eagle[2]

Figure 1. The first measures of the Eagle of Georgios Sklavos, Transcribed & edited by Dionysios - Ioannis Kyriakoulis, (G. Sklavos, Aetos 1957



Fig2_The main theme of the Eagle_09



Fig3_The main theme of the Eagle_10
transposed

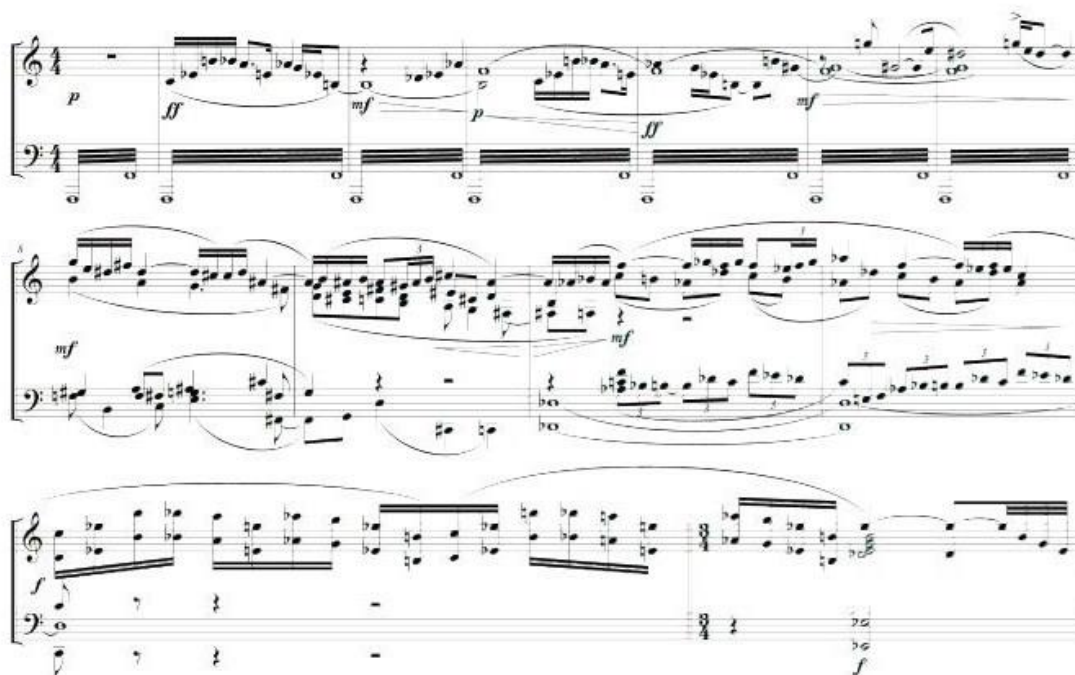


Fig4 The first measures of the introduction of Krino st' Akrogiali

Figure 5 shows measures 18-21 of the introduction of Krino st' akrogiali. The score is in 4/4 time and features mezzo-forte (mf) and forte (f) dynamics. The melody is primarily in the treble clef, with a bass line in the bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score includes parts for Flutes, violin - viola, French horns, harp - bassoon, and double bass - violoncello. The tempo is marked 'Tempo' and 'poco rall.'.

Figure 5 Introduction of Krino st' akrogiali, measures 18 - 21 (Transcription and reduction D. I. Kyriakoulis, 2018)

The feminine art? On reinterpretation of *opéra comique* genre in Camille Saint-Saëns's *Phryné* (1893)

Małgorzata Lisecka

Camille Saint-Saëns finished his *Phryné* in about two months, with intention to provide it for newly opened Théâtre-Lyrique, which was directed by his colleague, Léonce Détroyat. Finally, the work was premiered on May 24th, on the stage of Opéra-Comique, because of Détroyat's sudden financial collapse.¹ This, as Steven Huebner says, 'light-hearted comedy in a classical setting'² was well received by Paris audience.³ The story about smart and clever courtesan who in order to rescuing her lover from debts execution seduces and deceives his wealthy and influential uncle had to have a positive impression on the public who earlier applauded the operettas of Hervé and Offenbach. But that was not only Paris audience who appreciated *Phryné*. As Annegret Fauser reports:

"The premiere of *Phryné* was celebrated as a significantly French event after the first Parisian performance of Wagner's *Die Walküre* just two weeks earlier at the Opera, and critics did not miss the opportunity to emphasize once more the traditional French (i.e. Latin) qualities of *clarté*, *esprit* and *justesse* in comparison to Wagner's ungainly Germanic noise."⁴

Fauser notices also that Saint-Saëns's work «was clearly conceived as a work reviving traditional character of earlier *opéra comique*».⁵ As she points, this genre «had carried the stigma of being judged as a feminine [...] since the eighteenth century [...], as facile, naïve, charming, *à la mode* and cloying».⁶ This feature of femininity is related not only to the character of the genre, but also to the very persons of the composers: it «was thought to be suited to women composers such as Sophie Gail, Lucile Gretry, Caroline Wuiet».⁷ As the most characteristic manifestations of Saint-Saëns's attempts to make the genre more «masculine» Fauser mentions using by him the «alexandrine verse, the 'noble' meter of classical French tragedy, for both sung and spoken verse»,⁸ which corresponded to composer's earlier postulate of returning to classical tradition in French opera.⁹

The very idea of classical topic was quite typical for the genre. Camille Bellaigue in his *Un Siècle de Musique Française (The Century of French Music)*, in which he witnesses French opera tradition of 19th century, points out: «there are two types of subject which most often

¹ See e.g.: Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 108–9.

² Ibidem, p. 108.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Annegret Fauser, «Gendering the Nations: The Ideologies of French Discourse on Music (1870–1914)», in: *Musical Constructions of Nationalism Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800–1945*, Harry White, Michael Murphy (eds.), Cork: Cork University Press, 2001, p. 87.

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Ibidem.

inspire the contemporary *opéra-comique*: mythology and Orient».¹⁰ However, among most important examples of the former case he doesn't enlist Saint-Saëns, but Charles Gounod with *Philémon et Baucis* and Victor Massé with *Galathée*.¹¹ Actually, in his treatise Bellaigue doesn't mention Saint-Saëns at all, as if *Phryné* was only one of numerous cases of bad taste which he describes.

If we look at *Phryné* as at the opera which is not only an anti-feminine but also an anti-feministic one, then one must admit that the subject seems to be quite suitable for such type of manifestation. The main character, one of the most famous and richest courtesans of antiquities, became known as a heroine of the process that took place around 345 BC, when she was put under trial and accused for the heresy and cultivating a new god, Isodaites. She was defended by excellent orator, Hyperides, who actually didn't get the support of the judges for his client until he made a dramatic gesture of tearing her robes off her breasts. The judges, recognizing in *Phryné* reflection of Aphrodite, cleaned her up of all accusations. Irrespectively of the anecdotal dimension of this story, its heroine in the tradition of culture is primarily associated with the nudity, as James Davidson claims.¹² She supposedly posed for the first naked female statue, i.e. *Aphrodite* by Praxiteles.¹³ And this nudity, as we can suppose, is charged with some kind of ambiguity. On the one hand, it can be treated as a manifestation of liberation of the character, but on the other hand – also as her objectification. This would make *Phryné*, like in many other *opéra-comiques* or French operettas, the feminine character which is unaffected and totally devoid of the influence on her destiny.

However, this situation doesn't take place in Saint-Saëns's work. Like in numerous *opéra-comiques*, the fundament of libretto story is the parody of the ancient topic (actually, Bellaigue claimed this feature as the main characteristic of the genre).¹⁴ However, this parodistic character of the opera doesn't reach the heroine herself, which is just another anecdotal incarnation of the famous for her intellect courtesan. Indeed, even if *Phryné* can be interpreted as a «masculinized» variant of *opéra-comique*, it's merely a semantic construct which accentuates some type of the musical idiom. In all other respects, the work of Saint-Saëns and Lucien Augé de Lassus is not only feminine, but also feministic one, which is noticeable on the levels of both libretto and musical setting.

In his work Huebner characterizes the set of Saint-Saëns's opera's protagonists as the «harlot with a heart of gold» (*Phryné*), her «young lover» (*Nikias*), and «Pantalone figure» (*Dicéphile*, *Nikias*'s uncle and most respected, wealthy and well-deserved citizen of Athens).¹⁵ Indeed, *Nikias*, the the heroine's beloved one, can be basically reduced to the most general and superficial features of the opera *primo uomo*, while characters of both *Phryné* and *Dicéphile* come to the fore, wherein *Dicéphile* is actually one and only comical character of the opera (besides *Cynalopex* and *Agoragines*, two supporting characters). The love story of

¹⁰ Camille Bellaigue, *Un Siècle de Musique Française*, Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave, 1887, p. 111. Source text: «Il est deux ordres de sujets dont s'est inspiré volontiers l'opéra comique moderne: la mythologie et l'Orient» (transl. M. L.).

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² See: James Davidson, «Making of Spectacle of Her(self). The Greek Courtesan and the Art of the Present», in: *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, Martha Feldman, Bonnie Gordon (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 29.

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ Bellaigue, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Source text: «Le mot d'opéra comique désigna d'abord seulement des parodies d'opéras» (transl. M. L.).

¹⁵ Huebner, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

the opera is solved already in the introduction to the second act, when Phryné and Nikias confess their love to each other. Nikias is still no longer needed in the libretto, and the climax of the action takes place between two main characters (i.e. Phryné and Dicéphile).

Phryné is the character who, for various reasons, plays off most of the fabular events of opera. For this reason, her status as the heroine is ambiguous: both divine and human. In the chorus parts (a. I, sc. 1; a. II, sc. 9) she is represented as the goddess and she is also called so by Dicéphile, but this approximation seems the most clearly pronounced in Phryné's air (a. I, sc. 6), where she reminds her bath in the sea near Aphrodite's temple, when she was mistakenly recognized as a goddess by the villagers. Also a bit risky punch line of the opera, when Dicéphile falls to his knees in the front of the statue of Aphrodite, in fact paying homage to Phryné, who had managed to entangle him, points to the same ambivalence. Phryné therefore possesses the unquestioned power which appears as divine one, since her power is in fact the power of Aphrodite herself. As such, Phryné's authority is identical with the invincible force of love (which in essence constitutes the most classical *topos* of opera genre).

But Phryné is also a versatile powerful human heroine in this opera. Her oratorical talent reveals itself unexpectedly in various parts of the libretto. The subtle irony when she salutes Dicéphile, which is worshiped by the people of Athens, and the rhetorical figure of affected humility she uses in this moment, announces from the very beginning of the opera Dicéphile's final fall (a. II, sc. 1). Her later conversation with Nikias whom she invites to her house, after saving him from the arresting on the street, is full of equivocations. However, Phryné's true rhetoric art reveals in her final conversation with Dicéphile, in which she acts both as an accused and as a lawyer-orator. Not standing actually before the court, Phryné, however, is conducting her own court case, which she has already won, because Dicéphile is not able to escape from her charm. This is Phryné, actually, who insists, and even forces him to ask questions that she then argues ('Parlez! parlez! Je vous répons!' – 'tell, tell, I'll respond you!' a. II, sc. 9).¹⁶ Dicéphile is afraid of her in the same degree as he is enchanted by her ('recule et se trouble' – 'backs up and gets upset', a. II, sc. 9). Although mythological topic of the court case was observed here in some allusion, Phryné doesn't need man's protection to defend herself for Dicéphile's accusation of imprudent life. Actually, this is her lover who without her defense is totally helpless.

Similarly, Phryné reveals her leading function as the character in relation to the love thread of the opera. This is she who advises Nikias how to solve his debts problem, she also takes the initiative in their relationship, through defending him, inviting him to her house, and finally confessing her love to him. Although Nikias in his tender cantabile presents himself to the viewer as a miserable lover, striving for his beloved's affect (a. I, sc. 3), he is not able to overcome her feeling anymore – because eventually it turns out that Phryné has loved him since long time without his particular effort (a. I, sc. 4). Nikias's love affair seems to be merely a facade of opera intrigue, because he doesn't have to make any single gesture to win his sweetheart. On the contrary: his triumph turns out to be supreme at the moment of his greatest helplessness. Nikias is therefore the most passive and manipulated character of the opera, maybe even more than ridiculed Dicéphile. Even his gesture of destruction and desecration of his cruel uncle's bust (a. I, sc. 4) turns out to be a sham one, and ultimately this is Phryné, not him, who will face Dicéphile in last part of the opera (a. II, sc. 9).

¹⁶ Lucien Augé de Lassus, C. Saint-Saëns, *Phryné*, Paris: A. Durand et Fils, 1893, p. 145. All quotations from both score and libretto come from aforementioned edition of the opera.

Also interesting is the issue of Phryné's nakedness, as reportedly most characteristic feature of this heroine, attributed to her in the history of culture (as mentioned above). Both male heroes talk to her in her home, violating, in a way, her privacy and even her intimacy. Dicéphile is discussing with her during her toilet, although the only prop accent here is the jewelry and hair accessories, not the clothes (a. II, sc. 9). At the same time, both female airs in this opera (Phryné's and Lampito's, her slave), are dedicated to the ambiguity between dressing and undressing up (Lampito's arietta tells about Phryné's jewelry and ornaments, which heroine imposes on her during preparations before intimate relationship with her lover; a. II, sc. 7). Nikias, in turn, apologizes to the heroine for his indiscretion ('excusez ma présence indiscrete! – 'excuse my indiscrete presence', a. II, sc. 5), entering her private chambers. Similar situation we can see in the case of the statue of Aphrodite, which in Saint-Saëns's opera is a guardian and patroness, kind of supporting force, of the heroine. Her naked statue is almost all the time covered with a curtain and revealed spectacularly only at the climax of the opera action. It could be said that Phryné's exposing in this kind of Hyperides' gesture is done here *per procura*: instead of the main heroine her *alter ego* is bared – because Aphrodite seems to be in fact Phryné's *alter ego*.

Huebner described musical setting of the libretto as the classical. Indeed, even taking into account the instruments presented on the stage, it doesn't give to the opera any particularly intense coloration. Where can we find then this reported 'masculinization' of the *opéra-comique* genre, mentioned by Fauser?

As we indicated just before, aforementioned masculinity is a bit ambiguous, and consists in entrusting all the gestures that play off the action of the opera to one character, which is feminine character: Phryné. In this way, being the epitome of femininity, she is at the same time only heroic figure of the opera, and in her case the composer most strongly refers to the tradition of *opera seria* genre.

Although the critics differentiated French subtlety of Saint-Saëns from Wagner's heavy harmony, still this is the chromatic that remains the basic means of expression in this opera. The tendency to using chromatic scales and multi-key signature tones is connected especially to Phryné. The part of the chorus, with description of her virtues and beauty, as well as her first entrance are in F-sharp major. Phryné's entrance is immediately accompanied by the intensified chromatic in both her part and part of orchestra. Later, when in the final scene the statue of Aphrodite will be revealed, Saint-Saëns will use further key, C-sharp major. This semantic displacement, so to say, indicates the goddess as a closely relative to the main character. In the same mode, C-sharp major, the chorus repeats the words of praise to Phryné from the beginning of Act I, emphasizing the gesture of mystification, and at the same time identifying the heroine as the goddess.

Strong chromaticity in this opera, whether in vocal or orchestral parts, will be always the sign of composer's referring to the idiom of *serio*. Chromatics and multi-key signatures are the rhetorical marks here, and Phryné is the most developed character in terms of rhetorics. It seems obvious when we hear her first words addressed to Dicéphile, where extended recitative part, large ambitus of the scale, coloratura and dramatic expression point out the idiom of *opera seria*. The same idiom of *serio* will also appear in the finale of Act I. This one is represented here solely by the main character in the vocal trio (together with Nikias and Lampito). This rhetoric inclination of main heroine is already visible at the level of the expression marks which accompany her vocal parts. For the whole opera, in general, the most characteristic are *dolce*, *dolce espressivo*, and *appassionato*; but in Phryné's part the most significant will be more legibly pathological and, in the way, theatrical marks, also in higher

degree differentiated, like: *fièrement, simplement, d'un ton dégagé, hypocrite et railleuse, avec timidité* ('proudly, simply, in a clear tone, hypocritical and mocking, timidly'). Most of these marks appear in the 9th scene in Act II, in her discussion with Dicéphile, where heroine reveals her rhetorical art.

However, the main mode of Phryné is E major: it seems obvious from the first mention of her. Here we can see also that the first theme of the introduction is heroine's leading theme (although it can be considered as a theme of love as well, because it comes along with entering the slaves decorating the house of Phryné with flowers coming from her devotees).

The image shows a musical score for a scene. The top staff is for Flute (Fl.) in E-flat major, with a key signature of two flats and a 5-measure rest. The second staff is for Harp (Harpe) in E-flat major, with a key signature of two flats and a 5-measure rest. The third staff is for Agoragine (AGORAGINE) in E-flat major, with a key signature of two flats and a 5-measure rest. The lyrics are in French: "Entre un groupe de jeunes esclaves portant des couronnes et des guirlandes de fleurs dont ils ornent la maison de Phryné. Qui vient là? que est ce cortège? Des es -". The score includes various musical markings such as *mf*, *dim.*, *arco*, and *p*.

Ex. 1: Phryné's theme (first love theme), source: de Lassus, Saint-Saëns, p. 11, no 5

Aforementioned theme appears here in a slightly more lyrical form than previously, in the introduction, where it was presented in E-flat major (which is the key of both opening and closure of the whole opera). The later presentation of the theme in Dicéphile's lyrical part and later, in the duet of Nikias and Phryné, will confirm its love character, since it appears there in meaningful A major mode. In Act II another love theme develops, which appeared before and accompanied the duo of Nikias and Phryné and their mutual affair.



Ex. 2: Second love theme, source: de Lassus, Saint-Saëns, p. 62, no 28

If we analyze the type of presentation of both male characters in the score, it turns out that each of them seems to be in some degree demasculinized. Every time this feature is obtained in relation to the love thread of the opera.

Nikias's character embodies all these characteristics of *opéra-comique*, which have contributed so much to the feminization of the genre. The aforementioned dominant expression of opera finds its fullest development in Nikias's vocal parts, as *dolce*, *dolce appassionato*, and *dolce amoroso*. The culminating scene with his participation, a duet of love confession, is unbelievably devoid of any rhetorical expression, as if to emphasize that Nikias is so uninteresting as the lover. Despite of *espressivo* and *appassionato* expression marks, this love affair seems to pass completely unnoticed, and Saint-Saëns emphasizes it even more with rather neutral and melancholic B-flat major mode. What seems particularly meaningful, Saint-Saëns often puts mark *espressivo* not in Nikias's part, but in the parts of accompanying violins.

Dicéphile is definitely more interesting in terms of construction of the character. His part can be interpreted on the basis of two idioms: the first one is typically comic with a slight operatic tinge, while the other is lyrical and lightly moving towards *serio*, like in the moment when he confesses his love to Phryné (in this moment E major mode repeats). In his couplets in Act II, a humorous reference to Orpheus and Cerber brings immediate associations with Offenbach's formula of the operetta. The two musical means used over and over again by Saint-Saëns to bring out this comic effect are as follows: the virtuosity (which in this case is merely a pale shadow of the idiom of *serio*) and some elements of, so to say, *stile antico* – Baroque fugue technique in Dicéphile's parts and parts in which his character is discussed.

The most interesting part of the opera is duo and *scene de l'apparition* of Act II, with Dicephilé and Phryné. This scene is almost entirely developed in E major – heroine's main mode. The same one revealed to us, just at the beginning of Act I, that allegedly cold and reasonable Dicéphile actually felt in love with Phryné at the very first sight. The fast, pulsating rhythm, paused and syncopated, imitating jocularly accelerated heartbeat, points to the non-serious nature of the affect in this scene. While Nikias's feelings are subtle and feminine, Dicéphile feels only superficial excitement. As I told before, E major is the main

mode of this whole scene (besides of three short recitative moments when it's left), and points out the leading position of Phryné, who dominates over Dicéphile and dictates the turns of their discussion. Dicéphile, who is applauded by Athens citizens chorus as true and virtuous man, worth of his ancestors' fame, eventually appears to be weak and unable to fulfil his duties, not only as the politician, orator and statesman (which were the most important men's virtues in ancient Greece), but also as a lover (he is not brave enough even to kiss Phryné in the culminating moment).

If we agree with Fauser's statement about *opéra-comique* as feminine genre, we should recognize this feature of femininity as bidimensional. First of these dimensions, more literal one, connects with the women as the composers of this genre. The second one connects with French (i.e. classical, light and clear) type of expression, as opposed to German, heavy romantic, narrative and pathetic one. This former type of expression, in metaphorical sense, we can interpret as feminine, the latter – as masculine. Curt Sachs in his *The Commonwealth of Art* differentiated between classical and romantical idioms of music, claiming that the ethos is more suitable to the former one, the pathos – vital rhetorical figure – to the latter idiom.¹⁷ From this point of view, what is highly rhetoric belongs to the romantic type of expression. In *Phryné* both idioms are somehow present, but this romantic one is embodied in main, female character. Here we can understand and interpret Fauser's statement in this way, connecting moreover masculinity in this opera with rhetorics and with pathetic means of expression (like figurativeness, chromaticism, sudden changes of registers and musical characters, extended ambitus, recitative and narrative way of constructing). All these characteristics belong to Phryné, who surpasses all male characters in the classical male virtues and enters the Pantheon of greatest heroines of 19th century French opera.

¹⁷ Curt Sachs, *The Commonwealth of Art: Style in the Fine Arts, Music and the Dance*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1946, p. 199–215.

«Εκεί, στη Σαμαρκάνδη». Ευρωπαϊκοί περιπλανώμενοι λυρικοί θίασοι στην κοντινή και μακρινή Ανατολή¹

Αύρα Ξεπαπαδάκου

*Και περνούσαν τον Καύκασο από το Βατούμ στο
Πότι, στο Σοχούμ Καλέ, στη Νοβορωσσίσκη,
διεσχίζανε τη Ρωσική Βεσσαραβία, έφταναν
στο Κίεβο και περνούσαν τον Προύθο,
κατέβαιναν στον Δούναβη, γύριζαν στην
Αζοφική, ξαναπερνούσαν τον Δον και ανέπλεαν
ως το μυχό της βάρβαρης Κολχίδος.²*

Η παρούσα μελέτη εστιάζει στη δράση των ευρωπαϊκών λυρικών θιάσων που περιόδευσαν στην ανατολική Μεσόγειο, την καθ' ημάς Ανατολή, τις χώρες του Καυκάσου και την Κεντρική Ασία στα τέλη του 19^{ου} και τις αρχές του 20^{ου} αιώνα. Αποσκοπεί στη διερεύνηση των διαδικασιών πολιτισμικής μεταφοράς και όσμωσης μεταξύ Δύσης και Ανατολής στο πεδίο του μουσικού θεάτρου. Οι θίασοι αυτοί, όπερας και οπερέτας, ήταν φορείς ενός πολιτιστικού προϊόντος κατ' εξοχήν δυτικής προέλευσης, το οποίο διακινούσαν από τα μητροπολιτικά οπερατικά κέντρα, όπως το Μιλάνο και το Παρίσι, στην περιφέρεια, εντός και εκτός ευρωπαϊκών συνόρων.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, κατά τον 19^ο αιώνα συντελείται η σταδιακή πτώση της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας και η αναλογικά αυξανόμενη τάση προς τον εξευρωπαϊσμό και τον εκδυτικισμό του ευρύτερου χώρου της ανατολικής Μεσογείου. Το νέο ανεξάρτητο ελληνικό κράτος ειδικότερα, λειτούργησε ως πολιτισμικό σταυροδρόμι ανάμεσα στη Δύση και την Ανατολή. Μέσα σε ένα διφυές κοινωνικοπολιτισμικό τοπίο ιταλικοί λυρικοί θίασοι αρχίζουν από το 1840 να περιοδεύουν σε θέατρα της Ελλάδας και της καθ' ημάς Ανατολής, για να τους διαδεχθούν, από τα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1860 και έπειτα, γαλλικοί θίασοι όπερας, οπερέτας και βωντβίλ. Στα τέλη του 19^{ου} αιώνα οι παράτολμοι Γάλλοι καλλιτέχνες θα αναπτυχθούν προς Ανατολάς, πέρα από τα γνωστά μας γεωγραφικά όρια, ακολουθώντας συγκεκριμένα δρομολόγια και διαγράφοντας μικρές οδύσσειες πάνω στον χάρτη.

¹ Το παρόν άρθρο αποτελεί μερικώς ανεπτυγμένη και επικαιροποιημένη εκδοχή της αγγλόγλωσσης δημοσίευσης Avra Xepapadaki, "European Itinerant Opera and Operetta Companies Touring in the Near and Middle East", στο *The Music Road, Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India*, Reinhard Strohm (επιμ.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, 316-331. Βασίζεται σε έρευνα που εκπονήθηκε κατά τη διετία 2016-2017 στην Ελλάδα, το Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο (Πανεπιστήμιο της Οξφόρδης) και την Ελβετία (Ινστιτούτο Μουσικών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου της Ζυρίχης), με την υποστήριξη υποτροφίας του προγράμματος "Balzan" στο πεδίο της μουσικολογίας [*Towards a global history of music*].

² Ηρακλής Λαχανοκάρδης, *Παλαιά και νέα Αλεξάνδρεια. Σύντομος ιστορική ανασκόπησης του αλεξανδρινού ελληνισμού κατά τα τελευταία 50 έτη*, Αλεξάνδρεια: Βιβλιοπωλείον Σπ. Γρίβα, 1927, 210.

Αυτή ακριβώς η αέναη μετακίνηση προς την Ανατολή με σταθμό, άλλοτε εκκίνησης και άλλοτε ανεφοδιασμού, μία χώρα που μόλις [επανα]προσαρτάται στη Δύση και προσαρμόζεται στον δυτικό τόπου ζωής και τα πρότυπα του αστισμού, πυροδότησε το ερευνητικό μας ενδιαφέρον. Η τριετούς διάρκειας έρευνά μας επικεντρώθηκε στην αναζήτηση πρωτογενών πηγών, μέσω των οποίων θα ήταν δυνατόν να εντοπιστούν, έστω και διάσπαρτα, τα ίχνη των ευρωπαϊκών περιοδεύοντων θιάσων όπερας και οπερέτας στην Ανατολή, προκειμένου να φωτιστεί μία άγνωστη και ανεξερεύνητη περιοχή της ιστορίας της μουσικής και του θεάτρου.

Ένα πλήθος ιταλικών και γαλλικών θιάσων επιχειρούν ανεξάρτητα, χωρίς δηλαδή συγκεκριμένη θεσμική (είτε κρατική, είτε ιδιωτική) εποπτεία, κατά τον μακρό 19^ο αιώνα εντός του «ελληνικού» χώρου, ο οποίος, όπως φάνηκε και παραπάνω, είναι πολύ πιο εκτεταμένος από τα τότε σύνορα του ελληνικού κράτους. Αυτός ο ευρύτατος γεωγραφικός χώρος περιλαμβάνει τις γνωστές παλαιότερες αγορές της Κερκύρας, Ζακύνθου και Κεφαλονιάς, τα δύο νεοαναδυόμενα αστικά κέντρα-λιμάνια της Ερμούπολεως και των Πατρών –και προς το τέλος του αιώνα τον Πειραιά– την πρωτεύουσα του ελληνικού κράτους, Αθήνα, καθώς και τα κέντρα της ελληνικής διασποράς της Ευρώπης των Βαλκανίων, του Ευξείνου Πόντου, των Μικρασιατικών παραλίων και της Αιγύπτου. Οι περιοχές αυτές συνδέονταν μεταξύ τους με έναν κοινό ιδεολογικό, κοινωνικό και πολιτιστικό ιστό: εύπορες ελληνικές κοινότητες, ελληνική εθνική συνείδηση, ελληνική γλώσσα, χριστιανική θρησκεία (όχι πάντοτε ορθόδοξη), ελληνική εκπαίδευση, αστική ζωή, ευρωπαϊκού τύπου ψυχαγωγία, η οποία, για τον 19^ο αιώνα, είναι κατ' εξοχήν το θέατρο, η όπερα, η οπερέτα, οι χοροεσπερίδες και οι οργανωμένες καλλιτεχνικές βραδιές και συναθροίσεις όλων των ειδών. Εμβληματικοί χώροι των παραπάνω ιδεών, συνηθειών και δραστηριοτήτων ήταν, η εκκλησία, το σχολείο, οι πρεσβείες και τα προξενεία και το θέατρο, το οποίο συνήθως τίθεται στο κέντρο του πολεοδομικού σχεδιασμού.³

Λόγω της ποικιλομορφίας, της ετερογένειας και της διασποράς των σχετικών πηγών, είναι εξαιρετικά δύσκολο να υπολογίσουμε πόσοι θιάσοι όπερας και οπερέτας, αρχικά ευρωπαϊκοί και στη συνέχεια ελληνικοί, ακολούθησαν τον δρόμο της Ανατολής από τις αρχές του 18^{ου} έως τα μέσα 20^{ου} αιώνα. Ωστόσο μπορούμε με ασφάλεια να επισημάνουμε ότι από το 1733, έτος κατά το οποίο λειτουργεί το θέατρο «San Giacomo» της Κέρκυρας, έως λίγο πριν το ξέσπασμα του Β' Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου, όταν ιδρύεται πλέον η Εθνική Λυρική Σκηνή, άρα αποκτά σταθερό λυρικό θίασο το ελληνικό κράτος, πάμπολλα μουσικοθεατρικά σχήματα έχουν εμφανιστεί στις ελληνικές σκηνές. Εντούτοις, τα σχήματα αυτά δεν συνιστούν σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις περιοδεύοντες θιάσους. Η πλειονότητα των καλλιτεχνικών αυτών επιχειρήσεων συγκροτείται κατόπιν δοκιμαστικών ακροάσεων –ενός είδους κάστινγκ, θα λέγαμε σήμερα– που διενεργούσαν οι μπρεσάριοι της εποχής στις μεγάλες οπερατικές «πιάτσες» του Μιλάνου και της Μπολόνιας, αργότερα των Παρισίων, με σκοπό την

³ Για μία εφ' όλης της ύλης επισκόπηση βλ. Walter Puchner, «A Typology of Western Music and Theatre Activity in South-East Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea Region in Modern Times (16th-19th Centuries)», στο *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India*, ό.π., 277-293.

πραγματοποίηση εμφανίσεων σε συγκεκριμένα θέατρα για μία ή δύο θεατρικές περιόδους. Όταν λήγουν τα συμβόλαιά τους, οι θίασοι διαλύονται και τα μέλη τους διασπείρονται.⁴

Η περίπτωση των περιπλανωμένων θιάσων είναι πολύ διαφορετική, καθώς διαπιστώνεται μία ιδιότυπη σταθερότητα στη σύστασή τους. Ένα πάγιο, ολιγομελές σώμα ερμηνευτών, υπό την ηγεσία ενός θιασάρχη, ταξιδεύει και εμφανίζεται σε διαδοχικούς σταθμούς και θέατρα. Συχνά το σχήμα ανανεώνεται, μέλη αποχωρούν και ο θίασος επαναστελεχώνεται. Ωστόσο σχεδόν πάντα παραμένουν σταθερά ένας βασικός κορμός μελών, καθώς και η συνθήκη της μετακίνησης και του συγκεκριμένου προορισμού.⁵ Οι περιπέτειες των περιοδεύοντων θιάσων έχουν ήδη από τον 17^ο αιώνα και την *commedia dell'arte* έως και τα μέσα του 20^{ου} αιώνα αποτυπωθεί σε απομνημονεύματα, χρονικά, αφηγήσεις, ταινίες.⁶ Σχεδόν πάντα περικλείουν το στοιχείο της ταλαιπωρίας και των κακουχιών, της γοητείας του αγνώστου, της έκπληξης, του αιφνιδιασμού, της αντιξοότητας, της έντονης χαράς και της έντονης απογοήτευσης. Ανέστιοι και πλάνητες, εκτός της επίσημης μουσικοθεατρικής αγοράς, σπανίως αφήνουν ίχνη:

«Μικροθίασοι ακέφαλοι και ανεργάτιστοι, οικτρά απομεινάκια διαφόρων θεατρικών επιχειρήσεων, συσσωμετούμενοι επιχειρούσαν ταξίδια τεράστια και αψηφούντες και περιφορνούντες κινδύνους, στερήσεις, παγετούς, χιονοθύελλας, έπαιρναν το δρόμο του αγνώστου, τολμηροί, ωραίοι, ηρωικοί. [...] Κάποτε μόνα εφόδια ήσαν τα ναύλα, και μόνο τα ναύλα του καταστρώματος, ωρισμένη τροφή, ξηρή και πενιχρή, υπολογισμένη ως το πρώτο λιμάνι, πολλές φορές χώρας αγνώστης, αφιλόξενης, σκυθρωπής.»⁷

Για να προσεγγίσουμε τη ζωή τους και να καταγράψουμε τη δράση τους

⁴ John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 39–79 & 135–52· John Rosselli, *Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 151–75· Emmanuelle Loubat, *La circulation des opérettes entre Paris et Vienne, 1856–1904, Mémoire comptant pour le DEA d'histoire*, Paris: Université Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2000.

⁵ Η διαθέσιμη βιβλιογραφία είναι πενιχρή. Εδώ αναφέρονται ενδεικτικά ορισμένοι τίτλοι. Για μία πρώτη προσέγγιση της δράσης των περιπλανωμένων θιάσων όπερας στις Η.Π.Α. του 19^{ου} αιώνα, βλ. Katherine K. Preston, *Opera on the Road: Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825–60*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993 και L.W. Conolly, *Theatrical Touring and Founding in North America*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982. Μία προσπάθεια να καταγραφεί η αντίστοιχη δραστηριότητα κυρίως στη Σκανδιναβία στο *Tracing Operatic Performances in the Long Nineteenth Century. Practices, Performers, Peripheries*, Anne Kauppala (επιμ.), Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen & Jens Hesselager, Helsinki: DocMus Research Publications, 2017.

⁶ Αντιπροσωπευτικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί το χρονικό του Carlo Goldoni, *Mémoires de M. Goldoni pour servir à l'histoire de sa vie et à celle de son théâtre. Dédiés o Roi*, 2 τόμοι, Paris: Chez la Veuve Duchesne, Librairie, 1787 και η βραβευμένη ταινία του Θεόδωρου Αγγελόπουλου, *Ο Θίασος* (1976, 230 mins, colour, 1.66:1).

⁷ Λαχανοκάρδης, *ό.π.*, 210. Μία ακόμη συναισθηματικά φορτισμένη περιγραφή από τον Β. Βεκιαρέλλη, «Οί πρόδρομοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι. Πῶς ἐνεφανίσθη διὰ πρώτην φορὰν τὸ ἑλληνικὸν μελόδραμα. Ὁ ἥρωισμὸς τῶν ἰδρυτῶν του καὶ ἡ νίκη των», *Ἔθνος*, 11.11.1928, 5.

κατά τον 19^ο αιώνα ή μάλλον κατά τους «σκοτεινούς χρόνους», πριν, δηλαδή, την εφεύρεση του γραμμοφώνου και του κινηματογράφου,⁸ απαιτείται να ανατρέξουμε σε ένα πλήθος πηγών, όχι πάντα σχετικών με την καλλιτεχνική ζωή. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, δεν είναι αρκετό να μελετήσουμε τη διαδικασία ανέγερσης και λειτουργίας θεατρικών κτηρίων, ενός δηλαδή γεγονότος που μαρτυρεί το άνοιγμα μιας νέας αγοράς· εξίσου σημαντικό είναι να παρακολουθήσουμε τη ραγδαία ανάπτυξη δημοσίων έργων και δικτύων συγκοινωνίας, όπως την κατασκευή δρόμων, σιδηροδρόμων, λιμανιών, αργότερα αεροδρομίων και τη λειτουργία τους. Λόγου χάριν, η ανέγερση θεάτρων στις χώρες του Καυκάσου και η άνθηση της θεατρικής κίνησης δεν είναι ανεξάρτητη από την εγκαινίαση του υπερ-καυκασιακού σιδηροδρόμου που συνέδεε το Βατούμ, πόλη-λιμάνι στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα με το Μπακού, πόλη-λιμάνι στην Κασπία. Ως εκ τούτου, για να ιχνηλατίσουμε τους σταθμούς μιας περιοδείας, πρέπει πρώτα να ελέγξουμε προσεκτικά τον χάρτη αλλά και τα καθιερωμένα δρομολόγια των ατμόπλοιων και τις συνδέσεις των λιμανιών του 19^{ου} αιώνα. Τα ατμόπλοια του 19ου αιώνα συνέδεαν τα ελληνικά λιμάνια με τη Δυτική Μεσόγειο και τη Μαύρη Θάλασσα. Κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο έχουμε τη δυνατότητα να εικάσουμε ποιος ήταν ο επόμενος σταθμός μιας περιοδείας, ακόμη και εάν δεν διαθέτουμε σχετικές πρωτογενείς πηγές.

Αναφερθήκαμε νωρίτερα στη σαρωτική τάση εξευρωπαϊσμού και εξαστισμού που παρατηρείται στις πρώην κτήσεις της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας. Η στροφή προς τη Δύση, η υιοθέτηση ευρωπαϊκών συνηθειών, η εγκατάλειψη του παραδοσιακού-κοινοτικού τρόπου ζωής, η συγκέντρωση πληθυσμών στις πόλεις σχηματίζει το κοινό-στόχο των περιοδειών. Στο αστικολαϊκό κοινό των πόλεων κατ' εξοχήν θα απευθυνθούν οι ευρωπαϊκοί θίασοι. Δεν μπορούμε τέλος να αγνοήσουμε τα ιστορικά γεγονότα, τις θρησκευτικές ή πολιτικές μεταρρυθμίσεις, όπως το διάταγμα Χάτι Χουμαγιούν, μία δεσμίδα μέτρων που άμβλυσε σκληρές πτυχές της οθωμανικής διοίκησης και επέτρεψε στους ευρωπαίους καλλιτέχνες να διαδώσουν την όπερα και το θέατρο στα εδάφη της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας και να επιχειρήσουν να διεισδύσουν όλο και βαθύτερα. Τέλος, οφείλουμε να λάβουμε υπ' όψιν μας την τεχνολογική πρόοδο της οπτικοακουστικής βιομηχανίας, η οποία σημαδεύει ανεξίτηλα την αυγή του 20^{ου} αιώνα και κυριολεκτικά ανατρέπει κάθε προηγούμενη εμπειρία: οι πρώτες ηχογραφήσεις, αργότερα η δισκογραφία, ο κινηματογράφος, το ραδιόφωνο, η τηλεόραση, η μαζική παραγωγή και αναπαραγωγή ήχου και εικόνας αποδυναμώνουν την ανάγκη για ζωντανή ψυχαγωγία και καθιστούν ακόμη και περιττή τη δράση των περιοδεύοντων θιάσων.

Οι περιοδεύοντες μουσικοθεατρικοί θίασοι οι οποίοι ταξίδευαν από τη δυτική Ευρώπη στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο ακολουθούσαν συγκεκριμένα δρομολόγια. Το παλαιότερο και συχνότερο ήταν αυτό που είχε ως σημείο εκκίνησης την Μπολόνια ή το Μιλάνο και διέσχιζε μέσω της Ανκόνας την Αδριατική Θάλασσα έως την Κέρκυρα, με τέρμα το λιμάνι των Πατρών. Από την Πάτρα, η οποία συνήθως αποτελούσε σταθμό της περιοδείας, ένας θίασος είχε τη δυνατότητα να μετακινηθεί, είτε στη Ζάκυνθο ή την Κεφαλονιά, και να

⁸ Anne Kauppala, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen & Jens Hesselager, «Introduction», in *Tracing Operatic Performances in the Long Nineteenth Century. Practices, Performers, Peripheries*, ό.π., 7-11.

εμφανιστεί στα εκεί θέατρα, είτε, πραγματοποιώντας τον γύρο της Πελοποννήσου έως τη διάνοιξη του ισθμού της Κορίνθου, στον Πειραιά και την Αθήνα. Από εκεί στη Σύρο, τη Σμύρνη, την Κωνσταντινούπολη. Εάν συνεχιζόταν η περιοδεία, επόμενοι σταθμοί θα ήταν τα λιμάνια του Εύξεινου Πόντου της σημερινής Βουλγαρίας, Ρουμανίας, Ουκρανίας και Ρωσίας, για να καταλήξει στην περιοχή του Καυκάσου. Από εκεί, οι θίασοι συνήθως ανέβαιναν προς τον βορρά, έως το Κίεβο ή, πιο σπάνια, επέστρεφαν στην Κωνσταντινούπολη με σταθμούς στις πόλεις του Πόντου. Εναλλακτικά δρομολόγια περιλαμβάνουν τον ηπειρωτικό κύκλο της Ρουμανίας, με τις τρεις σημαντικές πόλεις Βουκουρέστι, Βράιλα, Γαλάζιο, ενώ άλλα τον νότιο κύκλο της Αιγύπτου με παραστάσεις στην Αλεξάνδρεια, το Κάιρο και το Πορτ-Σάιντ.⁹

Η δραστηριότητα αυτή έχει στο παρελθόν μερικώς μελετηθεί με γνώμονα τη διάδοση της ιταλικής όπερας στον Δυτικό κόσμο, ενώ υπάρχουν και ορισμένες, πράγματι λίγες, έρευνες για τη θεατρική ζωή στις γαλλικές και βρετανικές αποικίες. Ωστόσο δεν έχει προς το παρόν μέσα από μία συνολική θεώρηση αποτυπωθεί η λεπτομερής χάραξη της διαδρομής της όπερας και της οπερέτας προς Ανατολάς ούτε έχει διερευνηθεί η πρόσληψη των ειδών μέσα σε ανοικεία πολιτιστικά περιβάλλοντα, η επαφή τους με το κοσμοπολίτικο κοινό της ευρωπαϊκής διασποράς, αλληλεπίδρασή τους με τις ανατολικές συνήθειες, τις νοοτροπίες και την αισθητική, ακόμη και η σχέση τους με τα μουσουλμανικά καθεστώτα.

Μπορούμε να αναφερθούμε σε πολλά ενδιαφέροντα παραδείγματα, όπως αυτό του περίφημου Έλληνικού Μελοδραματικού Θιάσου των Λάνδη-Καραγιάννη που παρουσίασε γνωστές όπερες μεταφρασμένες στα ελληνικά στις περιοδείες του από το Κάιρο έως την Κριμαία. Το σχήμα αυτό έλαβε ακόμη και παράσημο από τον Σουλτάνο στην Κωνσταντινούπολη όταν ανέβασε, μεταξύ των άλλων και την *Αρπαγή από το Σεράι* του Μότσαρτ με τον αθώο τίτλο *Κωνσταντζα και Μπελμόντης*.¹⁰ Από την άλλη, η Ανατολή αντεπιτίθεται με τους θιάσους αρμενικής οπερέτας που κατακτούν το ελληνικό κοινό μετά της «μεθυστικής και τρυφηλής ασιατικής μουσικής».¹¹

Θα επιμείνουμε σε ένα παράδειγμα και θα δώσουμε έναν γλαφυρό και λίγο τετριμμένο τίτλο στην ενότητα που ακολουθεί: «ένα βότσαλο στην παραλία».

⁹ Βλ. επίσης Ιρένα Μπογκντάνοβιτς & Βάλτερ Πούχνερ, «Ελληνικοί μελοδραματικοί θίασοι και λυρικοί καλλιτέχνες στην Οδησό πριν από τον Πρώτο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο (1880-1914)», *Πολυφωνία*, 24 (Άνοιξη 2014), 108-120· των ιδίων, «Το ελληνικό θέατρο στην Οδησό 1814-1914», *Παράβασις*, 2013· Chrysothemis Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou, «Greek Theatre in Southeastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean from 1810 to 1961», *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 25: 2 (2007), 267-284.

¹⁰ Αύρα Ξεπαπαδάκου, «Μελόδραμα εις την ελληνίδα φωνήν. Ο Ελληνικός Μελοδραματικός Θίασος του Ιωάννη Καραγιάννη, ένας περιπλανώμενος φορέας ελληνικότητας», *Αριάδνη*, 17 (2011), 277-313.

¹¹ Η δημοφιλία της οπερέτας στην Ελλάδα αυξάνεται στο κατακόρυφο με την επίσκεψη θιάσων αρμενικής οπερέτας στην Αθήνα το 1883 που παρουσιάζουν την ανατολίτικη οπερέτα *Leblebidji Horhor Aga* του Tigran Tsouhadjian, ένα έργο που προκάλεσε μεγάλη εντύπωση στο ελληνικό κοινό «διὰ τοὺς πρωτοτυποτάτους ἀνατολικούς χαρακτήρας» και την «ιδιόρρυθμον» και «ἀλλόκοτον» αρμονία της μουσικής – βλ. Σμυρνιός, «Λεμπλεμιζής Χορ-χὸρ Ἀγᾶς», *Μὴ χάνεσαι*, 15.5.1883, 6-7.

Πριν από δέκα χρόνια, το 2005, μάλιστα με αφορμή τον τιμητικό τόμο για τον καθηγητή Βάλτερ Πούχνερ Στέφανος, άρχισα να διερευνώ την περίπτωση του θιάσου Lassalle-Charlet.¹² Επρόκειτο για έναν θίασο γαλλικής όπερας, οπερέτας, βωντβίλ και πρόζας, με επωνυμία «Théâtre Français a l'Étranger», που βρέθηκε για δύο χρόνια στην Αθήνα, το 1887 και το 1888, και κυριολεκτικά άφησε εποχή με την πρωτοφανή για τα θεατρικά ήθη τυχοδιωκτική του δράση, τον αποκαλούμενο από την εποχή «λασσαλισμό».¹³ Το υλικό που συγκεντρώθηκε ήταν ογκωδέστατο και γοητευτικότατο και οδήγησε στη συγγραφή μιας μελέτης έκτασης πλέον των 40 σελίδων,¹⁴ στην οποία περιέχονταν στοιχεία για τον βίο και την πολιτεία των συντελεστών του θιάσου στην Αθήνα, για τη προκλητική απευθείας ανάθεση της διεύθυνσης του νεόδμητου Δημοτικού Θεάτρου Αθηνών, για τη σχέση του θιασάρχη και πρωταγωνιστή, Ευγένιου Λασάλ, με το παλάτι και την οικονομική ελίτ, για όλα τα τρανταχτά (και απολαυστικά) σκάνδαλα που συνδέθηκαν με το όνομα Lassalle ο οποίος –παραθέτουμε από ένα έντυπο της εποχής– για δύο έτη απομύζησε μέχρι τελευταίας σταγόνας την «έν Ανατολή καλαισθησία και φιλομουσία».¹⁵

Παρότι για την ιστορία του ελληνικού θεάτρου και της ελληνικής μουσικής η έρευνα αυτή ίσως έχει κάποια αξία, καθώς ρίχνει φως σε ζητήματα, ανάμεσα στα οποία οι όροι και οι πρακτικές της μουσικοθεατρικής αγοράς, η διείσδυση των ισχυρών της εξουσίας και του χρήματος στην πολιτιστική ζωή, η ξενομανία και ο νεοπλουτισμός της αθηναϊκής κοινωνίας, τα πρώτα χρόνια του Δημοτικού Θεάτρου Αθηνών, η ανανέωση του ρεπερτορίου κλπ, για την ευρύτερη ιστορία του θεάτρου και της μουσικής μοιάζει σαν ένα ασήμαντο βοτσαλάκι, ανάμεσα στα αμέτρητα, εκατομμύρια βότσαλα μιας παραλίας. Κι όμως, αν παρακολουθήσουμε την πορεία των Γάλλων καλλιτεχνών πριν την άφιξή του στην Αθήνα και κυρίως μετά, θα συνειδητοποιήσουμε την ευρύτητα της έρευνας αυτής.

Η μικρο-ιστορία του έχει ως εξής: έχοντας σπουδάσει υποκριτική στο Petit Séminaire του Bordeaux, ο Eugène Lassalle έκανε το θεατρικό του ντεμπούτο στην Angers το 1877. Συνέχισε τη σταδιοδρομία του ως ηθοποιός στη γαλλική

¹² Αύρα Ξεπαπαδάκου, «Bon pour l'Orient I. Ο Γαλλικός μελοδραματικός θίασος Lassalle-Charlet στην Αθήνα. Μία πρώτη καταγραφή», Στέφανος. Τιμητική προσφορά στον Βάλτερ Πούχνερ, Ιωσήφ Βιβιλάκης (επιμ.), Αθήνα: Παράβασις/Ergo, 2007, 929–46.

¹³ Ο θίασος Λασάλ-Σαρλέ δεν ήταν ούτε ο πρώτος ούτε ο μόνος ξένος θίασος που εγκαθίσταται στην Αθήνα της δεκαετίας του 1880 και εκμεταλλεύεται κάθε προσφερόμενη ευκαιρία για κέρδος. Η ίδια, όμως, η εποχή του τον ξεχωρίζει ως φαινόμενο αυθάδειας και τυχοδιωκτισμού, ως αληθές «événement» που όμοιό του δεν έχει ξαναπαρουσιαστεί στην αθηναϊκή χρονογραφία. Βλ. ενδεικτικά: Έφημερίς, 05.01.1889, 2, Μάυρος Γάτος, «Ἡ ἀποχώρησις τοῦ Λασσάλ», Τὸ Ἄστυ, 08.01.1889, 6. Ο όρος «λασσαλισμός» εμφανίζεται στην αθηναϊκή Έφημερίδα, 07.01.1889, 2.

¹⁴ Αύρα Ξεπαπαδάκου, «Bon pour l'Orient II. Μία σκιαγράφηση της δράσης του γαλλικού μελοδραματικού θιάσου Lassalle-Charlet στην Αθήνα (1887–1888)», Επιστημονική Επιθεώρηση Τεχνών του Θεάματος, 1 (2009), 245–292.

¹⁵ Ο Υἱὸς τῆς νυκτός, «Θεατρικά», Το Ἄστυ, 10.04.1888, 6–7. Για την ιστορία του Δημοτικού Θεάτρου Αθηνών και την καλλιτεχνική του διεύθυνση από τον Ευγένιο Λασάλ: Αύρα Ξεπαπαδάκου, «Δημοτικό Θέατρο Αθηνών: Τα πρώτα χρόνια της κακοδαιμονίας ενός συγγροείου ευεργετήματος», Αριάδνη, 18 (2012), 253–84.

περιφέρεια για οκτώ περίπου χρόνια, από το 1878 έως το 1886, και έπειτα απέκτησε έναν δικό του θίασο, με τον οποίον άρχισε να περιοδεύει.¹⁶ Ξεκινώντας από το Παρίσι το 1886, ταξίδεψε στη Ρουμανία και στη συνέχεια, το 1887, μετέφερε τη θεατρική του επιχείρηση στην Αθήνα. Αφού παρέμεινε εκεί το καλοκαίρι, αναχώρησε στις αρχές του Σεπτεμβρίου 1887 για τη Σμύρνη, όπου εμφανίστηκε στο θέατρο «Αλάμπρα» για έναν περίπου μήνα. Έπειτα μετέβη με το ατμόπλοιο στη Θεσσαλονίκη, μία σχετικά νέα θεατρική αγορά, για σειρά παραστάσεων για να καταλήξει, με ενδιαμέσο σταθμό την Αθήνα, στην Ερμούπολη της Σύρου. Εκεί, παρουσίασε οπερέτες, βωντβίλ και γαλλικές όπερες κατά την προσοδοφόρο περίοδο του καρναβαλιού 1887-1888.¹⁷ Από τη Σύρο κατέφθασε και πάλι στην Αθήνα για μία «αρπαχτή», κατά την εύστοχη αγοραία έκφραση, μόλις τεσσάρων παραστάσεων, από εκεί «πετάχτηκε» και πάλι στη Θεσσαλονίκη, όπου εμφανίστηκε έως τα τέλη του χειμώνα. Επόμενος σταθμός και πάλι η Αθήνα, για τρεις παραστάσεις, και έπειτα η Πάτρα, και πάλι το καλοκαίρι η Αθήνα, έως ότου τού ανατίθεται η διεύθυνση του Δημοτικού Θεάτρου Αθηνών, το οποίο εγκαινιάζεται τον Οκτώβριο του 1888. Στις αρχές του Ιανουαρίου 1889 ο Lassalle τρέπεται σε φυγή, κυνηγημένος από δανειστές. Σύμφωνα με ένα δημοσίευμα, πέρασε πάλι από τη Σύρο και κατέληξε στη Σμύρνη.¹⁸

Ας παρατηρήσουμε τώρα τη μεγαλύτερη εικόνα· στη Μικρά Ασία πλέον ο θίασος, επιχειρεί μία σειρά παραστάσεων στο λαμπρότερο κέντρο της καθ' ημάς Ανατολής, την Κωνσταντινούπολη. Εκεί, από ό,τι μαθαίνουμε, ο θιασάρχης ενθουσιάζει σε τέτοιο βαθμό τον Σουλτάνο, που αναγορεύεται *Grand Intendant du Luxueux Théâtre du Sultan* στο θέατρο Yildiz.¹⁹ Κωνσταντινούπολη σημαίνει άνοιγμα προς τη Μαύρη Θάλασσα και τις χώρες του Καυκάσου. Το 1891 αποφασίζει να περάσει στα ενδότερα της Καυκασίας και φαίνεται ότι διαπρέπει για ένα διάστημα στο θέατρο της Τιφλίδας²⁰. Ταξιδεύοντας με τον υπερ-καυκασιακό σιδηρόδρομο κλείνει παραστάσεις στο Ελιζαμπέτπολ, τη σημερινή Γκαντζά, μία πόλη επωνομαζόμενη μικρό καυκασιανό Παρίσι, για να καταλήξει στις όχθες της Κασπίας, στο εντυπωσιακό Μπακού, το οποίο τότε περιστοιχίζαν υψικάμινι και αντλίες πετρελαίου.²¹

Από το σημείο αυτό ξεκινά η πραγματική περιπέτεια. Ο Lassalle αφήνει τον δεκατετραμελή θίασό του στο Μπακού –ο θίασος θα τον ακολουθήσει δέκα ημέρες μετά– και επιβιβάζεται στο ατμόπλοιο που διασχίζει την Κασπία για να αποβιβαστεί στο Ουζούν Αντά, το οποίο βρίσκεται στο σημερινό Τουρκμενιστάν, τότε όμως ανήκε στη Ρωσική Αυτοκρατορία. Στο Ουζούν Αντά, ένα χωριό στην

¹⁶ Mireille Barrière, «Lassalle, Eugène», *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, τόμος 15: 1921–1930, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–2017.

¹⁷ Αύρα Ξεπαπαδάκου, «Bon pour l'Orient II», *ό.π.*, 249–254.

¹⁸ *Εφημερίς*, 12.01.1889, 3.

¹⁹ Hélène Beauchamp, «Lassalle, Jean-Baptiste Eugène», *Dictionnaire des artistes du théâtre Québécois*, Michel Vaïs (επιμ.), Quebec: Editions Quebec Amerique, 2008. Βλ. επίσης την περίγραφή της εμπειρίας στο Yildiz Kiosque από τον ίδιο τον Lassalle: *Eugène Lassalle, Comédiens et amateurs. Le théâtre et ses dessous*, Montréal: Imprimerie du Devoir, 1919, 25–7.

²⁰ *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 16.02.1889, 5.

²¹ Eugène Lassalle, *L'opérette française en Asie centrale. Récit du voyage de la première troupe française dans la Transcaspienne et le Turkestan*, Τιφλίς: Imprimerie Martirossiantz, 1891, 9–11.

πραγματικότητα, εκκινεί ο νεοκατασκευασθείς υπερ-κασπιακός σιδηρόδρομος. Εκεί, μέσα στο θρυλικό αυτό τραίνο, ο θιασάρχης θα προετοιμάσει την τουρνέ του στο δυτικό Τουρκεστάν, όπως ονομαζόταν η περιοχή που περίπου ταυτίζεται με το σημερινό Ουζμπεκιστάν όταν βρισκόταν υπό ρωσική κυριαρχία.²² Τι σημαίνει προετοιμασία μιας τουρνέ; Ο μπρεσάριος ταχυδρομεί αφίσες, αναγγελίες, εισιτήρια και άλλο έντυπο υλικό, σε όλες τις πόλεις όπου προγραμματίζει παραστάσεις και, μέσω τηλεγραφημάτων, έρχεται σε επαφή με όλους τους τοπικούς παράγοντες και τα πρόσωπα που εμπλέκονται με την επιχείρηση. Κλείνει στη συνέχεια ημερομηνίες παραστάσεων και χαράζει την πορεία της περιοδείας του. Μία ατυχία μπορεί να καταστρέψει την τουρνέ αλυσσιδωτά σε όλους τους διαδοχικούς σταθμούς, για τον λόγο αυτόν, όπως υπογραμμίζει και ο ίδιος ο Lassalle, απαιτείται ακρίβεια, πρόνοια, προσοχή κατά την προετοιμασία.²³

Ας παρακολουθήσουμε στον χάρτη τη μικρή του Οδύσσεια, ταξιδεύοντας μαζί του και στη συνέχεια με τον θίασο μέσα από τα στεππικά και τα ερημικά βαθύπερα, την κόκκινη και τη «μαύρη άμμο» Κιζιλκούμ και Καρακούμ της Κεντρικής Ασίας: από το Ουζούν Αντά στο Κιζίλ Αρβάτ, στη Μερβ, στο Ασκαμπάντ, στη μυθική Μπουχάρα, στην ακόμη πιο μυθική Σαμαρκάνδη, όπου είναι το τέλος της σιδηροδρομικής γραμμής και μετά ιππαστί για την Τασκένδη.²⁴ Μόνο στον τελευταίο αυτόν σταθμό υπάρχει στοιχειώδης θεατρική υποδομή, δηλαδή μία υποτυπώδης θεατρική σκηνή για να παίξουν οι Γάλλοι καλλιτέχνες της οπερέτας. Στις προηγούμενες πόλεις εμφανίζονται οπουδήποτε, σε λέσχες, καφενεία, κήπους, άλλους χώρους συνάθροισης με ή χωρίς σκηνή. Συχνά δε καλείται ο στρατός, ή μάλλον το τοπικό τάγμα, να κατασκευάσει, αντί θεατρικής σκηνής, ένα εφήμερο πατάρι των τριών μέτρων.²⁵ Παρότι ανάμεσα στα μέλη του θιάσου περιλαμβάνεται και ένας διευθυντής ορχήστρας, ορχήστρες στους σταθμούς της περιοδείας δεν διατίθενται. Οι οπερέτες εκτελούνται άλλοτε με συνοδεία πιάνου –εάν κάτι τέτοιο ήταν δυνατόν να βρεθεί– άλλοτε με τις διαθέσιμες ολιγομελείς στρατιωτικές μπάντες του κάθε τόπου. Σε κάποια πόλη αξιοποιήθηκε ένα μικρό εκκλησιαστικό αρμόνιο, το οποίο κελάηδησε χαρούμενα τους σκοπούς της *Δεσποινίδος Νιτούς* και του *Κοριτσιού του μπαμπά!*²⁶

Προφανώς τα παραπάνω δεν συγκαταλέγονται καν στις δυσκολίες και τις αντιξοότητες που καλούνταν να αντιμετωπίσουν κάθε φορά οι περιπλανώμενοι καλλιτέχνες του μουσικού θεάτρου: καιρικές συνθήκες, μηχανικές βλάβες, ασθένειες και επιδημίες, ληστείες των υπαρχόντων τους, επιθέσεις διωγμοί από θρησκευτικές, πολιτικές ή κοινωνικές ομάδες σε μία *terra incognita*. Κι όμως οι Γάλλοι θεατρίνοι απτόητοι όργωναν τις πρώην κτήσεις του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου, του Τζέκις Χαν και του Ταμερλάνου, έχοντας συνείδηση ότι επιτελούν εκπολιτιστικό έργο – «*grande mission civilisatrice*» το χαρακτηρίζει ο

²² Svetlana Goršenina, «Les voyageurs francophones en Asie Centrale de 1860 à 1932», *Cahiers du monde russe: Russie*, 39:3 (1998), 361–73.

²³ Eugène Lassalle, *L'opérette française*, ό.π., 22–3 και 96–7.

²⁴ Svetlana Goršenina, *Explorateurs en Asie Centrale. Voyageurs et aventuriers de Marco Polo a Ella Maillart*, Γενεύη: Olizane, 2003, 96–7.

²⁵ Lassalle, *L'opérette française*, ό.π., 44.

²⁶ Στο ίδιο, 27.

ίδιος ο θιασάρχης. Και πράγματι, όταν ο Lassalle επιστρέφει μετά από επτά ολόκληρα έτη στη γενέτειρά του, τιμάται με το παράσημο και τον τίτλο *officier d'académie* για το έργο της διάδοσης του γαλλικού πολιτισμού στο εξωτερικό.²⁷ Ο Eugène Lassalle θα καταλήξει στο Μόντρεαλ, όπου θα αναδειχθεί σκαπανεύς διδάσκαλος της δραματικής τέχνης και ιδρυτής της πρώτης δραματικής σχολής του Καναδά!²⁸

Συνοψίζοντας, η μελέτη της μουσικοθεατρικής ζωής του 19^{ου} αιώνα και ιδιαίτερα της ιστορίας του μουσικού θεάτρου θυμίζει ένα κατακερματισμένο μωσαϊκό. Έχουν εκπονηθεί διδακτορικές διατριβές και μελέτες με αντικείμενο τον βίο και το έργο σπουδαίων δημιουργών και ερμηνευτών· άλλες με θέμα την καλλιτεχνική ζωή και δράση σε συγκεκριμένα γεωγραφικά όρια· άλλες πάλι με εστίαση σε σταθερούς θεσμούς και φορείς ή σε ρεύματα και σχολές. Ωστόσο, διαπιστώνεται ότι ελλείπει μία ευρύτερη, συνολικότερη, διασταυρούμενη θεώρηση των παραπάνω μικρο-ιστοριών, ίσως ακριβώς επειδή διαφεύγει ο συνεκτικός ιστός μεταξύ τόπων, προσώπων, θεσμών και γεγονότων. Κατά συνέπεια, λόγω της αποσπασματικότητας και της διασποράς του, το τεράστιο απόθεμα που έχει τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες συγκεντρωθεί, παραμένει αναξιοποίητο.

Κι όμως ο συνεκτικός ιστός υπάρχει: το μουσικό θέατρο, ένα παραστασιακό γένος το οποίο διαδίδεται και καθίσταται κατανοητό και δημοφιλές κατά τον μακρό 19^ο αιώνα, χωρίς αυστηρούς περιορισμούς γλώσσας, κουλτούρας ή θρησκείας. Πρόκειται για την όπερα, την οπερέτα και τα συγγενή είδη, όχι όπως αποτυπώνονται στις παρτιτούρες ή στις σελίδες, αλλά πάνω στο σανίδι, ως σκηνική πράξη. Δυναμικοί τους φορείς είναι δημιουργικές μονάδες ή ομάδες, οι οποίες μέχρι πρότινος κρίνονταν ως άσημες και ασήμαντες από την έρευνα των παραστατικών τεχνών. «Ιταλικός ή γαλλικός μελοδραματικός θιάσος» ή «θέατρον γαλλικόν εν Αθήναις», διαβάζουμε συχνά σε παραστασιογραφικά μελετήματα, τα οποία έχουν την τάση να καταδικάζουν τη μουσικοθεατρική δραστηριότητα του 19^{ου} αιώνα στην ανωνυμία, συνοδεύοντάς την σχεδόν πάντα με κάποια απαξίωση, που απλώς επαληθεύει την αδυναμία μας να διακρίνουμε τη μεταλύτερη, σύνθετη εικόνα. Ακόμη όμως και η εξέχουσα πνευματική προσωπικότητα Alexandra David-Néel, σκαπανεύς μελετήτρια των ανατολικών θρησκείων, αναχωρήτρια φιλόσοφος του εσωτερισμού, αναρχική ηγερία του Jack Kerouac και της γενεάς των beat, ακόμη και εκείνη, ακούγοντας στο όνομα Alexandra Myrial, έμελψε το à la mode γαλλικό ρεπερτόριο στο Δημοτικό Θέατρο Αθηνών και ενθουσίασε το αθηναϊκό κοινό, ερμηνεύοντας ρόλους ελαφράς υψιφώνου ως μέλος ενός ανώνυμου γαλλικού θιάσου, πριν εγκαταλείψει οριστικά και αμετάκλητα τον δυτικό πολιτισμό και εγκατασταθεί στο Θιβέτ.²⁹

²⁷ Barrière, «Eugène Lassalle», ό.π.

²⁸ Λήμμα «Université Laval et Education», *L'Almanach du peuple Beauchemin*, 48 (1922), 171.

²⁹ Με χαρά θα αναφερθώ στην αντίστοιχη με τη δική μου ερευνητική περιπέτεια του συναδέλφου Samuel Thévoz, ειδικού στις βουδιστικές σπουδές, ο οποίος αναζητούσε τα ίχνη της Alexandra David-Néel σε ένα τεράστιο γεωγραφικό και χρονικό πλαίσιο που κάλυπτε τρεις ηπείρους και έναν αιώνα, όσο και ο μακρός βίος της. Έχοντας εντοπίσει μία διάσπαρτη και ανεπιβεβαίωτη πληροφορία ότι η Alexandra στα νιάτα της είχε εμφανιστεί ως λυρική τραγουδίστρια στην «όπερα των Αθηνών» στα τέλη του 19^{ου} αιώνα,

Σήμερα, ολοένα και αυξάνεται το επιστημονικό δυναμικό που μοιράζεται το κοινό ενδιαφέρον (ή και πάθος) για το ερευνητικό πεδίο της ιστορίας της μουσικοθεατρικής παράστασης, ένα πεδίο πλούσιο σε νέες προοπτικές το οποίο τείνει να ανατρέψει ολοσχερώς τον τρόπο με τον οποίον οι σύγχρονοι ιστορικοί του θεάτρου και της μουσικής αξιολογούν και ερμηνεύουν το αντικείμενό τους. Ιδίως σε ό,τι αφορά στη «σκοτεινή εποχή», δηλαδή στον 19^ο αιώνα, η ιστοριογραφία των παραστατικών τεχνών όλο και πιο συχνά πλέον μετατοπίζεται από τη μελέτη του βίου και του έργου των μεγάλων δημιουργών και ερμηνευτών στις μικρότερες διασταυρούμενες ιστορίες, με επίκεντρο την παράσταση και την περιορέουσα παραστασιακή (παρότι όχι πάντα αποκλειστικά σκηνική) δραστηριότητα. Είναι αλήθεια ότι μία τέτοια προσέγγιση απαιτεί εξονυχιστική πρωτογενή έρευνα και σταχυολόγηση, καθώς αφορά λιγότερο τα σημαντικά καλλιτεχνικά γεγονότα, και περισσότερο τις πολυάριθμες επιτυχίες «της ημέρας», την προφορική, μη επίσημη ιστορία, τα καλλιτεχνικά παραλειπόμενα, τα σχόλια και τις ειδήσεις που δημοσιεύονται καμιά φορά στα «ψιλά γράμματα» των εφημερίδων, το στοιχείο του εφήμερου. Οι ψηφίδες αυτές της καλλιτεχνικής καθημερινότητας, όταν τοποθετηθούν σε ένα κοινό πλαίσιο, σχηματίζουν μία ενιαία και ζωντανή εικόνα της μουσικοθεατρικής ζωής του 19^{ου} αιώνα, που ανάγεται περισσότερο στην κοινωνική διάσταση της ιστορίας των παραστατικών τεχνών, παρά στην καθαυτή ιστορία της μουσικής και του θεάτρου. Στην εικόνα αυτή, που προσπαθούμε σήμερα πλέον να συμπληρώσουμε, αποτυπώνονται με διαυγή τρόπο οι αισθητικές κλίσεις μιας εποχής, οι προτιμήσεις του ευρύτερου κοινού, εντός και εκτός Δυτικού κόσμου, η λειτουργία της καλλιτεχνικής αγοράς, η εξέλιξη της υποκριτικής και της σκηνοθεσίας, καθώς και άλλες πτυχές της μουσικοθεατρικής πράξης, πέρα από σύνορα, τόπους και έθνη.

ζήτησε τη βοήθειά μου. Παρότι η έρευνα ήταν αρχικά απογοητευτική, στη συνέχεια κατάφερα να αλιεύσω ένα ακόμη «βοτσαλάκι στην παραλία»: η ελαφρά υψίφωνος Alexandra Myrial φαίνεται ότι ήταν μέλος του γαλλικού θιάσου όπερας υπό τον ιμπρεσάριο Boyet και εμφανίστηκε για μία σύντομη καλλιτεχνική περίοδο (Σεπτέμβριος-Νοέμβριος 1899) στο Δημοτικό Θέατρο Αθηνών. Μάλιστα υπήρξε αγαπημένη του αθηναϊκού κοινού, το οποίο καταρρακώθηκε όταν εκείνη όλως αιφνιδίως έσπασε το συμβόλαιό της και εξαφανίστηκε! Οι σχετικές αναφορές σε αθηναϊκές εφημερίδες της επίμαχης περιόδου, όπως το *Έμπρός*, εστάλησαν στον Samuel Thévoz, ο οποίος τις συμπεριέλαβε στην εισαγωγή της υπό την επιμέλειά του κριτικής έκδοσης του έργου της Alexandra David-Néel, *Le Grand Art*, Paris: Le Tripode, 2018, 22.

Κερκυραϊκή σαιζόν όπερας 1888/9: Από την αρχική τραγωδία στο Grassano της Ιταλίας (8/20.10.1888) έως το θριαμβευτικό καλλιτεχνικό φινάλε με την *Flora Mirabilis* του Σπύρου Σαμάρα

Κωνσταντίνος Γ. Σαμπάνης

Τον Αύγουστο του 1888 η εργολαβία του θεάτρου San Giacomo της Κέρκυρας για την σαιζόν όπερας 1888/9 (διεθνείς θεατρικές περίοδοι Φθινοπώρου 1888 και Απόκρεω 1888/9) ανατέθηκε από την «Επιτροπή» («Commissione») του συγκεκριμένου θεάτρου στον Αλέξανδρο Τεμπονέρα Βόγγολη (αναφέρεται ως Alessandro Tembonera Vogoli στον Ιταλικό μουσικοθεατρικό Τύπο της εποχής).¹ Η έναρξη των παραστάσεων είχε ορισθεί για το γ' δεκαήμερο Οκτωβρίου 1888 και η λήξη τους για την Τελευταία Κυριακή της Αποκριάς, 19.2/3.3.1889. Στον αρχικό προγραμματισμό της εργολαβίας, που δημοσιοποιήθηκε τον Σεπτέμβριο του 1888, ανακοινώθηκε ότι πρώτη παραγωγή θα ήταν ο *Don Carlo* του Verdi και ότι κατά την διάρκεια της σαιζόν θα αναβιβάζόταν και η *Flora mirabilis* του Σπύρου Σαμάρα υπό την διεύθυνση του ιδίου του συνθέτου, που θα μετέβαινε επί τούτου στην Κέρκυρα.² Τον ίδιο μήνα το Δημοτικό Συμβούλιο του Δήμου Κερκυραίων (Δήμαρχος ο Μιχαήλ Θεοτόκης, Πρόεδρος του Δ.Σ. ο Λεωνίδας Βλάχος) ενέκρινε πίστωση 6.000 δραχμών «δια των οποίων θέλει διακοσμηθή καταλλήλως το θέατρον, θέλει δε ληφθή φροντίς περί καταρτισμού μπαλλέτου όσον ένεστι καλλιτέρου ειδικώς δια την παράστασιν της *Φλόρα Μιράμπιλις*».³ Πιο συγκεκριμένα, θα προσλαμβάνονταν 8 μπαλαρίνες από την Ιταλία, ενώ επιπροσθέτως αποφασίσθηκε να συμπληρωθούν ειδικώς για αυτές τις παραστάσεις η χορωδία και η ορχήστρα του θεάτρου. Επίσης, γνωστοποιήθηκε ότι ο Σπύρος Σαμάρας θα διηύθυνε την ορχήστρα του San Giacomo κατά τις 3 πρώτες παραστάσεις της *Flora mirabilis*.⁴

Ο Αλέξανδρος Τεμπονέρας Βόγγολης μετέβη στο Μιλάνο ήδη από τα μέσα Αυγούστου του 1888 (με το παλαιό ημερολόγιο) μαζί με τον ανεψιό του, Πέτρο Τεμπονέρα, και τον συνεργάτη του, νεαρό maestro Σπύρο Γκρεκ (Spiro Gre(c)k στον Ιταλικό μουσικοθεατρικό Τύπο).⁵ Εκεί οι τρεις Κερκυραίοι επισκέφθηκαν

¹ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1155, 15.8.1888, σ. [1], anno XXVII, N. 1183, 15.3.1889, σ. [2], *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXII, N. 35, 23.8.1888, σ. 5, *Cosmorama*, anno LIII, N. 32, 30.8.1888, σ. 4.

² Βλ. στις αθηναϊκές εφημερίδες *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 9.9, 18.9.1888, *Εφημερίς*, 15.9, 20.9.1888, *Ακρόπολις*, 19.9.1888. Οι ημερομηνίες των αθηναϊκών εφημερίδων είναι με το παλαιό ημερολόγιο (-12 ημέρες από το νέο). Προς το παρόν δεν έχουν εντοπισθεί φύλλα των κερκυραϊκών εφημερίδων των ετών 1888 και 1889.

³ *Εφημερίς*, 15.9.1888. Βλ. και *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 18.9.1888, *Ακρόπολις*, 19.9.1888, 4.3.1889, *Εφημερίς*, 2.1.1889.

⁴ Βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 19.9.1888.

⁵ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1155, 15.8.1888, σ. [1], anno XXVII, N. 1183, 15.3.1889, σ. [2], *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXII, N. 35, 23.8.1888, σ. 5, *Cosmorama*, anno LIII, N. 32, 30.8.1888, σ. 4.

διάφορα καλλιτεχνικά γραφεία (Agenzie Teatrali), προκειμένου αφ' ενός μεν να συγκροτήσουν τον θιάσο της Κέρκυρας για την επικείμενη σαιζόν όπερας, αφ' ετέρου δε να διενεργήσουν τις σχετικές υλικές προετοιμασίες και παραγγελίες.⁶

Εκείνη ακριβώς την εποχή η καλλιτεχνική «πιάτσα» του Μιλάνου ήταν από πάρα πολύ επιφυλακτική έως και «κλειστή» έναντι των ελληνικών θεάτρων λόγω των αλλεπάλληλων χρεοκοπιών που συνέβησαν σ' αυτά κατά τα τελευταία έτη (ιδίως στα θέατρα των Πατρών και της Σύρου, αλλά και σ' αυτό της Αθήνας). Πράγματι, κατ' επανάληψη δεκάδες Ιταλοί καλλιτέχνες της όπερας είχαν αδοκήτως και αιφνιδίως εγκαταλειφθεί μόνοι από τους εργολάβους αυτών των θεάτρων και οι κατά τόπους Ιταλικές προξενικές αρχές είχαν αναγκασθεί να κάνουν διπλωματικές παρεμβάσεις, καθώς και έκτακτα έξοδα, προκειμένου να τους επαναπατρίσουν. Μάλιστα, λόγω της συχνότητας που είχε λάβει αυτό το αρνητικό φαινόμενο, το Ιταλικό Υπουργείο Εξωτερικών αναγκάστηκε τον Αύγουστο του 1888 (με το παλαιό ημερολόγιο) να εκδώσει και να αποστείλει στα καλλιτεχνικά γραφεία του Μιλάνου μία εγκύκλιο («circolare»), ήκιστα τιμητική έως και εξευτελιστική για τα ελληνικά θέατρα. Σε αυτήν, ούτε λίγο ούτε πολύ, προειδοποιούνταν επισήμως οι Ιταλοί καλλιτέχνες να προσέχουν πολύ, καθώς «το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των θιάσων που πήγαν στα θέατρα της Ελλάδος αυτά τα τελευταία χρόνια κατέληξαν να μείνουν στο πεζοδρόμιο».⁷ Ακριβώς την ίδια εγκύκλιο αναπαρήγαγε και η Βασιλική Νομαρχία της Μπολώνιας προς τα καλλιτεχνικά γραφεία της περιοχής δικαιοδοσίας της.⁸ Η δημοσιοποίηση της εγκυκλίου στον Ιταλικό μουσικοθεατρικό Τύπο συνοδεύθηκε από πικρόχολα σχόλια, με το *Cosmorama* του Μιλάνου να συνιστά στους καλλιτέχνες να φυλάγονται από «τις παγίδες των υποσχέσεων των εργολάβων της Ελλάδος».⁹

Περίληψη του περιεχομένου αυτής της δυσφημιστικής για τα Ελληνικά θέατρα εγκυκλίου δημοσιεύθηκε και σε έντυπα της Γαλλίας, της Γερμανίας και της Αγγλίας, με αποτέλεσμα η *Νέα Εφημερίς* των Αθηνών να προβεί σε ένα λαϊκίστικο άρθρο-σχόλιο χωρίς λογικά επιχειρήματα, στο οποίο αφ' ενός μεν επικρίνονται οι συντάκτες της εγκυκλίου, αφ' ετέρου δε γίνεται απόπειρα τόσο να σπιλωθούν οι Ιταλοί καλλιτέχνες της όπερας που έρχονταν στην Ελλάδα ως χαμηλής ποιότητας και – κατά συνέπεια – πολλές φορές ακατάλληλοι, όσο και να δικαιολογηθούν εκείνοι οι θεατρικοί επιχειρηματίες που – όντες βεβαίως εξαρχής αφερέγγυοι – ξαφνικά «βάραγαν κανόνι» και τους εγκατέλειπαν απλήρωτους στην τύχη τους.¹⁰

Παρά ταύτα, οι Τεμπονέρας και Γκρεκ κατόρθωσαν να ολοκληρώσουν το έργο τους, συνεργαζόμενοι τελικώς με το καλλιτεχνικό γραφείο των πρακτόρων Cambiaggio και Gianoli του Μιλάνου.¹¹ Συγκρότησαν έναν θιάσο αποτελούμενο κυρίως από νεαρούς και άσημους, αλλά φερέλπιδες, καλλιτέχνες της όπερας, που είχαν – εξ ανάγκης προφανώς – αψηφίσει την προειδοποίηση του Ιταλικού Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι στην συγκρότηση του θιάσου

⁶ Βλ. *Cosmorama*, ό.π.

⁷ Βλ. *Cosmorama*, anno LIII, N. 33-34, 13.9.1888, σ. 6.

⁸ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1160, 23.9.1888, σ. [1].

⁹ Βλ. *Cosmorama*, ό.π.

¹⁰ Βλ. *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 26.9.1888.

¹¹ Βλ. *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXII, N. 43, 22.10.1888, σ. 8.

ενεργό ρόλο διαδραμάτισε και ο Σπύρος Σαμάρας, ο οποίος βρισκόταν εκείνη ακριβώς την περίοδο στο Μιλάνο και, όπως είναι εύλογο, ενδιαφερόταν ιδιαίτερος για την επιλογή των μονωδών που θα αναβίβαζαν την *Flora mirabilis* στην Κέρκυρα.

Η σύνθεση του θιάσου της κερκυραϊκής σαιζόν όπερας 1888/9 ήταν η εξής:

- Emilia Parodi (prima donna soprano assoluta drammatico, για τις σοβαρές όπερες, από το Brindisi)
- Gemma Perozzi-Morello (prima donna soprano assoluta drammatico, για τις σοβαρές όπερες)
- Ines Biliotti (prima donna soprano assoluta leggero, για τις κωμικές όπερες)
- Ernestina Bobbio (prima donna mezzo soprano & contralto, από την Alessandria)
- Rosa Berlini (comprimaria & prima donna mezzo soprano & contralto, από το Rimini)
- Margherita Bobbio (δευτερεύοντες ρόλοι, αδελφή της Ernestina Bobbio, από την Alessandria)
- Enrica Campora (δευτερεύοντες ρόλοι, καλλιτεχνικό ονοματεπώνυμο της Enrica Parodi, αδελφή της Emilia Parodi, από το Brindisi)
- Marziale Parini-Panella (primo tenore assoluto, για τις σοβαρές όπερες)
- Angelo Rossi (primo tenore assoluto, για τις κωμικές όπερες, από το Cassalnuovo)
- Michelangelo Vincentelli (secondo tenore)
- Giovanni Comolli (primo baritono assoluto, από την Cremona)
- Eugenio Aleni (primo baritono assoluto)
- Augusto Cappati (primo basso assoluto, από την Ferrara)
- Valentino Tubertini (primo basso comico)
- Franzoni (δευτερεύοντες ρόλοι).

Ως maestro concertatore και διευθυντής της ορχήστρας προσελήφθη ο Guarnieri, ενώ maestro της χορωδίας θα ήταν ο Σπύρος Γκρεκ.¹²

Η *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica* του Μιλάνου, η οποία την ημέρα που δημοσίευσε ολόκληρη την εγκύκλιο της Βασιλικής Νομαρχίας της Μπολώνιας ανακοίνωσε και το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της παραπάνω σύνθεσης του θιάσου της Κέρκυρας για την σαιζόν όπερας 1888/9, προσέθεσε ότι, παρότι στο θέατρο της Κέρκυρας δεν είχε ποτέ εμφανισθεί κρούσμα «πραγματικής εργολαβικής καταστροφής», η εργολαβία άρχιζε ανώμαλα την συνεργασία της με τους μονωδούς που είχαν προ ολίγου υπογράψει μαζί της, καθότι εγκαινίασε μία ασυνήθη θεατρική πρακτική: την μείωση των μισθών των μονωδών πριν ακόμη

¹² Βλ. *Cosmorama*, anno LIII, N. 33-34, 13.9.1888, σ. 7, *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1159, 15.9.1888, σ. [1] (σε 2 σημεία), N. 1160, 23.9.1888, σ. [1], N. 1164, 23.10.1888, σ. [1], *Asmodeo*, anno XVII, N. 32, 28.9.1888, σ. 10, Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017]. Σε αυτό το σημείο ο γράφων επιθυμεί να ευχαριστήσει θερμότατα τον εξαίρετο φίλο, ερευνητή και δημοσιογράφο Andrea Sessa για την αποστολή του βιβλίου του Gianni Maragno, το οποίο ήταν τοπική-ιδιωτική έκδοση πολύ μικρού τιράζ και εκτός εμπορίου, με αποτέλεσμα η εξεύρεσή του να είναι πολύ δύσκολη.

αρχίσουν οι παραστάσεις.¹³ Έκλεισε μάλιστα το δημοσίευμά της αναφέροντας με νόημα το γνωστό «timeo Danaos et dona ferentes».¹⁴

Φαίνεται ότι η πρόωρη πρόταση μείωσης μισθών δεν έγινε αποδεκτή από τις προμαντόνες: η αξιόλογη και έμπειρη Emilia Parodi¹⁵ και η ανερχόμενη νεαρά Ines Biliotti μετέβαλαν γνώμη, έλυσαν τα συμβόλαιά τους και εστράφησαν σε άλλες συνεργασίες που θεώρησαν πιο συμφέρουσες και αξιόπιστες για την σταδιοδρομία τους,¹⁶ ενώ λίγο αργότερα τις ακολούθησε στην ίδια επιλογή και η Gemma Perozzi-Morello.¹⁷ Στην θέση τους προσελήφθη η τότε άσημη Virginia Colombati (prima donna soprano assoluta leggero), προκειμένου να αρχίσει άμεσα η σαιζόν, και λίγο αργότερα θα γινόταν η προσλήψη και άλλης προμαντόνας. Όσοι μονωδοί είχαν υπογράψει για το θέατρο της Κέρκυρας ούτε που διανοούνταν την περιπέτεια στην οποία έμπαιναν, καθώς, παρά τις καχύποπτες «προβλέψεις» του Ιταλικού μουσικοθεατρικού Τύπου, ο κίνδυνος γι' αυτούς δεν θα ήταν αυτή τη φορά οικονομικός...

Σύμφωνα με τον σχεδιασμό της εργολαβίας, ο θίασος θα συγκεντρωνόταν στο Μιλάνο και θα μετέβαινε σιδηροδρομικώς – μέσω Napoli και Foggia – στο Brindisi, απ' όπου θα επιβιβαζόταν σε ατμόπλοιο για την Κέρκυρα. Επειδή η έναρξη των παραστάσεων είχε προγραμματισθεί για το τελευταίο δεκαήμερο Οκτωβρίου του 1888 με την όπερα *Don Carlo* του Giuseppe Verdi, οι Κερκυραίοι θεατρικοί παράγοντες και ολόκληρος ο θίασος επιβιβάσθηκαν στο Μιλάνο στον σιδηροδρομικό συρμό την Πέμπτη 6/18.10.1888 και την επομένη, Παρασκευή 7/19.10.1888, έφθασαν στην Napoli, όπου πληροφορήθηκαν ότι το δρομολόγιο προς Brindisi είχε εκτάκτως τροποποιηθεί και θα συνεχιζόταν μέσω Potenza, Metaponto και Taranto, διότι η γραμμή μέσω Foggia είχε τεθεί προσωρινώς εκτός λειτουργίας λόγω πλημμυρών.

Το σιδηροδρομικό δίκτυο της Νότιας Ιταλίας ανήκε τότε στην σιδηροδρομική εταιρεία RM (*Società Ferroviaria Rete Mediterranea*). Η γραμμή Napoli – Metaponto, μήκους 271 χλμ., είχε στρωθεί τμηματικά υπό την επίβλεψη Γάλλων μηχανικών από το 1863 έως τις 15/27.12.1880, ημερομηνία κατά την οποία λειτούργησε ολοκληρωμένη. Εξυπηρετείτο από ταχυδρομικούς συρμούς, που μετέφεραν κυρίως το διεθνές ταχυδρομείο αλλά και επιβάτες προς και από τον διεθνή λιμένα του Brindisi. Εκκινούσαν το απόγευμα από την Napoli, περνούσαν από το Salerno (54^ο χλμ.), έστριβαν αριστερά στην διακλάδωση της Battipaglia (73^ο χλμ.) για το Eboli (80^ο χλμ.), και μετά από διαρκώς ανωφερική πορεία έφθαναν στο σιδηροδρομικό κέντρο της Potenza (165^ο χλμ.) σε υψόμετρο 671 μ. Ακολούθως,

¹³ Τέτοιες προτάσεις για μειώσεις μισθών γινόταν από τους εργολάβους προς τους μονωδούς μόνο όταν οι παραστάσεις είχαν ήδη αρχίσει και οι επιχειρηματικοί υπολογισμοί έδειχναν πλέον ότι δεν έβγαιναν τα προϋπολογισθέντα νούμερα. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, η πρόωρη πρόταση μείωσης μισθών είναι σαφές δείγμα επιχειρηματικής αβεβαιότητας και πιθανού μελλοντικού κινδύνου χρεοκοπίας της εργολαβίας.

¹⁴ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1160, 23.9.1888, σ. [1].

¹⁵ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1162, 8.10.1888, σ. [1].

¹⁶ Η Emilia Parodi συνεργάσθηκε τελικώς κατά την σαιζόν όπερας 1888/9 με την Arena Nazionale της Φλωρεντίας (βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1165, 1.11.1888, σ. [1]) και το θέατρο της Modica, ενώ η Ines Biliotti με τα θέατρα του Casale Monferrato και της Βερόνας.

¹⁷ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1162, 8.10.1888, σ. [1].

έπαιρναν μία διαρκώς κατωφερική πορεία έως το παραθαλάσσιο Metaponto (271° χλμ.). Μεταξύ Potenza και Metaponto (συνολικώς 106 χλμ.) το γεωγραφικό ανάγλυφο ήταν εντόνως έξεργο, με χαμηλά αλλά απότομα βουνά και λόφους με έντονα σημάδια διάβρωσης, γκρεμούς, φαράγγια, γράνες και νεροφαγώματα. Εν μέσω αυτού του γεωλογικού σχηματισμού, που αποτελούσε απολήξεις των Αππεννίνων Ορέων, υπήρχε μία στενή λεκάνη στην οποία έρρεε ελικοειδώς ο μικρός, αλλά ορμητικός ποταμός Basento. Μετά από την Potenza και έως την είσοδο στην μικρή πεδιάδα του Metaponto, η σιδηροδρομική γραμμή είχε στρωθεί στις υπώρειες μίας σειράς λόφων απόκρημνης μορφολογίας, που «κρέμονταν» πάνω από την μία πλευρά της, ενώ από την άλλη κυλούσε ο Basento, τον οποίο η γραμμή διασταύρωνε τρεις φορές με σιδηροδρομικές γέφυρες. Λόγω των έντονων εδαφολογικών προβλημάτων, έως το 1888 η RM είχε ξοδέψει σταδιακώς περίπου 2,2 εκατομμύρια Ιταλικές Λίρες σε εγγειοβελτιωτικά έργα από το Eboli έως το Metaponto, ενώ είχε προγραμματίσει για τα αμέσως επόμενα χρόνια και άλλα έργα ύψους πολλών εκατομμυρίων Ιταλικών Λιρών.¹⁸



Το εξωτερικό του Σ.Σ. Napoli Centrale (κτίριο του 1866) σε καρτολίνα του 19^{ου} αιώνα

¹⁸ Τα σιδηροδρομικά, γεωλογικά και πραγματολογικά στοιχεία που παρουσιάζονται στην παρούσα μελέτη προέρχονται: 1) από τις δύο ερωτήσεις που έκαναν στην Ιταλική Βουλή στις 10/22.11.1888 οι Βουλευτές Lacava (πρωτίστως) και Di Sant'Onofrio (δευτερευόντως) προς τον Υπουργό Δημοσίων Έργων Saracco, καθώς και από τις απαντήσεις του τελευταίου προς αυτούς, βλ. Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, Legislatura XVI, 2a Sessione, Discussioni, CLXXXVIII, Tornata di Giovedì 22 Novembre 1888, σσ. 5397-5410, 2) από τα άρθρα με τους τίτλους «Ferrovia Napoli-Salerno», «Ferrovia Tirrenica Meridionale» και «Ferrovia Battipaglia-Potenza-Metaponto» στο www.it.wikipedia.org, 3) από το βιβλίο του Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017].

Επιστρέφοντας στα του θιάσου όπερας της Κέρκυρας, ο ταχυδρομικός συρμός Νο 265 ξεκίνησε στις 19:20 το απόγευμα της 7/19.10.1888 από τον Κεντρικό σιδηροδρομικό σταθμό (Σ.Σ.) της Napoli («Napoli Centrale»), δηλαδή με σχεδόν δίωρη καθυστέρηση, λόγω αφ' ενός μεν του απαραίτητου ελέγχου σε έναν μεγάλο αριθμό έκτακτων ταξιδιωτών, κυρίως Καραμπινιέρων και Πρακτόρων Δημόσιας Ασφάλειας, οι οποίοι επέστρεφαν στην έδρα τους από τις εορταστικές εκδηλώσεις για τον Γερμανό Αυτοκράτορα Γουλιέλμο Β' (Kaiser Wilhelm II) που είχε επισκεφθεί προ ολίγων ημερών την Napoli και είχε αναχωρήσει το πρωί της ίδιας ημέρας, αφ' ετέρου δε της αναγκαίας προσθήκης 8 νέων βαγονιών.

Ο συρμός, επαυξημένος πια (ατμομηχανή με ανθρακοφόρο τέντερ και 18 βαγόνια) και πλήρης επιβατών (περισσότερα από 420 άτομα), έφθασε νύχτα στο υψίπεδο της Potenza (165° χλμ., υψόμετρο 671 μ.) και, αφού άφησε πίσω του τον σιδηροδρομικό της σταθμό, πήρε την διακλάδωση για το Vaglio Basilicata (172° χλμ.), μπαίνοντας έτσι στο εντόνως καθοδικό τμήμα της διαδρομής που οδηγούσε στο Metaponto. Η νύχτα ήταν ασέληνη, στην περιοχή επικρατούσε δριμύ ψύχος και έπεφτε δυνατή βροχή. Έως τον Σ.Σ. του Caliciano (208° χλμ.) ο συρμός είχε κατέλθει στα 284 μ. και ακολούθως στα 196μ. έως αυτόν του Grassano-Garaguso-Tricarico (211° χλμ.), όπου έφθασε στις 05:30.

Αφού παρέμεινε επί πεντάλεπτο στον Σ.Σ. του Grassano-Garaguso-Tricarico, ο συρμός ξεκίνησε στις 05:35 με κατεύθυνση τον Σ.Σ. Salandra-Grottole (223° χλμ., υψόμετρο 136 μ.), ο οποίος απείχε περίπου 12 χλμ. Ο συρμός διέτρεξε αρχικώς μια μακρά και πολύ ανοιχτή ελαφρώς αριστερή στροφή, ακολούθως μία διαδοχική ίδιου τύπου δεξιά στροφή και αμέσως κατόπιν, έχοντας ήδη διανύσει μόλις 4 χλμ. και 391 μ. προς τον Σ.Σ. Salandra-Grottole, έφθασε στην τοποθεσία Bradanelli της Salandra και άρχισε να περνά μπροστά από το Σιδηροδρομικό Φυλάκιο 215 («Casello 215») (215° χλμ. και 331° μ., υπεύθυνος φύλακας Gaetano Morea), εισερχόμενος σε μία εντόνως κατωφερική ευθεία μήκους 1380 μ. και κλίσης 5.67%.¹⁹ Σε εκείνο ακριβώς το σημείο (215° χλμ.), στην δεξιά πλευρά του προανούς της γραμμής υπήρχε μία τάφος, η οποία την χώριζε από έναν παρακείμενο λόφο που βρισκόταν σε απόσταση μόλις 30 μέτρων, ενώ την

¹⁹ Προκαλεί εντύπωση αυτός ο πολύ μεγάλος και επικίνδυνος βαθμός κλίσης της γραμμής. Αυτή ακριβώς η κλίση κατά 5.67% (που αντιστοιχεί σε κλίση πολύ πάνω από τις 3 μοίρες, που είναι το απαγορευτικό όριο για τους σύγχρονους σιδηροδρόμους), σημαίνει ότι σε έναν συρμό μήκους 90 περίπου μέτρων, όπως ο συγκεκριμένος (ατμομηχανή, ανθρακοφόρο τέντερ και 18 βαγόνια), η υψομετρική διαφορά μεταξύ της ατμομηχανής και του τελευταίου βαγονιού του συρμού ήταν – σε κατωφέρεια – περίπου 5 μέτρα σε διάστημα μόλις 90 μέτρων, πρακτικώς δηλαδή ο συρμός ήταν σαν να «τροχοδρομεί σε γκρεμό», όπως λέγεται στην σιδηροδρομική ορολογία. Εύκολα μπορεί κανείς να αντιληφθεί τις δυνάμεις που δέχονταν σ' αυτό το σημείο της διαδρομής η ατμομηχανή, τα βαγόνια και οι σύνδεσμοι των φορέων, των οποίων δοκιμάζονταν εις άκρον οι αντοχές ελαστικότητας, από την ορμή (μάζα του συρμού επί την ταχύτητά του, σε συνδυασμό με την μεγάλη κλίση) και την αδράνεια (στην περίπτωση κατά την οποία ο μηχανοδηγός θα χρειαζόταν εκτάκτως να σταματήσει τον συρμό σε πολύ σύντομο χρόνο και σε μικρή απόσταση), οπότε τα προβλήματα πέδησης και ευστάθειας θα παρουσιάζονταν από σοβαρότατα έως και ανυπέρβλητα.

αριστερή πλευρά της πλησίαζε σε μία απότομη κάθετη στροφή του ο ποταμός Basento.

Η ώρα ήταν λίγο μετά τις 05:40 και, ενώ ο συρμός είχε αναπτύξει ταχύτητα περίπου 60 χιλιομέτρων την ώρα και οι περισσότεροι επιβάτες κοιμούνταν στα βαγόνια, συνάντησε ξαφνικά μπροστά του, σε απόσταση 50 μέτρων μετά από το Σιδηροδρομικό Φυλάκιο 215, όγκους χωμάτων αργιλώδους συστάσεως, που ήταν τα προϊόντα της πρώτης φάσης μιας κατολίσθησης, η οποία υπήρξε το αποτέλεσμα έντονων βροχοπτώσεων που είχαν προηγηθεί στην περιοχή τις τελευταίες ημέρες. Η κατολίσθηση είχε ξεκινήσει μόλις πριν από λίγα λεπτά στον αμέσως δεξιά της γραμμής ευρισκόμενο λόφο και – ως γεωλογικό φαινόμενο – βρισκόταν ακόμα σε εξέλιξη εκείνη ακριβώς την στιγμή.

Ο συρμός Νο 265 δεν διέθετε σύστημα αυτόματης πέδησης, οπότε ο μηχανοδηγός Giuseppe Brambilla ενεργοποίησε αμέσως το σύστημα του κόντρα ατμού, για να ανακόψει βιαίως την ταχύτητα, και ταυτοχρόνως εξέπεμψε το ηχητικό σήμα του συναγερμού. Παρά ταύτα, λόγω της μικρής απόστασης από το εμπόδιο, της μεγάλης καταφευκτικής κλίσης της γραμμής, της δύναμης της αδράνειας που αναπτύχθηκε στην μάζα του τραίνου αμέσως μόλις έγινε από τον μηχανοδηγό η προσπάθεια μεταβολής της ταχύτητάς του, καθώς και της ορμής που εμπεριείχετο στην μάζα του λόγω ταχύτητας, ο συρμός δεν πρόλαβε να σταματήσει. Πρώτη η ατμομηχανή με το ανθρακοφόρο τέντερ προσέκρουσαν στον όγκο των χωμάτων, ανυψώθηκαν επάνω από αυτόν και ανετράπησαν. Ακολούθως, τα 8 πρώτα βαγόνια του συρμού εκτροχιάσθηκαν και ανετράπησαν, τα υπόλοιπα εκτροχιάσθηκαν, σύρθηκαν και τελικώς ακινητοποιήθηκαν ορθά, ενώ μόνο τα δύο τελευταία παρέμειναν ορθά και εντελώς άθικτα επί των ραγών, μόλις τρία μέτρα μετά από το σιδηροδρομικό φυλάκιο. Σαν να μην έφθανε αυτό, τα βαγόνια του συρμού που εκτροχιάσθηκαν και ανετράπησαν εκαλύφθησαν ακολουθώντας μερικώς ή ολικώς από τόνους κατολισθαίνουσών γαιών, καθώς η δεύτερη φάση του επικίνδυνου γεωλογικού φαινομένου – κατά μία ακόμη τραγική σύμπτωση – επισυνέβη και εξελίχθηκε ακριβώς την στιγμή της διελεύσεως του συρμού από εκείνο το σημείο. Έτσι, οι κοιμώμενοι επιβάτες εκείνων των βαγονιών που εκτροχιάσθηκαν και ανετράπησαν, αφού αρχικώς εκσφενδονίσθηκαν ακαριαία από τις θέσεις τους και χτύπησαν βίαια στα εσωτερικά τοιχώματα των βαγονιών, ακολουθώντας βρέθηκαν και θαμμένοι κάτω από τόνους φερτών υλικών, προϊόντων της κατολίσθησης.

Σε ελάχιστο χρόνο η κλιτύς του παρακείμενου λόφου είχε αλλάξει τελείως μορφολογία, ένα μονοπάτι που εξυπηρετούσε τις λίγες αγροικίες της περιοχής είχε χαθεί οριστικώς, η τηλεγραφική σύνδεση είχε κοπεί και η σιδηροδρομική γραμμή είχε εξαφανισθεί, καθώς η στενή κοιλάδα έως τον ποταμό Basento είχε ήδη καλυφθεί από περίπου 200.000 κυβικά μέτρα χωμάτων σε μήκος 60 περίπου μέτρων. Τραγική λεπτομέρεια ότι ο συρμός έπρεπε να βρίσκεται σ' αυτό το σημείο στις 03:50. Η σχεδόν δίωρη καθυστέρηση της αναχώρησής του από την Napoli απεδείχθη τελικώς μοιραία, καθώς συνετέλεσε αποφασιστικά στο κλείσιμο ενός αδόκητου νυχτερινού «ραντεβού με τον θάνατο» στο Grassano.

Πρώτοι εξήλθαν σώοι από το τραίνο οι 30 Καραμπινιέροι με τον επικεφαλής Αξιωματικό τους και οι 2 Πράκτορες Δημόσιας Ασφάλειας, οι οποίοι συνταξίδευαν και – κατά καλή τους τύχη – επέβαιναν στα δύο τελευταία βαγόνια του μοιραίου συρμού, που είχαν μείνει αλώβητα. Οι περισσότεροι από

αυτούς προσέφεραν την όποια πρώτη βοήθεια μπορούσαν στους θαμμένους συνεπιβάτες τους, ενώ άλλοι διεσπάρησαν υπό βροχήν στην περιοχή, με σκοπό να ενημερώσουν για το συμβάν, και να κτυπήσουν τις πόρτες των αγροικιών ζητώντας κατεπειγόντως βοήθεια από τους χωρικούς. Ένας επιζών μετέφερε την πληροφορία περί του δυστυχήματος στον Σ.Σ. Salandra-Grottole και το πρώτο σχετικό τηλεγράφημα έφυγε από εκεί για τον Σ.Σ. της Bernalda στις 06:53.

Η κινητοποίηση των τοπικών αρχών υπήρξε όσο το δυνατόν πιο άμεση. Αρχικώς, το κλιμάκιο της RM στην Potenza επεδίωξε να στείλει πρώτο υπαλλήλους και γιατρούς της εταιρείας στον τόπο του δυστυχήματος, ετοιμάζοντας την άμεση αποστολή ενός ειδικού συρμού και μην ενημερώνοντας αμέσως, ως όφειλε, τις πολιτικές αρχές και τις αρχές ασφαλείας της πόλης. Όμως οι τελευταίες αντελήφθησαν τις κινήσεις προετοιμασίας του τοπικού κλιμακίου της RM, πληροφορήθηκαν καθυστερημένα για το τραγικό συμβάν και, κάνοντας χρήση των δικαιωμάτων τους, εξανάγκασαν την σιδηροδρομική εταιρεία να τις συμπεριλάβει στον επειγόντως αναχωρούντα συρμό. Έτσι, το συντομότερο δυνατόν ξεκίνησε από την Potenza ο ειδικός συρμός και έφθασε στον τόπο του δυστυχήματος, μεταφέροντας τον Νομάρχη της περιοχής, τον Δήμαρχο της Potenza, τον Πρωτοδίκη της ίδιας πόλης, τον Διοικητή των Καραμπινιέρων, τον Διοικητή της τοπικής Φρουράς, τον στρατιωτικό Αρχίατρο, δυνάμεις ασφαλείας, Νομομηχανικούς, καθώς και μηχανικούς, υπαλλήλους και γιατρούς της RM.

Εν τω μεταξύ – και ενώ άρχισε να αχνοχαράζει η νέα ημέρα – πρώτες έφθασαν επιτόπου οι αρχές των πέριξ κοινοτήτων, τοπικοί ιατροί και πάρα πολλοί χωρικοί με τα σκαπτικά τους σύνεργα. Όμως, λόγω της έντονης βροχόπτωσης ο ποταμός Basento έρρεε φουσκωμένος και ορμητικός, με αποτέλεσμα να μην είναι δυνατή η άμεση και ασφαλής διάβασή του, οπότε στήθηκε ολόκληρη επιχείρηση προκειμένου να καταστεί εφικτή η προσέγγιση στον χώρο της καταστροφής. Συνολικώς, μέσα στις πρώτες 24 ώρες συνέρρευσαν επιτόπου περισσότερα από 400 άτομα, που συγκρότησαν σκαπτικά-διασωστικά συνεργεία, καθώς και χειρουργοί ιατροί. Το έργο των διασωστικών συνεργείων ήταν δυσχερέστατο, διότι ο όγκος των χωμάτων ήταν τεράστιος, ενώ μάλιστα ακολούθησε και άλλη – τρίτη κατά σειρά – κατολίσθηση μετά από την αρχική και από εκείνη που είχε πλήξει πλευρικά την ήδη εκτροχιασμένη αμαξοστοιχία. Οι χωρικοί, χρησιμοποιώντας τσάπες, φτυάρια και χειροκίνητα καροτσάκια οικοδομής, προσπαθούσαν να απομακρύνουν από τα βαγόνια τα λασπωμένα πια χώματα και να τα μεταφέρουν είτε λίγες δεκάδες μέτρα πιο πέρα, είτε προς την μεριά της κατολισθήσας πλαγιάς, έτσι ώστε να την σταθεροποιήσουν, χωρίς όμως μόνιμο αποτέλεσμα, καθώς η αργιλώδης λάσπη επανακυλούσε λόγω μεγάλης κλίσης. Επίσης, κατά την διάρκεια των εναγώνιων προσπαθειών διάσωσης, επέμενε το δριμύ ψύχος και η καταρρακτώδης βροχή, ενώ τις αμέσως επόμενες ώρες ο καιρός επιδεινώθηκε και ακολούθησε χιονόπτωση, με αποτέλεσμα ο χώρος να καλυφθεί σύντομα από πυκνό χιόνι, γεγονός που δυσχέραινε περαιτέρω και διέκοπτε κατά διαστήματα το έργο της απομάκρυνσης των χωμάτων. Έτσι, αρχικώς θεωρήθηκε ότι η καταστροφή θα απέβαινε ολοκληρωτική, με αποτέλεσμα να ζητηθούν και να προωθηθούν στον χώρο του δυστυχήματος 200 φέρετρα, έτοιμα να υποδεχθούν τον εικαζόμενο πολύ μεγάλο αριθμό νεκρών.

Αν και οι άκρως δυσοίωνες αρχικές προβλέψεις δεν επιβεβαιώθηκαν, ο επίσημος τελικός απολογισμός του σιδηροδρομικού δυστυχήματος στο Grassano ήταν και πάλι τραγικός: 20 νεκροί, μερικοί εκ των οποίων ευρέθησαν διαμελισμένοι, και 48 τραυματίες. Από τους νεκρούς οι πέντε βγήκαν από τους όγκους των χωμάτων στις 8/20 και οι δεκατρείς την επομένη, 9/21.10.1888, ενώ δύο ακόμη νεκροί προέκυψαν από τους βαριά τραυματίες, ένας από τους πέντε που είχαν μεταφερθεί στο Grassano και ένας από τους έξι που είχαν μεταφερθεί στην Potenza.

Μεταξύ των νεκρών ήταν ο νεαρός Κερκυραίος μουσικός Σπύρος Γκρεκ και τέσσερις από τους πιο βασικούς μονωδούς του θιάσου της Κέρκυρας: Rosa Berlini, Angelo Rossi, Giovanni Comolli και Augusto Cappati.²⁰ Μεταξύ των τραυματιών ήταν ο ανεψιός του εργολάβου, ο Πέτρος Τεμπονέρας, καθώς και τα εξής μέλη του θιάσου: Enrica Campora, Margherita Bobbio, Marziale Parini-Panella, Valentino Tubertini (και η σύζυγός του) και Michelangelo Vincentelli.²¹

²⁰ Βλ. *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXII, N. 43, 22.10.1888, σ. 8, *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1164, 23.10.1888, σ. [1], *Cosmorama*, anno LIII, N. 39-40, 23.10.1888, σ. 7, *Gazzetta dei Teatri*, anno L, N. 39, 25.10.1888, σ. 7, *Ακρόπολις*, 11.10, 13.10, 16.10, 31.10.1888, *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 11.10, 13.10, 20.10.1888. Ιδιαίτατο ενδιαφέρον έχει η συγκινησιακά φορτισμένη και μακροσκελής ανταπόκριση της *Ακρόπολεως*, της οποίας ο ανταποκριτής μετέβη στον τόπο του δυστυχήματος τα ξημερώματα της Δευτέρας 10/22.10.1888 με ειδική αμαξοστοιχία από το Μιλάνο και αφηγήθηκε λεπτομερώς τα όσα τραγικά είδε και συζήτησε επιτόπου (βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 16.10.1888). Επίσης, λεπτομέρειες για τις συνθήκες του δυστυχήματος και τις ενέργειες των τοπικών παραγόντων και των σωστικών συνεργείων βλ. στο Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017].

²¹ Βλ. Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017].



Ακρόπολις, 16.10.1888: «Η παρά το Βρίνδεζι φοβερά σιδηροδρομ. καταστροφή» (επιτόπιο ρεπορτάζ και μακροσκελής ειδική ανταπόκριση από το Μιλάνο με ημ/νία 11/23.10.1888).

Στον Ιταλικό μουσικοθεατρικό Τύπο ιδιαίτερος λόγος έγινε για την περίπτωση του νεκρού νεαρού μπάσου Augusto Carrati, που δεν είχε ακόμη μπει στην τρίτη δεκαετία της ζωής του. Είχε κάνει νομικές σπουδές, αλλά επέλεξε να υπηρετήσει τον κόσμο της όπερας. Στην κηδεία του, που έγινε στην Ferrara, ο θρήνος υπήρξε πάνδημος και την μνήμη όλων των παρευρισκομένων στοίχειωσαν οι τραγικές φιγούρες της χήρας συζύγου του και των δύο μικρών παιδιών του. Επίσης, στην βαλίτσα του νεκρού βαρυτόνου Giovanni Comolli, όταν την ξέθαψαν τα σωστικά συνεργεία από τις λάσπες, βρέθηκε μία παρτιτούρα της πρώτης βερσιόν του *Don Carlo* (γαλλική βερσιόν, 5 πράξεις), την οποία, όπως φαίνεται, μελετούσε εκείνη ακριβώς την περίοδο ο άτυχος καλλιτέχνης για να ανταποκριθεί με αξιοπρέπεια στις επαγγελματικές του υποχρεώσεις.²² Αίσθηση, ακόμη, προκάλεσαν οι περιπτώσεις του θανάτου της πολύ νεαρής κομπριμάριας Rosa Berlini, ακραία πτωχής και ανύπανδρης μητέρας ενός αγοριού μόλις 4 ετών, του Glauco Berlini, που – μην έχοντας ούτε πατέρα – έμεινε πλέον υπό την προστασία του παππού και της γιαγιάς του στο Rimini, του τενόρου Angelo Rossi, που ήταν πτωχός και εγκατέλειψε μόνο του στην ζωή τον ηλικιωμένο πατέρα

²² Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1164, 23.10.1888, σ. [1], N. 1165, 1.11.1888, σ. [3], Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017].

του,²³ καθώς και του Σπύρου Γκρεκ, που ήταν και αυτός πτωχός και άφησε στην Κέρκυρα απαρηγόρητους πατέρα, μητέρα και αδελφή.²⁴

Ως προς την κατάσταση και την τύχη των τραυματιών του θιάσου:²⁵

α) Enrica Campora: μώλωπες στην περιοχή του κεφαλιού, τον δεξιό μηρό και την δεξιά γάμπα, μεταφέρθηκε στο Brindisi, η οικονομική της κατάσταση ήταν κακή.

β) Margherita Bobbio: πολύ σοβαρά τραύματα, μεταφέρθηκε στον Τάραντα και εγκαταστάθηκε μαζί με την αδελφή της, Ernestina Bobbio, στο εκεί ξενοδοχείο *Duilio*, όπου δέχθηκε επί μακρόν ιατρικές φροντίδες.

γ) Marziale Parini-Panella: σοβαρά τραύματα, ανίκανος να εργασθεί για το αμέσως επόμενο χρονικό διάστημα, η οικονομική του κατάσταση ήταν κακή.

δ) Valentino Tubertini (και η σύζυγός του): διάφορα τραύματα.

ε) Michelangelo Vincentelli: σοβαρά τραύματα, μεταφέρθηκε στην Potenza, ανίκανος να εργασθεί για το αμέσως επόμενο χρονικό διάστημα.

Επίσης, ο ανειψιός του εργολάβου, ο Πέτρος Τεμπονέρας, υπέστη κατάγματα σε δεξιό μηρό και επιγονατίδα, ενώ έφερε και διάφορα τραύματα στην ινιακή χώρα. Γι' αυτόν τον λόγο νοσηλεύθηκε αρχικώς στο Grassano και κατόπιν σε νοσοκομείο της Napoli, όπου και τον επισκέφθηκε ένας συγγενής του από την Κέρκυρα.²⁶ Ο εργολάβος Αλέξανδρος Τεμπονέρας Βόγγολης, ο οποίος τραυματίστηκε πάρα πολύ ελαφρά και ως εκ τούτου δεν συμπεριελήφθη στον επίσημο κατάλογο των τραυματιών, εγκαταστάθηκε από τις πρώτες ώρες στο Grassano, απ' όπου οργάνωσε τα πρόποντα και νενομισμένα σχετικώς με τα νεκρά μέλη του θιάσου.²⁷

Οι έρευνες που έγιναν τις επόμενες ημέρες από ειδικώς συσταθείσα Επιτροπή Διερεύνησης έδειξαν επιπροσθέτως ότι οι κάτοικοι της περιοχής, αλλά και όσοι διέσχιζαν καθημερινώς τον δρόμο που υπέρκειτο της γραμμής, δεν είχαν ανησυχήσει κατά το προηγούμενο χρονικό διάστημα από κάποιο σοβαρό πρόδρομο προειδοποιητικό φαινόμενο. Αποκαλύφθηκε, όμως, ότι η ένδειξη της απειλής για ενδεχόμενη κατολίσθηση στο συγκεκριμένο σημείο είχε παρουσιασθεί αρκετές ώρες πριν αυτή συμβεί, αλλά κακώς δεν αξιολογήθηκε ως σοβαρή από τους αρμοδίους της σιδηροδρομικής εταιρείας. Φάνηκε, ακόμη, ότι το πρώτο κύμα της κατολίσθησης επλήρωσε την παρακείμενη στα δεξιά της γραμμής τάφρο, με αποτέλεσμα το επόμενο – λόγω υπερχείλισης της τάφρου – να καλύψει την γραμμή και την αμαξοστοιχία. Επίσης, λόγω της δυνατής βροχόπτωσης και επειδή το φαινόμενο εξελίχθηκε την στιγμή ακριβώς που ο συρμός πλησίαζε και τελικώς έφθασε στο σημείο, ο όποιος ήχος της αρχικής

²³ Βλ. Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017].

²⁴ Βλ. *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 20.10.1888, Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017].

²⁵ Βλ. Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017].

²⁶ Βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 13.10, 16.10, 31.10.1888, *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 13.10, 20.10.1888.

²⁷ Βλ. Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017].

κατολίσθησης δεν έγινε αντιληπτός ούτε από τον φύλακα του Φυλακίου ούτε από τους χωρικούς που διέμεναν στις παρακείμενες αγροικίες.

Όπως ήταν λογικό, μετά από το καίριο πλήγμα που δέχθηκε ο θίασος της Κέρκυρας όλοι θεώρησαν ότι αυτός διελύθη και πως η πιθανότητα διεξαγωγής παραστάσεων όπερας στην Κέρκυρα για την σαιζόν 1888/9 είτε είχε οριστικώς εξατμισθεί είτε – στην καλύτερη περίπτωση – ήταν πλέον εξαιρετικώς αμφίβολη.²⁸ Όσοι από τους καλλιτέχνες ήσαν σώοι και αβλαβείς οδηγήθηκαν καταπτοημένοι στο Brindisi, όπου μετέβη αμέσως από την Κέρκυρα ο Αντώνιος Γονατάς, Πρόεδρος της Επιτροπής του θεάτρου San Giacomo και Δημοτικός Πάρεδρος, προκειμένου να τους εμψυχώσει και να προσπαθήσει να συγκρατήσει όσους μπορέσει. Ακολουθώντας, οι Τεμπονέρας και Γονατάς, μετέβησαν στο Μιλάνο και με την εκ νέου βοήθεια του Σπύρου Σαμάρα συμπλήρωσαν τον θίασο.²⁹ Έτσι, δύο μόλις εβδομάδες μετά το δυστύχημα ο θίασος είχε ήδη επανασυγκροτηθεί ως εξής:

- Gemma Perozzi-Morello (prima donna soprano assoluta drammatico, υπέγραψε εκ νέου)
- Virginia Colombati (prima donna soprano assoluta leggero, μέλος του αρχικού θιάσου)
- Maddalena Tamburini-Garulli (prima donna mezzo soprano & contralto)
- Gerardo De(l) Castillo (primo tenore assoluto drammatico, Ισπανός)
- Emidio Bettini-Lorini (primo tenore assoluto leggero)
- Cesare Baracchi (primo baritono assoluto, από Reggio Emilia)
- Luigi Bonfanti (primo baritono assoluto)
- Alessandro Niccolini (primo basso assoluto)
- Valentino Tubertini (primo basso comico, μέλος του αρχικού θιάσου).

Ως maestro concertatore και διευθυντής της ορχήστρας προσελήφθη και πάλι ο Guarnieri.

Maestro dei cori: Giannini.

Μηχανικός σκηνής: Καϊτας.

Διευθυντής του θεάτρου: Παληός.³⁰

Όπως ανακοινώθηκε, ο θίασος θα έφθανε στην Κέρκυρα μέσω Brindisi το Σάββατο 29.10/10.11.1888,³¹ κάτι που όντως συνέβη με απόλυτη ακρίβεια, αλλά τα κοστούμια έφθασαν καθυστερημένα από την Ιταλία την Παρασκευή, 11/23.11.1888.³² Έτσι, η σαιζόν άνοιξε το Σάββατο 12/24.11.1888³³ και έληξε – κατά τα ειωθότα – την Τελευταία Κυριακή της Αποκριάς, 19.2/3.3.1889. Διήρκεσε, δηλαδή, 100 συνολικώς ημέρες, ενώ το σύνολο των παραστάσεων πρέπει να έφθασε περίπου τις 85 (με 6 παραστάσεις εβδομαδιαίως).

²⁸ Βλ. *Cosmorama*, anno LIII, N. 39-40, 23.10.1888, σ. 7, *Ακρόπολις*, 13.10.1888, *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 20.10.1888.

²⁹ Βλ. *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 20.10.1888, *Ακρόπολις*, 31.10, 24.11.1888.

³⁰ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1166, 8.11.1888, σσ. [1, 4], N. 1167, 15.11.1888, σ. [4], *Cosmorama*, anno LIII, N. 43, 17.11.1888, σ. 7, N. 44-45, 28.11.1888, σ. 10, N. 48, 22.12.1888, σ. 2, *Asmodeo*, anno XVII, N. 39-40, 27.11.1888, σ. 11, *Il Teatro Illustrato*, anno VIII, Dicembre 1888, N. 96, σ. 189, *Εφημερίς*, 7.2.1889.

³¹ Βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 31.10.1888.

³² Βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 17.11.1888.

³³ Βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 17.11, 24.11.1888.



Λιμένας του Brindisi: η αποβάθρα των ατμοπλοίων με προορισμό την Ελλάδα και το αντίκρυ ευρισκόμενο *Hotel International*. Σε αυτό διέμεναν συνήθως οι καλλιτέχνες πριν αναχωρήσουν για Ελλάδα. Εντός του ξενοδοχείου παρείχοντο και τραπεζικές υπηρεσίες

Η πρωμαντόνα Gemma Perozzi-Morello απελύθη πριν από τα μέσα Δεκεμβρίου 1888 λόγω ακαταλληλότητας εξαιτίας ασθενείας (εμφανίσθηκε μόνο σε 2 όπερες, σε 18 συνολικώς παραστάσεις) και ο θίασος έμεινε αναγκαστικώς για μισό μήνα με μία μόνο πρωμαντόνα, την Virginia Colombati.³⁴ Μετά από επιθυμία του Σπύρου Σαμάρα, προς αντικατάσταση της απολυθείσας πρωμαντόνας Perozzi-Morello, που κατά πάσα βεβαιότητα με βάση τον αρχικό προγραμματισμό θα πρωταγωνιστούσε στην όπερα *Flora mirabilis*, εφ' όσον ήταν σε καλή φωνητική κατάσταση και είχε παραμείνει στον θίασο, έγινε αρχικώς πρόταση στην Emma Dotti-Ambrosi, η οποία αρνήθηκε, επιλέγοντας να εργασθεί στο Θέατρο Piccini του Bari,³⁵ και κατόπιν στην Concett(in)a Bevilacqua, η οποία απεδέχθη, λαμβάνοντας 4.000 φράγκα για σχεδόν 2 μήνες.³⁶

³⁴ Βλ. *Εφημερίς*, 20.12.1888, 2.1.1889, *Ακρόπολις*, 7.1.1889, *Cosmorama*, anno LIV, N. 3-4, 20.1.1889, σ. 10.

³⁵ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVII, N. 1175, 15.1.1889, σ. [1], *Cosmorama*, anno LIV, N. 3-4, 20.1.1889, σ. 10.

³⁶ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVII, N. 1174, 8.1.1889, σ. [1] (σε 2 σημεία), N. 1176, 23.1.1889, σ. [1], *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXIII, N. 1-2, 9.1.1889, σ. 8, N. 3, 20.1.1889, σ. 8, *Cosmorama*, anno LIV, N. 1-2, 10.1.1889, σ. 10 (σε 2 σημεία), *Lo Staffile*, anno X, N. 1-2, 10.1.1889, σ. [1], *Gazzetta Teatrale Italiana*, anno XVIII, N. 3, 12.1.1889, σ. 4, *Ακρόπολις*, 7.1.1889.



Η πρωμαντόνα Concett(in)a Bevilacqua σε φωτογραφία στην πρώτη σελίδα του Ιταλικού μουσικοθεατρικού εντύπου *Lo Staffile*, anno X, N. 1-2, 10.1.1889

Κατά την διάρκεια της σαιζόν αναβιβάσθηκαν μόνο 7 όπερες με την εξής σειρά: 1) *Ernani* (του Giuseppe Verdi), 2) *Lucia di Lammermoor* (του Gaetano Donizetti), 3) *Lucrezia Borgia* (του Gaetano Donizetti), 4) *I Puritani* (του Vincenzo Bellini), 5) *Un ballo in maschera* (του Giuseppe Verdi), 6) *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (του Gioacchino Rossini) και 7) *Flora mirabilis* (του Σπύρου Σαμάρα).

Κάποια στιγμή ανακοινώθηκε από την εργολαβία ότι ως 5^η παραγωγή προετοιμαζόταν ο *Rigoletto* (του Giuseppe Verdi),³⁷ αλλά δεν φαίνεται να αναβιβάσθηκε τελικώς αυτή η όπερα.

Τα βασικά στοιχεία των 7 παραγωγών της κεγκυραϊκής σαιζόν όπερας 1888/9:

- 1) *Ernani* (του Giuseppe Verdi)³⁸

³⁷ Βλ. *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXIII, N. 1-2, 9.1.1889, σ. 8.

³⁸ Βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 17.11, 24.11.1888, *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1171, 15.12.1888, σ. [1], N. 1179, 15.2.1889, σ. [2], *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXII, N. 51, 16.12.1888, σ. 7, anno XXIII, N. 1-2, 9.1.1889, σ. 8, *Cosmorama*, anno LIII, N. 48, 22.12.1888, σ. 2, anno LIV, N. 1-

1^η παραγωγή της σαιζόν.

Πρεμιέρα: Σάββατο, 12/24.11.1888.

Τουλάχιστον 17 παραστάσεις.

Επιβεβαιωμένη διανομή:

Elvira (s): Gemma Perozzi-Morello / [Concett(in)a Bevilacqua³⁹]

Ernani (t): Gerardo De(l) Castillo

Don Carlo (bar): Cesare Baracchi

Don Ruy Gomez de Silva (bs): Alessandro Niccolini

2) Lucia di Lammermoor (του Gaetano Donizetti)⁴⁰

2^η παραγωγή της σαιζόν.

Πρεμιέρα: Παρασκευή, 18/30.11.1888.

Τουλάχιστον 18 παραστάσεις.

Επιβεβαιωμένη διανομή:

Lucia (s): Virginia Colombati

Edgardo (t): Emidio Bettini-Lorini

Enrico (bar): Luigi Bonfanti

Normanno (bs): Alessandro Niccolini

3) Lucrezia Borgia (του Gaetano Donizetti)⁴¹

3^η παραγωγή της σαιζόν.

Ανεπιτυχής πρεμιέρα με την Perozzi-Morello: πιθ. α' 10ήμερο Δεκεμβρίου 1888. Άμεση απόλυση της συγκεκριμένης προιμαντόνας.

Εκ νέου αναβίβαση με την νεοφερμένη Bevilacqua, στην πρώτη εμφάνισή της στην σκηνή του θεάτρου San Giacomo: Κυριακή, 25.12.1888/6.1.1889.

Τουλάχιστον 5 παραστάσεις.

Επιβεβαιωμένη διανομή:

Lucrezia Borgia (s): Gemma Perozzi-Morello / Concett(in)a Bevilacqua

Duca Alfonso (bar/bs): Alessandro Niccolini

Gennaro (t): Gerardo De(l) Castillo

Maffio Orsini (c): Maddalena Tamburini-Garulli

2, 10.1.1889, σ. 10, N. 3-4, 20.1.1889, σ. 10, *Il Teatro Illustrato*, anno VIII, Dicembre 1888, N. 96, σ. 189, *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 18.1.1889.

³⁹ Βλ. *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 18.1.1889, όπου αναφέρεται ότι η Concett(in)a Bevilacqua έχει εμφανισθεί – μεταξύ άλλων οπερών – και στον *Ernani*. Ο γράφων διατηρεί επιφύλαξη για την ακρίβεια αυτής της πληροφορίας.

⁴⁰ Βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 24.11.1888, *Cosmorama*, anno LIII, N. 46-47, 12.12.1888, σ. 12, N. 48, 22.12.1888, σσ. 2 και 7, anno LIV, N. 3-4, 20.1.1889, σ. 4, *Gazzetta dei Teatri*, anno L, N. 46, 13.12.1888, σ. 8, *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVI, N. 1171, 15.12.1888, σ. [1], N. 1178, 8.2.1889, σ. [2], N. 1179, 15.2.1889, σ. [2], N. 1183, 15.3.1889, σ. [2], *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXII, N. 51, 16.12.1888, σ. 7, anno XXIII, N. 1-2, 9.1.1889, σ. 8, *Asmodeo*, anno XVII, N. 43, 18.12.1888, σ. 5, *Il Teatro Illustrato*, anno VIII, Dicembre 1888, N. 96, σ. 189.

⁴¹ Βλ. *Εφημερίς*, 2.1, 14.1.1889, *Ακρόπολις*, 7.1, 27.1.1889, *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 18.1.1889, *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVII, N. 1174, 8.1.1889, σ. [1] (σε 2 σημεία), N. 1176, 23.1.1889, σ. [1] (σε 2 σημεία), N. 1177, 1.2.1889, σ. [1], N. 1179, 15.2.1889, σ. [2], *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXIII, N. 1-2, 9.1.1889, σ. 8, N. 3, 20.1.1889, σ. 8, N. 4-5, 31.1.1889, σ. 6, N. 8, 19.2.1889, σ. 9, *Cosmorama*, anno LIV, N. 1-2, 10.1.1889, σ. 10, N. 3-4, 20.1.1889, σσ. 4 και 10 (σε 2 σημεία της σ. 10), N. 5, 29.1.1889, σ. 4, *Gazzetta Teatrale Italiana*, anno XVIII, N. 3, 12.1.1889, σ. 4, N. 4, 19.1.1889, σ. 3, *Lo Staffile*, anno X, N. 3, 26.1.1889, σ. 4, N. 4-5, 10.2.1889, σ. 6.

4) I Puritani (του Vincenzo Bellini)⁴²

4^η παραγωγή της σαιζόν.

Πρεμιέρα: πιθ. Πέμπτη, 22.12.1888/3.1.1889.

Τουλάχιστον 12 παραστάσεις.

Επιβεβαιωμένη διανομή:

Elvira (s): Virginia Colombati

Arturo (t): Emidio Bettini-Lorini

Riccardo: (bar): Luigi Bonfanti

Giorgio (bs): Alessandro Niccolini

5) Un ballo in maschera (του Giuseppe Verdi)⁴³

5^η παραγωγή της σαιζόν.

Πρεμιέρα: Παρασκευή, 6/18.1.1889.

Επιβεβαιωμένη διανομή:

Amelia (s): Concett(in)a Bevilacqua

Riccardo (t): Gerardo De(l) Castillo

Renato (bar): Cesare Baracchi

Ulrica (c): Maddalena Tamburini-Garulli

Oscar (Paggio) (s): Virginia Colombati

Samuel (bs): Alessandro Niccolini

6) Il barbiere di Siviglia (του Gioacchino Rossini)⁴⁴

6^η παραγωγή της σαιζόν.

Πρεμιέρα: λίγο πριν από τα μέσα Ιανουαρίου 1889.

Τουλάχιστον 4 παραστάσεις.

Επιβεβαιωμένη διανομή:

Rosina (ms/c): Virginia Colombati

Don Basilio (bs): Alessandro Niccolini

Figaro (bar): Luigi Bonfanti

Conte di Almaviva (t): Emidio Bettini-Lorini

Dottore Bartolo (bs com): [Valentino Tubertini⁴⁵]

7) Flora mirabilis (του Σπύρου Σαμάρα)⁴⁶

⁴² Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVII, N. 1174, 8.1.1889, σ. [1], N. 1178, 8.2.1889, σ. [2], N. 1179, 15.2.1889, σ. [2], N. 1183, 15.3.1889, σ. [2], *Cosmorama*, anno LIV, N. 1-2, 10.1.1889, σ. 10 (σε 2 σημεία), N. 3-4, 20.1.1889, σ. 4, N. 5, 29.1.1889, σ. 4, N. 8-9, 21.2.1889, σ. 9, *Gazzetta Teatrale Italiana*, anno XVIII, N. 3, 12.1.1889, σ. 4, *Ακρόπολις*, 27.1.1889.

⁴³ Βλ. *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXIII, N. 1-2, 9.1.1889, σ. 8, N. 4-5, 31.1.1889, σ. 6, *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVII, N. 1176, 23.1.1889, σ. [1], N. 1177, 1.2.1889, σ. [1], N. 1179, 15.2.1889, σ. [2], *Lo Staffile*, anno X, N. 3, 26.1.1889, σ. 4, *Cosmorama*, anno LIV, N. 5, 29.1.1889, σ. 4, N. 8-9, 21.2.1889, σ. 5, N. 6, 2.2.1889, σ. 2, *Εφημερίς*, 14.1.1889, *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 18.1.1889.

⁴⁴ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVII, N. 1178, 8.2.1889, σ. [2], N. 1179, 15.2.1889, σ. [2], N. 1183, 15.3.1889, σ. [2], *Cosmorama*, anno LIV, N. 8-9, 21.2.1889, σ. 5.

⁴⁵ Πρόκειται για πιθανολόγηση του γράφοντος.

⁴⁶ Βλ. *Il Teatro Illustrato*, anno VIII, Dicembre 1888, N. 96, σ. 189, anno IX, Marzo 1889, N. 99, σσ. 43-44, *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVII, N. 1174, 8.1.1889, σ. [1] (σε 2 σημεία), N. 1176, 23.1.1889, σ. [1], N. 1177, 1.2.1889, σ. [1], N. 1182, 8.3.1889, σ. [1], N. 1184, 23.3.1889, σ. [1], *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXIII, N. 1-2, 9.1.1889, σσ. 6 και 8, N. 3, 20.1.1889, σ. 8, N. 8, 19.2.1889, σ. 4, N. 9-10, 1.3.1889, σ. 8, N. 11-12, 11.3.1889, σσ. 9 και 10, N. 13, 20.3.1889, σ. 9, *Cosmorama*, anno LIV, N. 1-2, 10.1.1889, σ. 10 (σε 2 σημεία), N. 3-4, 20.1.1889, σ. 4, N. 8-9,

Τον Δεκέμβριο του 1888 (με το παλαιό ημερολόγιο) το Δημοτικό Συμβούλιο του Δήμου Κερκυραίων (Δήμαρχος ο Μιχαήλ Θεοτόκης, Πρόεδρος του Δ.Σ. ο Λεωνίδας Βλάχος) αποφάσισε παμψηφεί την έγκριση πρόσθετης έκτακτης δαπάνης 5.000 δρχ. (σύνολο 11.000 δρχ.) «προς όσον ένεστιν αξιοπρεπή παράστασιν» της *Flora mirabilis*. Ο εργολάβος Αλέξανδρος Τεμπονέρας Βόγγολης προσέθεσε από την πλευρά του άλλες 5.000 δρχ. Το συνολικό ποσό των 16.000 δρχ. θα διετίθετο «όχι μόνον δια τον χορόν, αλλά και δι' ενδύματα, σκηνικών διάκοσμον και άλλας ανάγκας» της όπερας του Σαμάρα. Τον Ιανουάριο του 1889 παραγγέλθηκε και κατέφθασε μπαλέτο από την Ιταλία, αποτελούμενο από 8 μπαλαρίνες τις οποίες επέλεξε ο ίδιος ο Σαμάρας. Επίσης, τα μέλη της ορχήστρας αυξήθηκαν ειδικώς σε 40, συμπεριλαμβανομένων μιας αρπίστριας και μιας πιανίστριας, ενώ και τα μέλη της χορωδίας αυξήθηκαν ειδικώς σε 24. Τον σχεδιασμό των ενδυμάτων έκανε ο Γάλλος σχεδιαστής Edcl.

Αρχικώς είχε ανακοινωθεί ότι ο Σαμάρας θα έφθανε στην Κέρκυρα από την Ιταλία την Κυριακή 8/20.1.1889 και κατόπιν η άφιξή του μετετέθη για τα μέσα Ιανουαρίου 1889 (με το παλαιό ημερολόγιο). Τελικώς ο συνθέτης έφθασε στο νησί με σημαντική καθυστέρηση, μόλις την Πέμπτη 26.1/7.2.1889 και διέμεινε δημοτική δαπάνη στο ξενοδοχείο «Άγιος Γεώργιος». Οι πρόβες - προετοιμασίες της *Flora mirabilis* υπό την άμεση ευθύνη του ίδιου του Σαμάρα άρχισαν την επομένη, Παρασκευή 27.1/8.2.1889, και διήρκεσαν 9 ημέρες.

7^η παραγωγή της σαιζόν.

Πρεμιέρα (και Πανελλήνια Πρώτη): Κυριακή, 5/17.2.1889.

Τουλάχιστον 8 παραστάσεις.

Επιβεβαιωμένη διανομή:

Lidia (s): Concett(in)a Bevilacqua

Valdo (t): Gerardo De(l) Castillo

Il Conte d' Adelfiord (bar): Luigi Bonfanti

Il Principe Cristiano d'Orèbro (bs): Alessandro Niccolini

Δ/ντής της ορχήστρας σε όλες τις παραστάσεις της *Flora mirabilis* ήταν ο ίδιος ο Σπύρος Σαμάρας. Αρχικώς είχε γραφεί ότι ο συνθέτης θα διηύθυνε μόνο τις 3 πρώτες παραστάσεις και κατόπιν μόνο την πρεμιέρα της όπεράς του, ενώ τις υπόλοιπες θα διηύθυνε ο Guarnieri. Maestro dei cori ήταν ο Giannini και μηχανικός σκηνής ο Καϊτας.

Οι 8 επιβεβαιωμένες παραστάσεις της *Flora mirabilis*:

- Κυριακή, 5/17.2.1889.

- Δευτέρα, 6/18.2.1889.

- Τρίτη, 7/19.2.1889.

21.2.1889, σσ. 5 και 10, N. 11-12, 9.3.1889, σ. 10, N. 13-14, 21.3.1889, σ. 6, *Lo Staffile*, anno X, N. 1-2, 10.1.1889, σ. [1], N. 6-7, 24.2.1889, σ. 4, N. 8-9, 8.3.1889, σ. 5, N. 10, 27.3.1889, σ. 4, *Gazzetta Teatrale Italiana*, anno XVIII, N. 3, 12.1.1889, σ. 4, N. 8, 21.2.1889, σ. 3, N. 10, 8.3.1889, σσ. 2 και 4, *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*, anno XLIV, N. 10, 10.3.1889, σ. 169, *L'Arpa*, anno XXXVI, N. 5-6, 14.3.1889, σ. 22, *La Scena Illustrata*, anno XXV, N. 6, 15.3.1889, σ. [12], καθώς και στις αθηναϊκές εφημερίδες *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 9.9, 18.9.1888, 3.1, 18.1, 27.1, 4.2, 6.2, 7.2, 13.2, 14.2, 7.3.1889, *Εφημερίς*, 15.9, 20.9, 20.12.1888, 2.1, 14.1, 18.1, 29.1, 31.1, 6.2, 7.2, 12.2, 14.2, 21.2, 24.2, 2.3.1889, *Ακρόπολις*, 19.9, 31.10.1888, 6.1, 7.1, 27.1, 28.1, 2.2, 3.2, 5.2, 6.2, 7.2, 8.2, 11.2, 16.2, 4.3.1889.

- Πέμπτη, 9/21.2.1889.
- Παρασκευή, 10/22.2.1889 (ευεργετική βραδιά του Gerardo De(l) Castillo).
- Πέμπτη, 16/28.2.1889 (λαϊκή απογευματινή με φθηνό εισιτήριο μίας δραχμής).
- Παρασκευή, 17.2/1.3.1889 (ευεργετική βραδιά της Concett(in)a Bevilacqua).
- Τελευταία Κυριακή της Αποκριάς, 19.2/3.3.1889 (λήξη της σαιζόν όπερας 1888/9).

Κατά την διάρκεια της σαιζόν δόθηκαν και οι ευεργετικές βραδιές των εξής μονωδών:⁴⁷

- Maddalena Tamburini-Garulli (ms/c)
- Emidio Bettini-Lorini (t)
- Luigi Bonfanti (bar)
 - Cesare Baracchi (bar)
 - Alessandro Niccolini (bs)
- Gerardo De(l) Castillo (t) (Παρασκευή 10/22.2.1889)
- Virginia Colombati (s) (Τετάρτη 15/27.2.1889)
- Concett(in)a Bevilacqua (s) (Παρασκευή 17.2/1.3.1889)

Λοιπά ενδιαφέροντα στοιχεία της κεγκυραϊκής σαιζόν όπερας 1888/9:

- Μετά από πρόταση του Δε-Σέμου και απόφαση του Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου Κεγκυραίων (με ψήφους 7-6, υπέρ ο Δήμαρχος Μ. Θεοτόκης, κατά ο Πρόεδρος του Δ.Σ. Λεωνίδας Βλάχος) για πρώτη φορά τα θεωρεία του Θεάτρου San Giacomo τέθηκαν σε δημοπρασία, προκειμένου να επιτευχθεί το μεγαλύτερο δυνατό οικονομικό όφελος. Αυτό, όμως, είχε ως αποτέλεσμα μεγάλο μέρος της «ανωτέρας τάξεως» της Κεγκύρας να «χάσει» τα πατροπαράδοτα θεωρεία της από νεόπλουτους πολίτες, οι οποίοι πλειοδότησαν. Οι θιγέστες θεώρησαν ότι τους «αφηρεθήσαν τα θεωρεία» και, θέλοντας να εκδηλώσουν την αντίδρασή τους, «κατηράσθησαν» και εγκατέλειψαν αρχικώς το θέατρο, κάνοντας, μάλιστα, αντίπραξη: διοργάνωναν στις κατοικίες τους μουσικές και θεατρικές εκδηλώσεις («χοροεσπερίδες» και «εσπερίδες»), στις οποίες αλληλοκαλούνταν και διασκέδαζαν μεταξύ τους. Αυτή η κατάσταση είχε σοβαρές οικονομικές επιπτώσεις για την εργολαβία, τουλάχιστον κατά τους δύο πρώτους μήνες της σαιζόν.⁴⁸

- Ως συνήθως, το θεατρικό κοινό διχάσθηκε σε δύο μερίδες: στους υποστηρικτές της Bevilacqua και στους υποστηρικτές της Colombati.⁴⁹ Μάλιστα, η κεγκυραϊκή εφημερίδα *Sior Todero Brontolon* έγραψε κατά της Bevilacqua, όταν

⁴⁷ Βλ. *Rivista Teatrale Melodrammatica*, anno XXVII, N. 1179, 15.2.1889, σ. [2], N. 1181, 1.3.1889, σ. [1], N. 1182, 8.3.1889, σ. [1], N. 1184, 23.3.1889, σ. [1], *Cosmorama*, anno LIV, N. 8-9, 21.2.1889, σ. 5, *Gazzetta Teatrale Italiana*, anno XVIII, N. 10, 8.3.1889, σ. 4, *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXIII, N. 11-12, 11.3.1889, σ. 10, N. 13, 20.3.1889, σ. 9, *L'Arpa*, anno XXXVI, N. 5-6, 14.3.1889, σ. 22, N. 11-12, 9.3.1889, σ. 10, N. 13-14, 21.3.1889, σ. 6, *La Scena Illustrata*, anno XXV, N. 6, 15.3.1889, σ. [12], *Lo Staffile*, anno X, N. 10, 27.3.1889, σ. 4, *Il Teatro Illustrato*, anno IX, Marzo 1889, N. 99, σσ. 43-44, *Εφημερίς*, 14.2, 21.2.1889.

⁴⁸ Βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 24.11.1888, *Εφημερίς*, 20.12.1888, 14.1.1889.

⁴⁹ Βλ. *Εφημερίς*, 31.1.1889.

αυτή εμφανίσθηκε για πρώτη φορά επί σκηνής με την *Lucrezia Borgia*, προκειμένου να την καταποθήσει. Σε απάντηση αυτής της – άδικης κατ’ αυτούς – επίθεσης, οι θαυμαστές της Benivlacqua έκαψαν φύλλα αυτής της εφημερίδας εντός της αίθουσας του θεάτρου.⁵⁰

- Πριν ακόμα από την άφιξη του Σπύρου Σαμάρα στην Κέρκυρα, υπήρξαν «ειρηνευτικές» παρεμβάσεις ψυχραιμών και σεβαστών Κερκυραίων, προκειμένου να επιστρέψει στο θέατρο η «ανωτέρα τάξις».⁵¹ Τελικώς, υιοθετήθηκε μια – θεραπευτική των παθών – συμβιβαστική διαδικασία *rotation* για τα θεωρεία, οπότε κατά τον ένα σχεδόν εναπομείναντα μήνα η «ανωτέρα τάξις» επανέκαμψε σύσσωμη στο θέατρο San Giacomo, το οποίο πλέον ήταν διαρκώς υπερπλήρες, αποζημιώνοντας μερικώς την εργολαβία για τις οικονομικές «θυσίες» στις οποίες αυτή είχε υποβληθεί. Ταυτοχρόνως, έφθασαν στο νησί διάφοροι κοσμικοί από Ιταλία, Αθήνα και αλλαχού, εξαντλώντας τα δωμάτια των καλύτερων ξενοδοχείων. Επίσης, ειδικώς για την περίπτωση, η μεγάλη Ιταλική αεροπορική εταιρεία *Navigazione Generale Italiana Florio Rubattino* εξέδωσε έκτακτα εισιτήρια 15νθήμερης διάρκειας και μετ’ επιστροφής για Κέρκυρα με έκπτωση 50%.⁵²

- Κατά την διάρκεια της μηνιαίας παραμονής του Σπύρου Σαμάρα στην Κέρκυρα έλαβε χώρα πλήθος εκδηλώσεων δημοσίου και ιδιωτικού χαρακτήρος (γεύματα, δείπνα, ομιλίες, τελετές βραβεύσεων, ανταλλαγές δώρων, εκδρομές στην ύπαιθρο). Υπήρξε, δηλαδή, μια πρωτοφανής κοσμική κίνηση στην Κέρκυρα, που προκάλεσε τεράστιο ενδιαφέρον του Τύπου, τοπικού και αθηναϊκού, και τόνωσε την οικονομική δραστηριότητα της πόλης. Τέλος, η Ελληνική Κυβέρνηση απένειμε στον Σαμάρα τον «Αργυρούν Σταυρόν του [Τάγματος του] Σωτήρος» μέσω του Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών.⁵³

Επιστρέφοντας επιλογικώς στα του σιδηροδρομικού δυστυχήματος του Grassano, αυτό προκάλεσε αποτροπιασμό στην Ιταλική κοινή γνώμη και έμεινε έκτοτε δυσωνύμως παροιμιώδες στην ιστορία των Ιταλικών σιδηροδρόμων («Il disastro ferroviario di Grassano»). Σε ερώτηση-καταπέλτη σχετικώς με τις ευθύνες της RM, που έκανε στην Ιταλική Βουλή στις 10/22.11.1888 ο Βουλευτής και μετέπειτα Υπουργός Pietro Lacava, ο οποίος βρέθηκε εξ’ αρχής στον τόπο του δυστυχήματος, η Κυβέρνηση έσπευσε δια του Υπουργού Δημοσίων Έργων Saracco να υπερασπισθεί σθεναρώς την εταιρεία και τα συμφέροντά της.⁵⁴

Οι δίκες που ακολούθησαν τα αμέσως επόμενα χρόνια για τον καταλογισμό ευθυνών στους υπαιτίους και την καταβολή αποζημιώσεων από την RM στις οικογένειες των θυμάτων, διεξήχθησαν με σκοπίμως μεγάλη χρονική καθυστέρηση και ήταν διαδικαστικώς ύποπτες. Η RM, έχοντας και την απροκάλυπτη υποστήριξη της Ιταλικής Κυβέρνησης, υποστήριζε από την πρώτη

⁵⁰ Βλ. *Il mondo artistico*, anno XXIII, N. 4-5, 31.1.1889, σ. 6, *Lo Staffile*, anno X, N. 4-5, 10.2.1889, σ. 6.

⁵¹ Βλ. *Εφημερίς*, 14.1.1889.

⁵² Βλ. *Ακρόπολις*, 3.2.1889..

⁵³ Βλ. *Νέα Εφημερίς*, 18.1.1889, *Ακρόπολις*, 24.1.1889.

⁵⁴ Βλ. *Atti Parlamentari*, Camera dei Deputati, Legislatura XVI, 2a Sessione, Discussioni, CLXXXVIII, Tornata di Giovedì 22 Novembre 1888, σσ. 5397-5410.

στιγμή την αθωότητά της και εξέφραζε διαρκώς την έντονη ανησυχία της για την επερχόμενη διαδικασία απονομής της δικαιοσύνης, ισχυριζόμενη ότι είναι υπαρκτός ο κίνδυνος τα τοπικά δικαστήρια να μεροληπτήσουν εις βάρος της, καθώς η δίκη θα διεξαγόταν μέσα σε ένα κλίμα έντονης συμπάθειας της κοινής γνώμης της περιοχής για τα θύματα και τους συγγενείς τους.

Το Δικαστικό Συμβούλιο της Potenza με απόφασή του στις 11/23.1.1890 ανέθεσε την εκδίκαση της υπόθεσης στο πρωτοβάθμιο δικαστήριο («Tribunale») της Matera. Κατηγορούμενοι ήσαν ο Giuseppe Brambilla, μηχανοδηγός του τραίνου (34 ετών, από το Μιλάνο, κάτοικος Τάραντος), ο Gaetano Morea, φύλακας του Σιδηροδρομικού Φυλακίου 215 (28 ετών, από το Bitonto, κάτοικος Grassano, άτομο πνευματικώς καθυστερημένο), και ο Mattia Massa, Γενικός Δ/ντής της RM (61 ετών, από το Τορίνο, κάτοικος Μιλάνου).

Η δίκη στην Matera άρχισε στις 5/17.7.1890 και έως τις 14/26.7.1890 εξετάσθηκαν από τους δικαστές και τους νομικούς παραστάτες πολλοί μάρτυρες, που διευκρίνισαν τις συνθήκες του δυστυχήματος. Με πληρεξούσιο που συνέταξε ο συμβολαιογράφος Κερκύρας «Economos» στις 25.4.1890, την πλευρά Τεμπονέρα εκπροσώπησε στην δίκη στην Matera ο Ιταλός δικηγόρος Francesco Giannantonio, νομικός παραστάτης και άλλων θυμάτων.

Ξαφνικά, το Εφετείο («Real Corte d'Appello») της Potenza, με απόφασή του την 1/13.12.1890 θεώρησε ότι το δικαστήριο της Matera είχε «ύποπτα κίνητρα» και του αφαίρεσε την υπόθεση, αναθέτοντάς την στο πρωτοβάθμιο δικαστήριο της Potenza. Με αδικαιολόγητη περαιτέρω καθυστέρηση η εκδίκαση της υπόθεσης άρχισε τελικώς εκ νέου στην Potenza τον Οκτώβριο του 1891, αυτήν την φορά με 4 κατηγορούμενους, αφού στους προαναφερθέντες είχε προστεθεί ο Raffaele Opromolla, τοπικός σιδηροδρομικός τηλεγραφεστής (31 ετών, από την Auletta, κάτοικος Casalbuono), ο οποίος εφωράθη να ψευδομαρτυρεί κατά την δίκη στην Matera. Ο συνήγορος της Πολιτικής Αγωγής, Enrico Ferri, ανέδειξε με ενάργεια και ισχυρά επιχειρήματα τις ευθύνες της RM για το δυστύχημα και έτσι το πρωτοβάθμιο δικαστήριο της Potenza, με μια θαρραλέα απόφασή του στις 9/21.11.1891, αφού αθώωσε τον Giuseppe Brambilla ως μη έχοντα ευθύνη για το τραγικό συμβάν, κατεδίκασε σε διάφορες ποινές φυλάκισης και καταβολής αποζημιώσεων τους:

- Gaetano Morea, για εγκληματική αμέλεια κατά την άσκηση των καθηκόντων του.

- Mattia Massa, ως πολιτικό υπεύθυνο των παραλείψεων του Morea, καθώς και για την μη τοποθέτηση συστήματος αυτόματης πέδησης σε έναν συρμό που κινείται σε μία τόσο προβληματική και επικίνδυνη γραμμή.

- Raffaele Opromolla, για ψευδή μαρτυρία.

Η απόφαση εφεσιβλήθηκε από τους καταδικασθέντες και αμέσως η πλευρά των Massa και Morea εξέφρασε την δυσπιστία της για την αμεροληψία των δικαστών του Εφετείου της Potenza, όπου έπρεπε να εκδικασθεί η έφεση. Με μια εκπληκτική απόφασή του το Ακυρωτικό Δικαστήριο της Ιταλίας μετέφερε την εκδίκαση της έφεσης στο μακρινό Εφετείο της Bologna. Εκεί, με αθωωτική απόφαση που εκδόθηκε το 1893 η RM απέδρασε οριστικώς από τις όποιες ευθύνες της και ο Massa απηλλάγη, καθώς έγινε δεκτός ο ισχυρισμός του ότι το

τραγικό συμβάν δεν θα απεφεύγετο ακόμη και αν η RM είχε τοποθετήσει το σύστημα αυτόματης πέδησης.⁵⁵

Όμως, η «θυσία» των άτυχων ταξιδιωτών στο Grassano προκάλεσε μία μακρόχρονη και ευρεία συζήτηση νομικής και τεχνικής φύσεως, που οδήγησε τελικώς τόσο στον εκσυγχρονισμό του κανονισμού λειτουργίας των Ιταλικών σιδηροδρόμων όσο και στην δημιουργία για πρώτη φορά ενός νομικού πλαισίου που προέβλεπε τις ευθύνες και τις υποχρεώσεις των παρόχων σιδηροδρομικών υπηρεσιών στην Ιταλία.

Σήμερα, και στον απόηχο του τραγικού συμβάντος του 1888, οι σύγχρονοι κάτοικοι της ευρύτερης περιοχής του Grassano μιλούν ακόμη και τώρα για αυτά που έχουν ακούσει σχετικά από τους παλαιότερους, ενώ ταυτοχρόνως αισθάνονται και υπερήφανοι για την ομόθυμη και τιτάνια εθελοντική προσφορά των προγόνων τους προς τα θύματα του σιδηροδρομικού δυστυχήματος.

⁵⁵ Για όλη την δικαστική πορεία της υπόθεσης βλ. Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del “bel canto”. Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, [Matera], Edizioni SETAC-Pisticci, [2017] και Enrico Ferri, *Difese penali*, Utet 1925, Κεφάλαια VIII και IX.

The musical life in Greece in the 19th century in the pages of the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* (1842- 1902)

Andrea Sessa

Such as other music periodicals of the Nineteenth century, the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* does not devote much space to the news from Greece. The attention of the periodical is, of course, to those that, at the time, are the capitals of music in Europe: London and, above all, Paris. In 1866 (when the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, under the direction of Giulio Ricordi, resumes the publications after a suspension of three years and a half and gradually increases the number and variety of the news from abroad) the articles from the French capital are ten, which become twenty-four in 1870, thirty-seven in 1875 and even forty-four in 1884,¹ almost once a week. In this year the first official correspondence from Corfu appears, that is a report on a concert of bow instruments at the Philharmonic Society.² Later, while articles from Greece (mainly from Corfu and Athens) remain sporadic, Paris maintains its primacy, but in the Nineties other cities in Europe (Brussels, Lisbon, Barcelona, Munich, Berlin, Dresden and Warsaw), North America (New York and San Francisco), South America (Buenos Aires) and Africa (Alexandria) overtake it.

If the articles from Greece are not numerous, since the first year of life and the subsequent ones the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* publishes a series of articles on the history of Greek music (six articles between 1842 and 1844),³ taken from *A History of Music* by William C. Stafford.⁴ Then, on several occasions, the periodical returns to face similar topics. We can find, for example, insights on ecclesiastical music of Greece⁵ and on the ancient theatre of Athens, but also on a supposed letter of Eumele, a music teacher at the time of Pericles.⁶ There is, of course, also a reference on the Hymn to Apollo, discovered in 1893 in Delphi by the France School in Athens, a finding that creates enormous interest among scholars.⁷

¹ This data can be obtained from the *Indice delle materie principali* (Main subjects index) published every year by the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*.

² Eros, «Corfù, 2 dicembre. Alla Società Filarmonica – Festa delle corde armoniche», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXIX, 50 (14.12.1884), p. 461.

³ «Della musica de' Greci. Articolo I», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, I, 27 (3.7.1842), pp. 121-22; «Della musica de' Greci (articolo II)», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, I, 37 (11.9.1842), pp. 162-63; «Della musica de' Greci. Articolo III», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, II, 41 (8.10.1843), pp. 174-75; «Della musica de' Greci. Articolo IV», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, III, 1 (7.1.1844), pp. 1-2; «Della natura dell'antica musica greca. Articolo V», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, III, 3 (21.1.1844), pp. 9-10; «Della musica de' Greci. Articolo VI», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, III, 7 (18.2.1844), pp. 28-9.

⁴ William Cooke Stafford, *A History of Music*, Edinburgh: Constable and Co., 1830.

⁵ Riccardo Paderni, «Della musica ecclesiastico-greca e del suo odierno perfezionamento in Vienna per l'animo e per lo studio di Giovanni H. N. Chaviarà», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, V, 12 (22.3.1846), pp. 92-3.

⁶ L. G. Z., «Archeologia musicale», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, IV, 16 (20.4.1845), pp. 70-1; L. G. Z., «Archeologia musicale», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, IV, 18 (4.5.1845), p. 79; L. G. Z., «Archeologia musicale», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, IV, 20 (18.5.1845), p. 87; L. G. Z., «Archeologia musicale», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, IV, 22 (1.6.1845), pp. 95-6.

⁷ «Alla rinfusa», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, L, 11 (17.3.1895), p. 180.

As for Greece in the Nineteenth century, although not particularly numerous, the references in the pages of the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* are enough to draw a fairly accurate picture of the musical life in Corfu, Athens and other places where we often find Italian musicians engaged as music teachers or masters of musical bands. This is the case, for example, of the Philharmonic Society of Corfu, quoted in various articles from 1884 to 1890. These articles concern, in particular:

1. the already mentioned concert (1884)⁸ given by the violinist Ernesto Centola,⁹ recently appointed director of the violin school of the Philharmonic Society; he is accompanied on the piano by Napoleon Lambelet;
2. a *Fantasia* for band on the Verdi's opera *La traviata* written by Felice Coccorullo,¹⁰ master of the band of the Philharmonic Society (1885);¹¹
3. the exams of the violin school of the Philharmonic Society (1885);¹²
4. a concert (1890)¹³ where Dimitrios Andronis, artistic director of the Philharmonic Society, performs as pianist and conductor; many Italian musicians, teachers at the Philharmonic Society, participate at the concert, such as Vincenzo De Meis,¹⁴ violin teacher, Giuseppe Maria Marangoni,¹⁵ double bass teacher, and Ezio Sassoli,¹⁶ the new master of band;
5. the concert organized by Andronis for the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Philharmonic Society (1890).¹⁷

⁸ See note 2.

⁹ Ernesto Centola (Salerno, 1862 – ?) studied at the Conservatory of Naples. In 1884 he was appointed director of the violin school at the Philharmonic Society of Corfu. In 1887 he went to Berlin to continue his studies. In 1889 he became a violin teacher at the Conservatory of Turin. From 1893 to 1897 he was violinist in the orchestra of the San Carlo Theatre in Naples. Later he was active in Istanbul as a teacher in the music school he has founded and at the Robert College. After the outbreak of First World War he returned to Naples (Antonio Caroccia, *I corrispondenti abruzzesi di Florimo. Selezione dall'Epistolario*, Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2007, p. 85).

¹⁰ From 1879 to 1881 Felice Coccorullo was master of the band of the 51st Infantry Regiment in Reggio Calabria (Gaspere Nello Vetro, *Le Bande Musicali del Regio Esercito dalla proclamazione del Regno d'Italia alla Prima Guerra Mondiale 1861-1915*, Roma: Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, Ufficio Storico, 2010, pp. 149, 206).

¹¹ «Notizie estere. Corfù, 1 giugno», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XL, 24 (14.6.1885), p. 214.

¹² «Notizie estere. Corfù», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XL, 38 (20.9.1885), p. 325.

¹³ A. R., «Concerti. Corfù, 4 luglio», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLV, 28 (13.7.1890), p. 445.

¹⁴ Vincenzo De Meis composed a Greek suite entitled *Ellade*, published by Carisch (1928).

¹⁵ Giuseppe Maria Marangoni (Lugo, 1866 – Lugo, 1945) studied double bass (1884-1889) and counterpoint and composition (1889-1890) at the Conservatory of Bologna. He was double bass teacher at the Malerbi Music School in Lugo and at the Conservatory of Florence. He performed as soloist and orchestral and he was also the first double bass in the orchestra of the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino (Michele Raffaelli, *Musica & musicisti di Romagna*, Forlì: Filograf, 1997, p. 237; Domenico Tampieri, *La leggerezza dell'elefante. Guido Gallignani (1880-1974) concertista all'estero. Carteggi nostalgia e critica internazionale di un contrabbassista compositore*, Faenza: Edit Faenza, 2004, pp. 158, 235n, 347, 376-80). As for the musician, who died a few months before the end of Second World War after a German raid in his home, see also Rosanna Carnevale, *Andante affettuoso*, Roma: Portaparole, 2015.

¹⁶ Ezio Sassoli (Sant'Agata Bolognese, 1857 – ?) studied horn and trumpet at the Conservatory of Bologna from 1873 to 1874.

¹⁷ X., «Concerti. Corfù», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLV, 39 (28.9.1890), p. 618.

Other less detailed news concerns the National Artistic Union of Athens,¹⁸ the band of the Philharmonic Society of Syros¹⁹ and the Philharmonic Society of Patras (that “looks for a good music teacher of Northern Italy”).²⁰

The most important news to examine is certainly the theatrical news. They give us important information about cities and theatres that are an obligatory stage for Italian opera companies, mostly the Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo in Corfu. Here, as in the other theatres of the Ionian Islands, the repertoire little by little updates following the Italian theatres. In the Forties and Fifties, there are many operas by Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and the young Verdi (*Nabucco* ed *Ernani* already appear in the 1844/45 season), but also operas by today almost unknown composers, as Saverio Mercadante, Giovanni Pacini, Lauro Rossi and Luigi Ricci. Later, very popular opera composers in the second half of the Nineteenth century here also appear, such as Amilcare Ponchielli, Errico Petrella, Filippo Marchetti and the Brazilian Antônio Carlos Gomes with his acclaimed *Guarany*. In the Nineties, finally, it is time for exponents of Giovane Scuola, first of all Mascagni with his triumphant *Cavalleria rusticana*.²¹

In this repertoire, that includes more than dozens of authors and hundreds of operas, there is a remarkable absence, which is that of Richard Wagner. It is also the presence, however, of some Greek composers who in Corfu show, sometimes for the first time, their works. Among them, the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* devotes a significant space to Pavlos Karrer e Spiros Samaras. The periodical reports the great success of the *première* of Karrer's *Isabella d'Aspeno* (1854), then performed twice in Milan (1855 and 1856): a show with various requests of encore and warm applauses for the composer, the singers and the conductor.²² There is also a detailed article about Samaras' *Flora mirabilis*, already applauded in 1886 in Milan and later elsewhere, and that for the first time arrives in Corfu under the direction of the author. There are many pieces of music repeated: among them, the *Danza dei gnomi*, the *Danza dei fiori* and the prelude of the third act. The memorable evening ends with the composer led in a carriage from the theatre to the Philharmonic Society between two delirious crowd wings.²³ The soprano is Concetta Bevilacqua, much appreciated in Corfu: a few weeks before the spectators had burned into the theatre copies of a local newspaper that had published an unfavourable article about the singer.²⁴ *Flora mirabilis* closes triumphantly the 1888/89 opera season in Corfu, that had been preceded by the railway disaster of Grassano, in Italy.²⁵

¹⁸ «Altre cose», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, IV, 44 (2.11.1845), p. 188.

¹⁹ «Avviso di concorso», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIV, 45 (10.11.1889), p. 734; «Avviso di concorso», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIV, 46 (17.11.1889), p. 750; «Avviso di concorso», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIV, 47 (24.11.1889), p. 766.

²⁰ «Avviso», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLVIII, 40 (1.10.1893), p. 666.

²¹ Konstantinos G. Sampanis, «Παραστασιολόγιο ὀπερῶν ποὺ ἀναβιβάσθησαν στὰ θέατρα τῶν Ἑπτανήσων ἀπὸ ἰταλικοὺς ἐπαγγελματικὸς θιάσους τὸν 19^ο αἰῶνα (1820-1900)» (Performances of operatic works performed by Italian professional theaters in the theaters of the Ionian Islands in the Nineteenth century, 1820-1900), *Μουσικός Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 18-19 (2014), pp. 24-41.

²² «Cronaca straniera», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XII, 8 (19.2.1854), p. 63.

²³ M., «Corfù, 22 febbraio. *Flora Mirabilis* del maestro Samara», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIV, 10 (10.3.1889), p. 169.

²⁴ «Alla rinfusa», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIV, 7 (17.2.1889), p. 102.

²⁵ In October 1888 a train carrying on board also an Italian opera company headed for to Corfu went out of the tracks due to a landslide, with many dead and wounded. As for the railway

In the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* there is no detailed information on the performances in Corfu of other operas by Greek musicians. As for Domenikos Padovas' *Dirce, figlia di Aristodemo* (1857) there is only one short reference, despite the good opera company.²⁶ There is the tenor Pietro Bignardi, the baritone Gaetano Giori (in 1869 in Lecco he will be don Rodrigo in Petrella's *I promessi sposi*) and the famous Isabella Galletti Gianoli, soprano and then mezzosoprano with a prestigious repertoire.²⁷ The conductor is Roberto Ferroni.²⁸ A few weeks later, the same cast is protagonist of the *première* of Edouardos Lambelet's *Olema la schiava*. In this case, the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* does not even devote a line at the event. There is little emphasis also for Dionisios Rodotheatos' *Oitona* (1876). The periodical only speaks of a great success.²⁹ There is no track of other operas by Greek composers.

As for other theatrical shows reviewed by the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, a good success gets Verdi's *Don Carlo*, which opens the 1880/81 season of the Nobile Teatro di San Giacomo of Corfu.³⁰ Less appreciated, due to insufficient execution, is another opera by Verdi, *La forza del destino*, which inaugurates the 1881/82 season.³¹ Meyerbeer's *L'Africana*, first opera of the 1889/90 season, has instead a very good result.³² Among the singers, there are the soprano Vittorina Paganelli Grassi, the tenor Ettore Marchi and the baritone Giuseppe Pimazzoni, who is protagonist of a long career abroad, in Australia and the United States, where in the early Twentieth century will also make some records. The conductor is Antonio Artuso, a Neapolitan musician known also as a composer.³³ Even King George I attends to one of the last performances of *L'Africana*.³⁴ In the same season, there are three operas by Donizetti: *Linda di Chamounix*, *La Favorita* and *L'elisir d'amore*. The last, however, is interrupted due to a disease of the tenor.³⁵ Verdi's *Otello* inaugurates 1892/93 season, with a magnificent success.³⁶ There are also other applauded operas, such as Auber's *Fra Diavolo*³⁷ and Meyerbeer's *Roberto il Diavolo*³⁸. The conductor Corrado Ronzani³⁹ is much appreciated. Puccini's *Manon*

disaster and its consequences see Gianni Maragno, *Il treno del "bel canto". Il disastro di Grassano del 1888*, Pisticci: SETAC, 2016.

²⁶ «Cronaca straniera. Corfù», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XV, 12 (22.3.1857), p. 95.

²⁷ As for Isabella Galletti Gianoli, name of art of Filomena Rustichelli (Bologna, 1835 – Milan, 1901), see *La favorita di Bologna. La figura e l'arte di Isabella Galletti Gianoli*, a cura di Adriano Orlandini, Cento: Maurizio Magri, 2007.

²⁸ Roberto Ferroni was also piano and singing teacher in Faenza (Michele Raffaelli, *Musica & musicisti di Romagna*, Forlì: Filograf, 1997, p. 159; Ino Savini - Rino Savini, *La musica a Faenza (1400-1994)*, Faenza: Assessorato alla Cultura del Comune di Faenza, 1997, pp. 72, 80).

²⁹ «Telegrammi. Corfù, 24 gennaio», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXI, 6 (6.2.1876), p. 54.

³⁰ «Teatri. Corfù», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXV, 48 (28.11.1880), p. 398. The periodical also announces the upcoming performances of Antonio Cagnoni's *Papà Martin* (both the composer and the opera are now almost forgotten) and of Charles Gounod's *Faust*.

³¹ «Teatri. Corfù», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXVI, 46 (13.11.1881), p. 416.

³² E. M., «Corfù, 31 ottobre. *L'Africana* al Comunale», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIV, 45 (10.11.1889), p. 733.

³³ Antonio Artuso was one of the composers of the "guazzabuglio lirico" (lyric muddle) *Cristianella o sia L'urdemo juorno de le banche*, performed at the Goldoni Theatre in Naples in 1870 («Teatri», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXV, 15 (10.4.1870), pp. 125-6).

³⁴ «Notizie estere. Corfù, 22 novembre», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIV, 49 (1.12.1889), p. 805.

³⁵ E. M., «Teatri. Corfù, 29 dicembre 1889», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLV, 1 (5.1.1890), p. 19.

³⁶ X., «Teatri. Corfù», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLVII, 45 (6.11.1892), p. 728.

³⁷ X., «Teatri. Corfù», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLVII, 45 (6.11.1892), p. 728.

³⁸ N. G. M., «Teatri. Corfù» *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLVIII, 5 (29.1.1893), p. 80.

Lescaut and Verdi's *Aida* are the most successful operas in 1895/96 season,⁴⁰ under the baton of Beniamino Lombardi, who in the same years also collaborates with the musical performances of the Barnum & Bailey Circus.

Kefalonia and Zakynthos also have regular Italian opera seasons, with a repertoire similar to that of Corfu, but the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* gives only a few news about these places. In 1858, the periodical publishes a notice for aspiring impresarios at the Cefalo Theatre in Argostoli,⁴¹ inaugurated in the same year with Verdi's *La traviata*. The only theatrical news from Zakynthos is about Donizetti's *La Favorita*, welcomed with enthusiasm in 1882.⁴²

Outside the Ionian Islands, the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* often deals with Syros. In 1866/67 season, Karrer's *Marcos Botsaris* is staged successfully for several evenings.⁴³ Also Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* has a good success.⁴⁴ In 1898/99 season at the Apollon Theatre in Ermoupolis there are many operas. The best results are for Puccini's *Manon Lescaut* and *La Bohème*.⁴⁵

Another city mentioned in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* is Patras. It happens for the first performance of Karrer's *Despo* at the Apollon Theatre (1883). In this case, the article is taken from «Il Trovatore». The periodical defines the author "the only composer who Greece has" and the opera "a milestone of Greek melodrama".⁴⁶ *Despo* arouses enthusiasm in the audience. There are frantic applauses for the composer, the singers and the conductor Raffaele Ricci, who will become famous as master of an opera company formed only by children.

Another important city for the opera companies is, of course, Athens, despite a theatrical story that in the Nineteenth century is less prestigious than that of Corfu. The first news about a lyrical performance in the Greek capital quoted by the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* concerns Verdi's *Nabucco* (1870). The evening is not remembered for the quality of the performance, but for a singular accident on stage, a quarrel between the women singers, whose names are not specified: they both grab their hair and the younger, who plays Abigaille, strikes the other with his cardboard sword.⁴⁷ This is not the case, however, for Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia* (1873): it is a great success and the theatrical company lengthens the season.⁴⁸ Also splendid is the outcome of Gomes'

³⁹ Corrado Ronzani (Padua, 1841 – ?) studied in Padua. From 1861 to 1869 he was master of the band of the 23rd Infantry Regiment in some cities in Italy. Later he began his career as a conductor in Italy and abroad, also in Malta and Egypt. He writes two operas (*La strega*; *Ulrico e Manfred*) probably not performed (Gaspere Nello Vetro, *Le Bande Musicali del Regio Esercito dalla proclamazione del Regno d'Italia alla Prima Guerra Mondiale 1861-1915*, Roma: Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, Ufficio Storico, 2010, pp. 131, 249).

⁴⁰ «Teatri. Corfù», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, L, 49-50 (12.12.1895), p. 835.

⁴¹ «Cronaca straniera. Cefalonia, 28 giugno», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XVI, 29 (18.7.1858), p. 233.

⁴² «Teatri. Zante», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXVII, 46 (12.11.1882), p. 408; «Teatri. Zante», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXVII, 47 (19.11.1882), p. 416.

⁴³ «Notizie», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXI, 33 (16.12.1866), p. 263; «Cronaca teatrale», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXII, 6 (10.2.1867), p. 43.

⁴⁴ «Cronaca teatrale», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXII, 6 (10.2.1867), p. 43.

⁴⁵ Y., «Sira, 14 febbraio. *Manon Lescaut* e *Bohème* di G. Puccini al teatro Apollo», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, LIV, 8 (23.2.1899), p. 93.

⁴⁶ «Teatri. Patrasso», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXVIII, 5 (4.2.1883), pp. 50-1.

⁴⁷ «Rubrica amena», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXV, 13 (27.3.1870), p. 106.

⁴⁸ «Teatri. Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXVIII, 34 (24.8.1873), p. 276.

Salvator Rosa (1880).⁴⁹ Among the singers is the famous bass Ormondo Maini,⁵⁰ who had sung at the Scala in *Fosca*, another opera by Gomes, in Ponchielli's *La Gioconda* and in some operas by Verdi. Two years later (1882) Verdi's *Aida* has a complete success:⁵¹ for the periodical it is "a show that leaves nothing to be desired".⁵² Some years later (1889) the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* gives a stern judgment about another staging of the same opera at the Dimotiko Theatro Athinon (Athens Municipal Theatre). Vito Fedeli⁵³ writes a long article entitled "*A third-rate Aida*". The critic complains about a bad execution of the singers and the conductor, a poor staging and a lot of cuts and variations that make the opera very different from the one written by Verdi.⁵⁴ A French company stages the unlucky show. May be it is the same company that had inaugurated the theatre with Ambroise Thomas' *Mignon* a few months before (1888), in an evening defined *hors ligne*, which is extraordinary.⁵⁵

In the same season the very young Italian pianist and composer Michele Virgilio performs in a successful concert with music by Bach, Schumann, Beethoven, Chopin, Rubinstein and other authors (1888).⁵⁶ Later Virgilio will become famous also as a conductor abroad. The *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* also gives news on other applauded concerts. Among them, there is a vocal concert (1893)⁵⁷ and an orchestral concert (1894),⁵⁸ directed by Riccardo Bonicioli,⁵⁹ who had composed the "poema drammatico" (dramatic poem) *Marco Bozzari*, performed in Corfu in the 1882/83 season.⁶⁰

In Athens, there is also place for a political operetta entitled *L'isola di Creta* and staged successfully (1897). The *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* does not provide the names of music authors and librettists, but it is noted that the song most popular by the public is a choir of Cretan insurgents in the characteristic costume of the island.⁶¹ The following year Puccini is protagonist: *La Bohème* has an excellent outcome⁶² and in *Manon Lescaut* there is the triumph of the soprano Nina Piontelli. The singer, who is

⁴⁹ «Teatri. Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXV, 17 (25.4.1880), p. 141.

⁵⁰ As for Ormondo Maini (Viadana, 1835 – Viadana, 1906) see Vladimiro Bertazzoni, *Ormondo Maini (1835-1906) gloria del melodramma italiano e di Viadana*, Mantova: Sometti, 2006.

⁵¹ «Teatri. Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXVII, 26 (25.6.1882), p. 232.

⁵² «Teatri. Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXXVII, 27 (2.7.1882), p. 240.

⁵³ As for the composer and musicologist Vito Fedeli (Foligno, 1866 – Novara, 1933) see Alberto Viarengo, *Vito Fedeli: cronache musicali novaresi (1902-1923)*, in *Miscellanea di studi*, 5, a cura di Alberto Basso, Torino: Centro Studi Piemontesi – Fondo Carlo Felice Bona, 2003, pp. 273-316.

⁵⁴ V. Fedeli, «In Grecia. Un'Aida da strapazzo», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIV, 24 (16.6.1889), p. 384.

⁵⁵ «Notizie estere. Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIII, 46 (11.11.1888), p. 416.

⁵⁶ S. M., «Atene, 4 dicembre. Concerto Virgilio al Grande Teatro Nuovo d'Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIII, 53 (23.12.1888), p. 466.

⁵⁷ «Concerti. Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLVIII, 25 (18.6.1893), p. 420.

⁵⁸ X., «Concerti. Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLIX, 16 (22.4.1894), p. 246.

⁵⁹ Riccardo Bonicioli (Zara, 1853 – Como, 1933) adopted his mother's surname instead of his father's surname (Frühmann). He was active as a conductor especially in Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

⁶⁰ Konstantinos G. Sampanis, «Παραστασιολόγιο ὀπερῶν ποὺ ἀναβιβάσθησαν στὰ θέατρα τῶν Ἑπτανήσων ἀπὸ ἰταλικοὺς ἐπαγγελματικὸς θιάσους τὸν 19° αἰῶνα (1820-1900)» (Performances of operatic works performed by Italian professional theaters in the theaters of the Ionian Islands in the Nineteenth century, 1820-1900), *Μουσικός Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 18-19 (2014), p. 32.

⁶¹ «Alla rinfusa», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, LII, 10 (11.3.1897), p. 138.

⁶² «Teatri. Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, LIII, 19 (12.5.1898), p. 281.

“without comparison” in the role of Manon, sings twice *In quelle trine morbide*.⁶³ The last lyrical performance briefly considered by the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* is Dionisios Lavrangas’ *I due fratelli*, which is successful. The periodical announces also a new melodrama by the Greek composer, *La vita è sogno* (1900).⁶⁴ The opera, taken from Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s *La vida es sueño*, will be subsequently performed in Athens in 1901. In the same year the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* also deals with the construction of a new theatre in Athens, the Vasilikon Theatron (Royal Theatre), opened a few months later.⁶⁵

We can have other news, useful especially for information on little-known musicians active in Greece in the Nineteenth century, from the obituaries. There is, for example, that of young soprano Annetta Viviani, victim of smallpox in Athens (1874).⁶⁶ The previous year, the singer had been the protagonist of an unlucky *tournee* of an Italian opera company in Patras.⁶⁷ From Corfu also comes the news of a tragic disappearance: the Neapolitan musician N. Sirè (or Siri) kills himself for a disappointment of love (1891).⁶⁸ He is actually Francesco Siri, teacher at the Philharmonic Society.

In conclusion, from the pages of the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* devoted to Greece emerges the portrait of a very lively and interesting music reality. Memorable events are not many, but they are crucial to retrieving other tiles of the wonderful mosaic of the Nineteenth century Italian melodrama that is still waiting to be completed.

⁶³ «Telegrammi. Atene, 1 settembre», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, LIII, 36 (8.9.1898), p. 525.

⁶⁴ «Alla rinfusa», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, LV, 35 (30.8.1900), p. 461.

⁶⁵ «Alla rinfusa», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, LVI, 10 (7.3.1901), p. 153.

⁶⁶ «Necrologie. Atene», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XXIX, 36 (6.9.1874), p. 296.

⁶⁷ Konstantinos G. Sampanis, «Τὸ καταστροφικὸ ταξίδι τοῦ ἄτυχου ἰταλικοῦ θιάσου ὀπερας καὶ μπαλέτου τοῦ θεάτρου «Ἀπόλλων» Πατρῶν τὸ 1873» (The devastating journey of the unfortunate Italian opera and ballet company to the «Apollon» Theatre of Patras in 1873), *Μουσικός Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 20 (2015), pp. 16-21.

⁶⁸ «Necrologie. Corfù», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, XLVI, 10 (8.3.1891), p. 172.

SUMMARIES

Penelope Avouris,

The opera performances' reception in Zakynthos in 1880: social and financial matters

The winter of 1879-1880 was especially harsh for the people of Zakynthos who, while being a part of the British Protectorate and even after their union with Greece, lost a large part of their income. Due to the rampant hailstorm that plagued early 1879, the production of raisings was reduced to one quarter of the production of previous years and due to lack of buyers most of the product remained in the warehouses. The pawnshop (Santo Monte di Pietà) presented a significant financial deficit and the bulk of the population suffered to such a degree that mayor Lucas Carrer, in a rare gesture of good will, offered his pay to the destitute. Despite the poor financial condition of the island, in early September, theatrical manager Dionisios Mondinos, with the consent of the municipal authorities, formed an opera company in Naples to give performances during the winter season.

The scholars and newspapers of the times extensively with the Theatrical Committee and the interventions of the governor with the «not entirely repaired and mediocresly lighted» newly constructed Foskolos Theatre, with the performances of opera plays, the appropriateness of their themes, their sets, costumes, vocal performance and the stage presence of the actors, their honorary performances as well as the performance they gave in support of the destitute and finally the appropriate, and inappropriate, reactions of the viewing audience, inside and outside of the theatre.

During the period of 1879-1880 there were three newspapers being published in Zakynthos, *Zakynthos* (the instrument for the «Romianiko» party that supported Alexandros Koumoundouros), *Agon* a tool for the Lombardian party (Lombardos was co-founder of the «Pempto komma» [Fifth party] which was lead by Spiridon Trikoupi and follows his policy) and *Elpis* which had many characteristics that today, we attribute to the «Yellow Pages». By studying related publications one can draw some interesting conclusions, not only for the reception of Opera in the small Ionian island, but also for the sociopolitical standings, contradictions and controversies of columnists by the severe financial condition of Zakynthos and using the theatrical performances or activities as an excuse.

The topics that the newspapers are focused on are politics in a local, national and European level, unemployment, starving widows and orphans, criminal acts, mostly the steadily rising percentage of thievery and... the news of the artists, mostly the female ones, of Opera that spent their winter on the island.

Quite interesting is the way that each separate newspaper deals with the events. D. Someritis, publisher and key editor of «*Elpis*», expresses with every opportunity he gets his great love of Opera and primadonna Avonia Bonney as well as the pleasure he experiences at each viewing. The editors of *Agon*, Nomikos and Malanos, review every performance displaying their music education and some impartiality. Finally, the editors of «*Zakynthos*», mostly refer to the social impact of those events.

Primadonna Avonia Bonney and Combrimaria Adela Galanti are those who share the interest of the audience, be it positive... or negative. Boney is considered the very example of honesty and dignity by the newspaper editors and in the performance, that's thrown in her honor, she is exalted by her admirers, who go to extreme lengths to please her. In the contrary, the attitude of the audience towards Galanti, disgusts the artist, as the audience flings dead fish and radishes at her while she is singing- It's interesting that only one of the newspapers reports the incident and condemns it. In secondary news, a performance given by the company to honor the destitute, is reported. Only *Elpis* reports in detail the benefactors and the donations. Among them, Boney contributed seventy two drachma, Galanti twenty, Soprano Boffa twenty five and Pontiff Nikolaos ten!

The versatile winter of 1879-1880 is depicted, in the satirical poem of Ioanni Tsakasianos :

«Forward Zakynthians... those of you that don't have money, borrow some and buy jewelry for Bonney, so that she won't tell of Zakynthos as a poor island... Don't bother with those that say that the land has many "Bonney's", poor and hungry... They are lies, that there is unemployment, lies that we borrow and beggar to live...»

Spiros Deligiannopoulos,

The operas of Verdi as been seen through the piano arrangements of Paolo Carrer

This chapter presents maestro Paolo Carrer as a composer for piano. It presents his love for the opera not as a composer but as an entertainer of the Italian upper class friends of Arts and as a music pedagogue. Among the time of his original compositions, he transcribed, he arranged and he paraphrased melodies of the well known operas of Verdi of that era, mostly for piano. The chapter refers to the polkas, the mazurkas, and the divertimenti based on parts of the operas of Verdi. It also focuses at the four hands Gallops from *Rigoletto*, *Il Corsaro*, *Il Trovatore* and *La Traviata*. The texture of Carer's writing reveals his artistic skills as a pianist.

Stanimira Dermendzhieva,

The contribution of the Hellenic Diaspora to the formation of the Russian opera in the 19th and the early 20th century

My studies on the Neo Hellenic Music subject of the Hellenic Emigrants Overseas began in 2002. Initially, I concentrated my efforts on the theme "Musicians of Greek origin in the School of Composition of Saint Petersburg in the 19th and the first half of the 20th-century". This group consisted of 3 composers, members of the M. P. Belaieff circle in Saint Petersburg: Achilles Nikolayevich Alferaki (born 3 July 1846, Kharkov (present day Ukraine) - died 27 December 1919, Petrograd), and N. Rimsky-Korsakov's former students in Saint Petersburg conservatory Vasily Pavlovich Kalafati (born 10 February [O.S. 29 January] 1869, Yevpatoria, Crimea – died 20 March 1942, Leningrad), and Vasily Andreyevich Zolotarev (born 24 February, 1872 in Taganrog – died 25 May, 1964 in Moscow), who was born as Kouyumzhi, but translated his family name to a Russian one. The oldest member of the group was the Russian operatic bass-baritone Osip (Iosif) Afanasievich Petrov, also called "the grandfather of the Russian opera" (born 15 November [O.S. 3 November] 1806 in Yelisavetgrad (now Kropyvnytskyi) in Ukraine, then a part of Russia – died 12 March [O.S. 28 February] 1878 in Saint Petersburg). A reference to his Greek origin was made 4 years after Petrov's death, by the Russian historian V. Yastrebov, who researched into Petrov's place of birth in 1882, and by the contemporary books in Ukrainian. The whole story of Petrov's brilliant career in Saint Petersburg's theatres is a living legend; he was a renowned singer of great range, good at both Russian and Italian opera. Petrov brilliantly revealed the lead role of Ivan Susanin at M. Glinka's historic premiere of the opera *A life for the Tsar* in 1836. The famous Russian composers Glinka, Dargomizsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Mussorgsky, and Tchaikovsky had Petrov as an archetype when they were composing the first operas in the style of New Russian Music School.

In 2006 the Kalafati archive was bought by the Music Department of the Ionian University in Corfu, Greece. My dissertation, titled "Vasily Pavlovich Kalafati (1869-1942): The Life and Works of the Forgotten Composer and Teacher of Russia" was submitted in 2012 at the Ionian University. The three Russian composers Achilleas Alferaki, Vasily Kalafati and Vasily Zolotariov belong to the New Russian Music School and they have their place in the world history of opera. We could study their operas from a historical viewpoint today. Only some parts of Kalafatis' opera, *The Gypsies* (1898–1937) and *Kupal'skaya noch'* (St John's Eve) (1899–1912) of Alferaki have been presented in Saint Petersburg, Russia. The one-act opera *The Gypsies* of Kalafati after A. Pushkin (1899) was ready and orchestrated in 1899. The orchestra score and the vocal score of the opera have been kept in Kalafati's archive. The composer made the musical action more scenic and more complete in the second version of

Gypsies opera (1937), libretto by Sergey Yurevich Levik (1883-1967). The handwritten vocal score of the opera (1937), about 10 fragments (some of which are orchestrated), as well as the composer's notes for the libretto, have been salvaged in Kalafati's archive. The orchestrated score however has not yet been found.

The Russian of Greek descent statesman, composer, pianist and writer Achilles Alferaki remained in Russian history as a governor (in late 1873) and a mayor (1880-1888) of Taganrog. The composer became acquainted with Tchaikovsky, and was well-known in Saint Petersburg. His romances and songs, which include elegy, love lyrics and drama, were printed several times by M. Belaieff. But his dream to see his opera *Kupal'skaya noch'*, libretto by A. Averkiev (first version 1888, second version 1912) performed on the stage of the theatre *Mariinsky* one day, never came true.

Vasily Zolotariov who was more fortunate, won the name of revolutionary composer with the opera *The Decemberists*, libretto by V. Yasinovsky (1925, second version *Kondraty Ryleyev*, 1957). The opera was first performed on December 26, 1925 at the *Bolshoi Theater* in Moscow. The most effective parts were printed by the Muzgiz, Moscow in 1925. Zolotarev could be classified among Soviet composers who express the inner essence of Soviet music: socialist realism in a national frame. Zolotarev wrote 3 operas, ballets, symphonies, cantatas, romances, string quartets etc. His name is closely connected to the establishment and formation of the Belarusian national school of composition, as well as the training of highly talented composers and musicologists. In March 2014 an exhibition "The teacher and creator", dedicated to the 140th anniversary of Zolotarev, was held at the Music and Audio Materials Reading Room of the National Library of Belarus.

Konstantza Georgakaki,

The Alice Reine theatre company at the theatre of Faliro

In the summer of 1884, there was not much happening in the theatrical life of the Greek capital. Except for two Greek theatre companies, that of the Tavoularis brothers at the Zappion summer theatre "Olympia" and the Pan-Hellenic Drama Theatre Company of Dimosthenis Alexiadis at "Apollon" Theatre, the summer stages hosted no other Greek performances. Popular performances, such as the exhibitions of strength of Panagis Koutalianos and his Turkish peer Ömer Pehlivan, enchant audiences, but do not help create an attractive theatrical environment. After the failure of an Italian theatre company, the audience turns to the theatre of Faliro, where an Armenian lyric theatre had appeared the previous year.

This summer, French operettas make a powerful comeback, after a successful break the previous year, in terms of tickets and art production. Alice Reine's French melodramatic theatre company refreshes the interest of the Athenian bourgeois in developments in lyrical theatre in the City of Light. Following the practice of other French theatre companies, Reine's company, or "Vassiliki's", as she was ironically called by the press that "translated" her surname, included in its exclusively French repertoire famous comic operas and operettas by Charles Lecocq (*Le Cœur et la main*, *Le petit Duc*, *La princesse de Canaries*, *La Petite Mariée*) and Jacques Offenbach (*La Fille du tambour-major*, *La Grande duchesse de Gérolstein*), the comic opera *Donna Juanita* by Franz von Suppé, the opera buffa *Petit Faust* by Hervé and a comic opera by Charles Gounod (*Philémon et Baucis*).

The French theatre company, performing on the stage of Neo Faliro throughout the summer, consists of experienced operetta singers. Most of them take part in performances in the French capital, as well as in the province, with positive reviews. The repertoire is interesting, the performers are satisfactory and the spectacle is remarkable. The combination of these features attracts the interest not just of common spectators but even of the Prime Minister, Charilaos Trikoupi, who attends several performances.

The bad summer weather, however, uncommon for Athens, creates several problems to the theatre company, which is forced to cancel performances due to the poor weather. Therefore, Alice Reine's theatre company may not have achieved its goals in terms of box office earnings, but the way it was received by people and critics shows that when the show is not "bon pour l'orient" and the stage proposal does not underestimate the audience's taste, artistic success is guaranteed.

Eleni Georgiou,

Reflections of the philhellenistic spirit in the Italian musical theatre of the 19th century and the specific case of Rossini

This chapter explores the way in which the movement of philhellenism, related with the awakening of the Greek nation and the events of the Greek revolution, is imprinted in the Italian musical theatre of the 19th century. A movement that inevitably touched the Italian artists in a special way because of the close observation and influence from the events of the Greek revolution (i.e. the contribution of the Carbonari and other secret organizations - societies) and the parallel struggle of the Italian patriots for a unified, independent and democratic Italy.

Before that there was a definitely important influence of the ancient Greek theatre in the opera and its evolution. Just a glance in the history of the opera is sufficient to convince us about the influence of the ancient Greek poetry on this musical genre and it's also well known that the Florentine Camerata influenced its evolution through an attempt of reviving the ancient tragedy, born from the study of classical antiquity, with the goal of finding the lost unity between music and language. More than that the common evolutionary progression of both the countries' civilizations (Italy and Greece) contributed in the preservation of the Renaissance spirit and the consolidation of neoclassicism with a parallel reference in many ancient-themed Italian works of music related to Greece. Thus, the interest for the Greek Independence is mainly captured in the art of the Italian musical theatre through events, characters and legends from the splendour of classical antiquity which becomes established in with neoclassicism.

At the same time with this philhellenistic outburst the Italians present a lot of performances of dance theatre and pantomime theatre prompted by the events of the revolution. The reference to the epic of Missolonghi is made with "Ballo Eroico in cinque Atti" *L' ultimo giorno di Missolungi* by Antonio Cortesi which may have been performed at Gran Teatro La Fenice in Carnovale (1832/1833). It must be noted that *L' ultimo giorno di Missolungi* received such acclaim that it was repeated at the Scala di Milano in 1836 for 41 more performances.

Giovanni Galzerani's "azione pantomimica", *Ali Pascia di Giannina*, with music by De Mussi, is presented two years later at the same theatre. Other theatres in Italy presented dance theatre or pantomime performances as well with subject matter praising the struggle of the Greek people. Teatro Carlo Felice of Genova Dove presents the "ballo eroico-tragico" *La caduta di Psara* by Luigi Astolfi in 1836, Circo Olimpico of Napoli presents "Ballo con 60 persone a piedi e a cavallo" *La caduta di Psara* by Antonio Guerra in 1839 and performances referring to the naval combat in Navarino.

In the field of the opera we also have excellent samples of the philhellenistic movement: the opera *Gli ultimi giorni di Suli* with libretto by Giovanni Peruzzini and music by Umbero Ferrari which was presented at the Teatro La Fenice in Venezia in 1842-1843. Rossini, who thematically, but emotionally as well, is engaged with the Italian struggle before getting involved with the Greek one, has already outlined in his works his influences from Greece and classical antiquity with cantatas like *Il pianto d' Armonia sulla morte di Orfeo* (1808), *La morte di Didone* (1818), *Le nozze di Teti di Peleo* (1816), the opera *Ermione* (1819). During his years of youth he composed music for the choral parts of a private performance of the

tragedy *Oedipus at Colonus*. Although he wasn't particularly involved with politics, the composer was influenced by the revolutionary spirit dominating his age relating both to his country and Greece.

The summer of 1824 finds Rossini in London. The Greek Revolution had already started and Lord Byron dies in April in Missolonghi. Rossini composes *Lament of the Muses for the Death of Lord Byron* (*Il pianto delle Muse in morte di Lord Byron*). The work is composed for a tenor, a choir and an orchestra and at the premiere Rossini himself sang the part of the tenor.

Le siege de Corinthe is the first work of the composer written in French and was meant to address a French audience. Rossini obviously knew the importance of his debut in Paris, a city which at that time validated the reputation of a musician at a European level and simultaneously was the centre of the philhellenistic movement. The composer decided not to make his appearance at the French capital with a new work but with a reformulation, a reworking of an older one, none other than *Maometto II*. The libretto of *Maometto II* is centred on the siege of Negroponte of Evia by the Turks and the tragic demise of the heroine, who commits suicide in order not to get enslaved, is definitely not left to chance and has a direct link to the Greek struggle.

It's not accidental that his second opera, after *Maometto II*, has also got Greece as its subject matter, Ancient Lesvos this time. We're talking about *Zelmira* which was performed in Napoli in 1822. The hero of the opera, Antenor who's the tyrant of Lesvos has a lot of common features with Muhammad. He's cruel and ruthless and he dares to come to the point of murder in order to reach his goal. Zelmira, like Anna in *Maometto II*, doesn't accept to submit to his bidding, while Antenor doesn't hesitate to order her execution.

We find another reference to the war of independence of the Greeks in Rossini's work *Il viaggio a Reims, ossia L' albergo del giglio d' oro*. In the prelude, Corina, playing harp, refers to Greece with a religious, nationalistic tone.

As far as *Le siege de Corinthe*, is concerned Rossini having musical material for *Maometto II* essentially ready, was able to devote himself with greater ease to the problems that arose due to the use of the foreign language and the need of presenting a musical product that would be at the same time a typical work of the composer and aligned with the demands of the French audience as well.

It's something more than a mere simple transformation like the ones the composer used to make, it's an essentially new work, a revolutionary work in all respects. The action is placed in Corinth not Halkida, in 1458. The reference to Corinth is a case of an allegory even though sultan Mehmed II had besieged the city during the decade of the 1450s. The names, besides that of Mehmed, change, Anna Erizo becomes Pamira, Calbo is named Neocles and Paolo Erizo becomes here Kleomenis. The librettists, Luigi Balachi and Alexandre Soumet, connect the Greek Revolution with the glory of antiquity with clarity, using ancient names. The specific work is not numbered amongst Rossini's most successful ones but without a doubt the composer considered it appropriate, for in that period of time at the French capital they observed the events in Greece with a lot of interest since Greece despite its struggle had to wait until 1830 to be recognized as an independent nation by the European countries. 1826 was a year that the public opinion was in the midst of reflecting upon matters like conquering freedom, recognizing independence and clearly the duality Christian West – Infidel Ottomans.

The new libretto includes elements of the current affairs at the time and is referencing a contemporary with its presentation event, that of the repeated siege of Missolonghi and the epic Exodus. At that point in time the Greek matter was a major issue for discussion as much in France as in Europe. In fact it was so important that an amount of more than 30,000 francs was raised in just one concert with the goal of providing support to the rebelling Greeks, conducted by Rossini himself on the 3rd of April in 1826, six months before the work's premiere. The most important feature, the one that overwhelmed the audience of the time,

was the finale, where not only Palmira dies but a whole nation along with her, the people of Corinth, symbolically all of the Greeks. This opera had such an impact on the French people not only because it stimulated their philhellenistic feelings but because it stirred up their own revolutionary mood against the power of the Bourbons, who in their eyes didn't differ in anything from the Turks.

Stamatia Gerothanasi,

Flora mirabilis by Spyridon Samaras: A cognitive approach on selected parts of the libretto
Flora mirabilis, Leggenda in tre atti by Spyridon Samaras and libretto by Ferdinando Fontana, was presented for the first time on May 16th 1886 in Milan, Teatro Carcano. The premiere of the opera signals the beginning of the international operatic career of Samaras. The dramaturgy of *Flora Mirabilis* is actually that of a fable/fairy tale. In the opera, distinctive traits of the movement of verismo are presented, a fact that anticipates the clearly veristic opera of Samaras *La Martyre*.

My research concerns the cognitive analysis of the libretto. The libretto is neither a theatrical text nor a poetic one. It is a new cosmos: a blend of theatrical and poetic features which constitute the skeleton that supports the music elements. The libretto is the foundation onto which the music construction is based. Since the language of the libretto serves the opera, the cognitive analysis of the language of the libretto should regard the linguistic choices of the librettist as an expression of psychological, emotional and cultural parameters which reflect the compositional operatic tradition of a librettist's time.

My framework is Conceptual Metaphor Theory and my starting point is the way language is organized in the libretto. The words and the constructions employed by the librettist are not coincidental. They enable me to understand how conceptual metaphors work and the role they perform in constructions.

The aim of my research is to show how the movement of scapigliatura influenced the dramaturgy of the opera and the language of the libretto. To this end, I will identify and discuss specific constructions in the libretto through the cognitive mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy. Moreover, I will delve into the musical strategies employed by Samaras in order to strengthen these constructions. Such mechanisms seem to allow an enriched reading of the influences of scapigliatura movement.

Konstantina Karakosta,

Nikolaus Dumba. The profile of a Maecenas of music

The present text refers to the significant contribution of Nikolaus Dumba to the music scene of Vienna, as viewed historically within the spirit of the overall dynamic presence of the Greek diaspora at the time of the Habsburg Monarchy in the 19th c.

The starting point was the end of the "Holy League of Linz" (Sainte Ligue Linz, 1684-1699 and 1716-1718) wars, which marked the final removal of the Sultan's threat from central Europe and radically changed the trade relations of the Habsburgs and Ottomans. The Treaties of Karlowitz and Passarowitz stabilized the Christian borders in central Europe and recognized the court of Vienna as the sole dominant power.

At the focus of Vienna's new economic policy throughout the 18th c. was the effort to attract experienced Ottoman merchants (türkische Unterthanen), who were familiar with the roads leading from the Balkans to the territory of the imperial royal crown and could successfully respond to the ever-increasing demand for raw cotton, needed to cover the needs of Austria's cotton manufacturers.

Vienna, the capital of the Holy Roman Empire (Sacrum Romanum Imperium Nationis Germanicae) and the seat of the House of Habsburg, was undoubtedly located in a prime position. The Greeks (griechischer Handelsmann) who arrived and settled in the monarchy, along with their commercial activities, also became very involved in "charitable" work, which

at times bore a “national” focus, expressed through their interest in founding new churches and schools, and helping the most destitute members of the community, but also targeted their host country and was expressed through the establishment of institutions and the construction of social projects.

Nikolaus Dumba was born in Vienna in 1830. His parents had been born in Macedonia, where his father, Sterios Dumba, had established the “Dumba Bros” company along with his brothers, which was successfully involved in the cotton trade and textile industry. Along with the waves of migration of that period, his family arrived and settled in Vienna, where it acquired great economic and social prestige.

Nikolaus Dumba became renowned for his notable political work and love of music, and was recognized as a splendid Maecenas of the arts, who played a major role in the development of music and painting in the imperial royal capital of the 19th c. He served music in various ways. He was first a member and then the president of the Vienna Men’s Choral Society (Wiener Maennergesang-Verein) and one of the founders of Musikverein, a building of high aesthetic value and luxury, which became the seat for the Society of Friends of Music (Musikfreunde) and the famous Vienna Philharmonic.

Dumba was a very close friend of Johann Strauss, who thought so highly of him that he dedicated the New Vienna (Neu Wien) waltz to him; he also wrote the Polka of the Hellenes (Hellenen Polka). It was at Dumba’s summer house, on the shores of the Danube, that Strauss composed, premiered and dedicated to him the famous Blue Danube Waltz. Nikolaus was also a bosom friend of Johannes Brahms, with whom he corresponded frequently. When Brahms died, Dumba commissioned his statue, selected the relevant location and contributed financially to its completion.

One of the most prominent figures in music who visited Dumba and composed music at his summer house was Richard Wagner. In 1861, when the preparations for the premiere of the opera *Tristan and Isolde* were taking place in Vienna, Wagner was a guest of Dumba and was impressed by the fact that all the protagonists in his opera were friends of the latter. Dumba’s name however has also been directly linked with the protection, preservation and promotion of Franz Schubert’s works, since he was the holder of the most important collection of autographs by this leading musician. He himself safeguarded and promoted Schubert’s work, by donating his Symphonies to the Municipal Library of Vienna (Stadt-und Landesbibliothek).

Throughout his life, Nikolaus Dumba was awarded many titles. He was also involved in politics as a representative of the Lower House and a permanent senator at the Upper House, thus serving the interests of the city of Vienna and of the monarchy. His death had a huge impact on the city of Vienna. The street leading to the Concert Hall, known as Artists’ Alley, was renamed Dumba-Strasse, i.e. Dumba Street, five days after his death, following a decision by the City of Vienna “in recognition of his great service”. Flags were flown at half-mast on all public buildings. His coffin was taken from the Greek-Orthodox Holy Trinity church (Fleischmarkt) to the House of Artists and then to the Hall of the Society of Friends of Music, where the choir sang a mournful piece by Schubert (Ruh' in Frieden Allerseelen). His remains lie in a place of honour at the central cemetery of Vienna (Zentral-Friedhof), beside the graves of Brahms and Strauss, and in the same section as Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert.

Kostas Karasavvidis,

Filippo Termanini: Early reception of The Millers in Corfu (1836)

Filippo Termanini, an Italian choreographer and dancer, visited Corfu over three consecutive seasons (1834-5, 1835-6, 1836-7), as member of three different Italian troupes of melodramatic theatre. All three troupes spent long periods on the island (from autumn till the carnival

season) and performed at the San Giacomo Theatre. Apart from participating in the troupe productions, Termanini also took part in dedicated dancing performances, and presented his own choreographies. Besides, according to Luigi Prividali (1836), "Italian opera [in Corfu] still maintains its old lustre, always respecting an old pattern which requires that it be followed by dance performances, as it happened during the Venetian rule." The chapter aims at sketching Filippo Termanini's activity in Corfu between 1834 and 1837, mainly focusing on a dance adaptation of *The Millers* during the carnival celebrations of 1836. This performance is deemed quite important, as *The Millers*, in their proper prose form, would not make it into the Greek repertoire for another 34 years (1870 onwards). Starting with this early reception of the play, even as a ballet adaptation, the chapter will present for the very first time the so far unidentified Italian original from which the Greek prose play was created. At the same time, the chapter will highlight the similar course and increasing popularity of both the Italian and the Greek plays, as suggested by the impressive number of seven editions in Italy and Greece over the 19th century. The last part of the presentation will take the audience through the stages of the play's transformation from comedy to dance piece to *opera buffa* in Italy and, finally, to comedy with songs (*komeidyllion*) and operetta in Greece.

Kostas Kardamis

Domenikos Padovas: The "lesser" of an anniversary

This chapter attempts to offer some new approaches and information regarding the life and the work of Domenikos Padovas (1817-1892), which possibly underline an unexpected original contribution to the mid-19th century opera, as formulated within the era's multileveled cultural environment.

In this respect the collaboration of Padovanis with the Italian patriot and man of letters, Severiano Fogacci (1803-1885) is of particular importance. Fogacci was self-exiled in Corfu between 1831 and 1846 and was, among others, the librettist of Padovas's two known operas, namely the one-act "comica" *Il ciarlatano preso per principe* (Carnival 1840) and the "seria" *Dirce* (February 1857, but libretto written in 1835 and published in 1843). The initial publication of *Dirce's* libretto includes an introductory text, which is virtually a concise manifesto of Fogacci's views on the ideal musical setting of his work. 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. Moreover, Monti's work both in its original form and in its translation in Greek was very popular within the theatrical activities of nineteenth-century Greece.

Padovas's connection with Fogacci's thought is made clear 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, Padovas 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.

Lena Kokkinomilioti,

The path of Spiro Samara towards the European musical theaters. An educational plan for narration about social-political, historical and cultural incidents

A composer, a laptop and a video projector. A great team of enthusiastic teenagers in a classroom, somewhere in the birth place of the composer. Timeline: Limited, always, only one school year... Books all around the desks, music material, students studying, and working parties... A Corfu native composer travels all over Europe performing his operatic works. His travels bridge the last decades of the 19th century with the early ones of the 20th century. The

melodies of Spiro Samara can provide the students with a great opportunity to learn more about the era he lived in. This time travel includes all the incidents which happened in his life, everything relating to the composing procedure of his works and many more such as political and cultural events during the above mentioned times. This presentation, was shaped both by students and derived from the necessity to write a post-graduate essay. All these ideas and educational plans were applied into the classroom, with the intention to creating a scenario - narration, including a transitive approach involving the subject of Music, History and Modern Greek Literature.

Georgia Kondyli,

The opera in Smyrna in the 19th century through the Greek- Smyrnian press

The European opera has penetrated in the Ottoman court since 1675, when Giacomo Guerini, the assistant of the Venetian ambassador brought an opera company to Constantinople in order to take part in the festivities on the circumcision of Mustafa II. Even though the project was never realized, the Ottomans started being interested in opera. In 1839 there was a westernization movement, accelerated by Abdul Medjid. Thus, European opera and theater became the favorite form of theater, especially in 19th century in Constantinople but also in other Ottoman cities, like Ankara and Smyrna.

In 19th-century Constantinople, many operatic troupes, especially Italian, have presented Italian and French operas as well as a large number of operettas in places like Naum Theater, Dolmabahce Palace Theater, Ylidiz Palace, Opera Tiyatrosu and Osmanli Opera Tiyatrosu. Some European composers, among them Giuseppe Donizetti, were invited to the Ottoman Empire. The operatic activity in Constantinople has been researched by Erme Arci to some extent.

As far as it concerned Smyrna, during the 19th century and before 1922, was the most important port in the Eastern Mediterranean and the center of economical and social life. The city was not only a commercial crossroad but also a place where different nationalities, cultures, religions met. The Smyrniotes loved the music and the entertainment. As a result, we come across a rich theatrical activity. The condition was ideal for a new theatre trend: the expansion of a stage combination of music, dance and satire.

European opera was known to Smyrna through foreign traveling troupes which also travelled to other cities, such as Patras, Syros and Constantinople, and these tours have contributed decisively to the shaping of the overall theatrical identity of the city.

The rich artistic life of Smyrna, as well as the artistic influence that the city has from Athens, Paris and Constantinople, that reinforces the belief that the three mentioned cities were cultural metropolises, was an incentive to start a research, focused on the musical-theatrical life of Smyrna which has been conducting since 2011 and which has given three papers at the past.

In this chapter we will examine the opera performances in Smyrna in the 19th century through the Greek-Smyrnian press in order to examine the impact and the popularity of the genre to the Smyrnian audience. For this reason it is essential to present the opera troupes, which visited the city, their artists, their repertoire, the place that usually the performances took place also to explore the kind of audience which attended the performances.

For this project a depth research in Greek-speaking newspapers of Smyrna was realized, some of them are located at the Institute of Mediterranean Studies in Rethymno (Crete-Greece) and others at the Greek National library.

Stella Kourmpa,

Hermoupolis, the lost Atlantis of our musical culture

Hermoupolis is the fruit of the War of Independence of 1821 and of the vision of a reborn Greece; a city built literally from the beginning by Greek refugees, who, chased by the Turks,

reached the rocky coast of Syros in order to survive, and managed, in less than half a century, to make of Syros the biggest port of the East-Mediterranean Sea. The story of this newborn city constitutes a unique phenomenon of Modern Greek History; because of the multiformity of its population (consisting of Greeks coming from different areas of the Aegean Sea), unified only by the goal of survival and of national regeneration, the city of Hermes (Hermoupolis) became an economic and cultural center of 19th century Greece, often surpassing the activity of the Greek Capital.

The vision of the citizens of Hermoupolis was the development of a new world, based on the model of neoclassical Europe, which, as a conduit for the civilization of ancient Greece, was always destined to be their sole point of cultural reference, as all things eastern were viewed as symbols of their protracted slavery. In addition, as Western culture was considered the natural evolution of the ancient Greek, the Opera (created on the model of ancient Greek drama), was the cultural product *par excellence* of this evolution. Hence, operatic life was not only a powerful symbol of bourgeois European society, but also an ultimate example of a cultural re-borrowing: the Greek renaissance brought about by the 1821 revolution marked the hour when the products of ancient Greek culture that had decamped to Europe came back home. Europe's new state wanted its cultural capital back, and with interest.

Hermoupolis' musical life was impressively rich during the second half of the 19th century, especially after the construction of the Opera House (the Apollo Theatre) in 1864. The operatic activity, along with the musical education, introduced very early on the island, contributed to the elevation of the musical culture of the Hermoupolites, who seem to have been the habitants of a lost Atlantis.

Dionyssios-Ioannis Kyriakoulis,
George Sklavos: Life and works

This chapter is part of a doctoral dissertation focused on the life and works of Georgios Sklavos. The main findings are based on research in the composer's personal library (articles, reviews, mail, texts, concert programs, personal photographs, music scores, conversations with former students, etc.).

Georgios Sklavos was born in the last years of the 19th century in Vraila, Romania, into a family with origins in the Ionian island of Kefallinia (now referred to as Kefalonia). When he arrived in Greece, he registered to the Athens Conservatoire and became a student of A. Marsick (counterpoint, fugue, composition lessons) and S. Kaisaris (wind band arrangement). He was a person who sought and participated in many different musical activities, sometimes as an artist and music professor and other times as a musicologist. He started teaching at the Athens Conservatoire in 1913 and continued until almost the last years of his life. The subjects he taught were Harmony, Counterpoint, Fugue, History of Music, Chorus etc. Moreover, he also worked as a professor of music at the Piraeus Conservatory of the Piraeus Society.

He wrote many entries about music terminology, published at the *Megali Elliniki Engyklopaideia* ("Great Greek Encyclopaedia"). His editorial activity included theoretical and historical texts about music. His work embraces several music genres, including incidental music, operas, and music for piano, voice and orchestra. His personal musical style was pronouncedly influenced by the concept of the Greek National School and, moreover, his works contain music elements from the East, together with a combination of modern harmonic idioms.

He also was a critic and wrote in newspapers such as *Imera* (i.e. "Day"), *Estia* (i.e. "Home") and others. In addition, he was the manager of the Greek National Opera during 1946-49. The librettist Stelios Sperantsas and the conductor Dimitri Mitropoulos were two of his most important collaborators.

Małgorzata Lisecka,
The Feminine Art? On Reinterpretation of Opéra Comique Genre in Camille Saint-Saëns's
***Phryné* (1893)**

Annegret Fauser in her article mentions *Phryné* by Saint-Saëns as a specific attempt to break some stereotypes of *opéra comique*, which since the eighteenth century has traditionally been considered as light, naive, graceful and specifically feminine genre (Fauser: 2001,87). In this chapter I want to show how Saint-Saëns in different ways refers to the myth of Phryne. Aforementioned myth was shaped not only in the Greek antiquity, but also in modern times (as literary, pictorial, sculptural, theatrical concept), to get through reinterpretation of this myth to show the universal conflict between masculinity and femininity. I also wanted to show how neoclassical convention, recognized by the composer on the romanticizing way, serves as a commentary on contemporary perception of morality, as well as social conditions of the relationship between man and woman in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This problem will interest me with regard to the libretto (by Lucien Augé de Lassus) as well as to its musical setting (Fauser indicates one example of 'masculinisation' of the score by Saint-Saëns; in my chapter I intend to develop this concept for further issues).

Konstantinos G. Sampanis
1888/1889 opera season in Corfu: from the initial tragedy in Grassano, Italy (8/20.10.1888)
until the triumphant artistic finale with Spyros Samaras' Flora mirabilis

In early October 1888 Corfiot theatre impresario Alexandros Temponeras-Voggolis and local conductor of the choir, maestro Spyros Grek, had already formed in Milan the opera troupe of the San Giacomo theatre for the 1888/1889 opera season, which consisted of the following artists: Emilia Parodi (prima donna soprano assoluta drammatico, for opera serie), Gemma Perozzi-Morello (prima donna soprano assoluta drammatico, for opera serie), Ines Biliotti (prima donna soprano assoluta leggero, for opere buffe), Rosa Berlini (comprimaria & prima donna mezzo soprano & contralto), Marziale Panella (primo tenore assoluto, for opera serie), Angelo Rossi (primo tenore assoluto, for opere buffe), Giovanni Comolli (primo baritono assoluto), Eugenio Aleni (primo baritono assoluto), Augusto Cappati (primo basso assoluto), Vincentelli and Franzoni (secondary parts). Maestro Guarnieri was hired as maestro concertatore and conductor of the orchestra, while Grek himself would be the maestro of the choir.

An early proposal to reduce wages made from the impresario to the soloists was not accepted by the primadonnas, leading to highly valued and experienced Emilia Parodi and up-and-coming talent Ines Biliotti to immediately terminate their contracts, while soon after Gemma Perozzi-Morello also followed their decision. Initially – and for the time being – Virginia Colombati (prima donna soprano assoluta leggero), a not yet widely recognized artist, was hired in their place. Because the starting date of the performances was fast approaching, impresario Alexandros Temponeras-Voggolis, maestro Spyros Grek and all cast members embarked on the journey to Corfu via Napoli and Brindisi. Unfortunately, just before dawn on Saturday 8/20.10.1888 in Grassano, a village between Napoli and Taranto, a landslide from the nearby cliffs caused rocks and earth to wreck the train that carried the troupe and cost the lives of many train passengers, including four of the main soloists of the troupe (Rosa Berlini, Angelo Rossi, Giovanni Comolli and Augusto Cappati), as well as the young maestro Spyros Grek. The troupe was dismantled and everything was pointing at the direction of the season's performances being cancelled. However, the initial tragedy was followed by new preparations, since the impresario, after recuperating from his wounds, returned to Corfu with a new troupe, consisting of the following artists: Gemma Perozzi-Morello (prima donna soprano assoluta drammatico, signed a new contract), Virginia Colombati (prima donna soprano assoluta leggero, member of the initial troupe), Maddalena Tamburini-Garulli (prima donna mezzo soprano & contralto), Gerardo De(l) Castillo (primo

tenore assoluto drammatico), Emidio Bettini-Lorini (primo tenore assoluto leggero), Cesare Baracchi (primo baritono assoluto), Luigi Bonfanti (primo baritono assoluto), Alessandro Niccolini (primo basso assoluto) and Valentino Tubertini (primo basso comico). The troupe arrived in Corfu on Saturday 29.10/10.11.1888 and the performances started on Saturday 12/24.11.1888 with Verdi's *Ernani*. Subsequently, and until the Last Sunday of Carnival (19.2/3.3.1899), when the Corfiot opera season was triumphantly concluded, the following operas had been revived: *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Donizetti), *Lucrezia Borgia* (Donizetti), *I Puritani* (Bellini), *Un ballo in maschera* (Verdi), *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (Rossini) and *Flora mirabilis* by the Greek composer Spyros Samaras (premiered on Sunday 5/17.2.1889, first performance in Greece), which was the last and most brilliant production, starring distinguished soprano Concett(in)a Bevilacqua, who was especially invited to Corfu for these performances, as well as Samaras himself on the San Giacomo theatre podium.

Andrea Sessa,

The musical life in Greece in the 19th century in the pages of the Gazzetta musicale di Milano (1842-1902)

The *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*, published by Ricordi between 1842 and 1902, is undoubtedly the most important Italy's music periodical of the 19th century. Its articles, often signed by famous collaborators, are a key reference point for reconstructing the musical activity of that historical moment, in Italy and abroad, not only in the big cities, but also in several small towns. This is especially true for the second life period of the *Gazzetta Musicale*, reborn in 1866 after a break of three years and a half. The need to respond to the changes that occurred in the work market after the unification of Italy, in fact, convinced the publisher Ricordi to transform the *Gazzetta musicale* in a sort of weekly bulletin of artistic events, with an ever greater space devoted to reviews and chronicles of the shows. From this point of view, the correspondence from Athens, Patras and Corfu are a valuable source of information about musical life in Greece, since the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth. In the pages of the *Gazzetta Musicale* we can find plenty more news and comments on the first performances of work by Greek composers (great prominence, for example, has the triumphant success of Spiros Samaras' *Flora Mirabilis* at the San Giacomo Theatre in 1889) and the opera seasons in Greek theaters. Here we can often find excellent Italian companies, which present a repertoire that is updated gradually enriching the proposed public offering. In the articles of the *Gazzetta Musicale* there is also space for events not strictly related to theater, such as the discovery in 1893 of *Hymns to Apollo* at Delphi, which has aroused great interest in ancient Greek music. The research aims to provide a systematic framework of this news and be a starting point for more detailed studies.

Avra Xepapadakou

'There, in Samarkand'. European itinerant opera and operetta companies touring in the Near and Far East

This chapter focuses on the activity of European musical theatre companies touring in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Near East, the lands of the Caucasus and Central Asia during the 19th and early 20th cent. It aims to investigate the processes of cultural transfer and amalgamation between West and Orient in the domain of opera and operetta. These companies were the carriers of a par excellence western cultural product from metropolitan cities, such as Milan and Paris, to the periphery, within and beyond European borders.

In more detail, the wane of the 19th cent. saw the decline of the powerful Ottoman Empire, and a corresponding increasing tendency towards Europeanization and westernization in the wider domain of SE Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. Greece, in particular, functioned as a cultural crossroads between East and West. Within this bipolar socio-cultural landscape, from 1840 onwards Italian opera companies began to tour in Greek

theatres, and even further towards the Near East; they were followed, from 1870 onwards, by French operetta and vaudeville companies. In the last decades of the 19th century, these bold French artists expand towards the East, beyond familiar geographical boundaries, following specific routes and tracing their own small odysseys on the map.

This chapter aims to chart, study and present the traces of the latter, attempting to shed light on an unknown and unexplored area of the world history of music and theatre.



CONTRIBUTORS

Penelope Avouris was born in Athens. I am teacher and teatrologist. M.A. In «Ancient Greek Theatre» from the Department of Theatre Studies of Patras University and in «Drama and Performing Arts in Education and Lifelong Learning» from the Department of Theatre Studies of University of Peloponnesus. Head of Center for Environmental Education in Zakynthos. I have implemented several workshops of Drama and Performing Arts in education in educational seminars. I have taken part in national and multinational (conferences) concerning issues that involve my research interests like modern performances of ancient Greek drama, Ionian Islands theatre history and Drama and Performing Arts in Education and Lifelong Learning.

Born in Zakynthos, Greece, (1976) **Spiros Deligiannopoulos** studied Musicology (B.Hons) at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Piano at Contemporary Conservatory of Thessaloniki, Music Theory at the State Academy of Thessaloniki and Composition at Goldsmiths – University of London (MMus in Composition), at Darsmadt Internationales Musikinstitut (Master Classes) and at AristotleThessaloniki (PhD in Composition). Among his teachers are mentioned Dimitris Lagios, Georgios Thymis, Pavlos Dimitriadis, Lambis Vassiliades, Costas Grimaldis, Costas Siempis, Nikos Solomonidis, Roger Redgate, Michalis Lapidakis, Pierluigi Billone, George Aperghis, Helmut Lachenmann and Bryan Ferneyghouh. As a composer he has been awarded with the 1st prize at the composition contest “In Memoriam G. Papaioannou” under the Greek Composers Union, for his work ‘String Quartet no 2’. His music has been performed at the main concert halls of Athens (The Athens Concert Hall, “Stegi” (Stage) of Fine and Letters, Theocharakis Music Foundation, Parnassus Literal Society, German Institut-Atene, M.Cacoyiannis Foundation), Thessaloniki, Patra and abroad (London, Johannesburg, Munich, St Petersburg). As a musicologist he has collaborated with the Public Sector of The Athens Concert Hall writing about 200 original program notes. He has also collaborated with The Athens and Epidaurus Festival and The National Lyrical Scene. He writes monthly at artistic e-magazine artic.gr. His 3 personal albums “Music on Poetry”, “The String Quartets” and “Liquid Time” are available on Amazon and I-Tunes.

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Lena Kokkinomilioti has been a music professor since 2001. She has been collaborating with the Music Dept. of Ionian University since 2007, teaching classes in the subject of both Music Education and Psychology of Music. She has signed contract work with the Greek Institute of Education Policy as a member of a special scientific team dealing with the elaboration of the New Curriculum for Secondary Music Schools. One of her main interests is to provide information to the young people about the sound phenomenon and make them understanding, responsible and sensitive to issues related to hearing protection and acoustic environment. Approaching people with disabilities through music is included in her interests. Lately, she has been a member of the production team of the Book – CD "*Kratissou Pano mou*" ("Hold on to me"). Some years earlier she was the caretaker of a collection which included 4 Digital Video Disks "*Mias meras paramythia*".

Georgia Kondyli was born in Patras-Greece. She graduated from the Faculty of Musical Studies of the Ionian University (1999). As a scholarship holder by the Michelis Foundation, she obtained a Master's Degree (DEA) in "Aesthetics, Technology and Artistic Creation", specializing in "Music-Musicology" at the Université Paris VIII in France. In 2005 she obtained a Ph.D. (Doctorat) from the Université François Rabelais of Tours (France) specializing in music theater. Her thesis, entitled "La perméabilité des genres lyriques à la fin du 18^e siècle : Les Danaïdes d'Antonio Salieri (1784)", has been published by the Presses Académiques Francophones (PAF - ISBN: 978-3-8381-7665-9). She has given lectures and she has published articles in research reviews, always on the topic of musical/music Theater. She has obtained the certification of the Teaching Qualification of Trainers for Adults of non-formal education and she has taught in public Institutes of Professional Training where she

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Dr Avra Xepapadakou is an independent researcher of opera and theatre. She has worked as a faculty member at the University of Crete (2009-2016), and as an affiliated lecturer at several other academic institutions. She is the author of the books *Pavlos Carrer* (Athens: Fagotto Editions, 2013) and *"Interspersed with musical entertainment": Music in Greek Salons of the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Hellenic Music Centre, 2017), co-authored with Alexandros Charkiolakis. She has widely published and has given numerous lectures on topics related to her research interests. She has worked intensively on cultural documentation and participated in a number of EU funded Research Projects. Since 2012 she has worked on the processing of the archive of the Italian theatre director Romeo Castellucci and his team, the Società Raffaello Sanzio, and since 2016 she is documentation consultant and curator of the above-mentioned archive. She has conducted research as a grantee visiting scholar at California State University–Sacramento (2015). In 2016 she was awarded a research grant and research visitorship as part of the Balzan Prize in Musicology *Towards a global history of music*. Within this framework, she has curated the session "Greece: A cultural crossroads between East and West" at the University of Oxford (2016), and has conducted research at the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Universität Zürich (2017).